COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course titled “International Politics (Theory)” of the UG Political Science Programme (Third Semerster) of KKHSOU is designed to help the learners to have an understanding of the theoretical and practical dimensions of politics at the international level. As a learner of Political Science one must have basic understanding about the concept of International Politics. Accordingly, the course begins with a discussion on the meaning of International Politics and its various stages of evolution, then the course moves on to discuss the nature and scope of International Politics in the first unit.Thus, the learners are made familiar with the fundamental aspects of international politics as a process involving conditions of conflict and cooperation among various participants, namely state and non-state actors. In this context, certain approaches have been formulated whereby the conduct of international politics is sought to be explained through particular standpoints. Accordingly, three important approaches, namely, the Idealist Approach, the Realist Approach and the Systems Approach to the study of International Politics have been discussed in the second, third and fifth units respectively. The fourth unit focuses on Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism.Moreover, through this course, the learners are introduced to certain key concepts in the field of International Politics. The sixth unit discusses one of the most important concepts of International Politics, i.e. National Power. This unit deals with meaning, elements, limitations of national power and methods of using power by a state. The seventh unit focusses on the concept of Balance of Power, another important issue of International Politics. National interest is the main force behind every activity of each and every nation at the international level. The eighth unit discusses various aspects associated with the concept of national interest. Along with national interest, ideology also influences the course of action of a country in its dealings with other states. But in the recent time a debate has been come up whether ideology is still relevant or not. Accordingly the ninth unit discusses the concept of ideology and end of ideology debate. The tenth unit discusses the concept of Diplomacy which is considered to be an important means whereby international relations are conducted and managed. Another important aspect of the study of international politics is Foreign Policy which is the basis of all international relations. Thus the eleventh unit deals with various aspects of foreign policy. At the international

level all states are expected to respect the international laws. Though these are not binding upon the states, but these international laws put some moral obligations on the states. The twelfth unit focuses on the concept of international law. The thirteenth unit deals with various aspects associated with international law of peace and armed conflict. The concepts of Neo-colonialism and New International Economic Order have been discussed in the fourteenth unit.

While going through the units of the block, you will find that unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Again, the units carry certain activities after a particular section where needed. These “ACTIVITIES” will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called “LET US KNOW” after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS”. The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. You may then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit. The section “FURTHER READING” in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are intereted in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called “MODEL QUESTIONS” is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: MEANING , NATURE , SCOPE AND EVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives
1.2 Introduction
1.3 Concept of International Politics
    1.3.1 International Politics and International Relations
1.4 Nature of International Politics
1.5 Scope of International Politics
1.6 Evolution of International Politics
1.7 Let Us Sum Up
1.8 Further Reading
1.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
1.10 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of International Politics
- discuss the distinction between International Politics and International Relations
- describe the evolution of International Politics
- describe the nature of International Politics
- describe the scope of International Politics
- explain the ingredients constituting the scope of International Politics
- explain the variables regarding the scope of International Politics.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Human being's eternal quest for knowing the unknown together with technological development over the centuries has created a situation in which no part of the world can remain in isolation. All parts of the world, or all nation-states in political terminology, must have some sort of relation with one another. This situation is the source or germination of international relations. International Relations, put in its theoretical framework, came to

be known as International Politics.

To put it more clearly, we may state that the scientific advancement in all its aspects during the past two centuries has brought the states of the world much closer. As a result, it is only natural that events in one part of the world will have their repercussion in the other parts as well. Moreover, the invention of aeroplanes, missiles, bombs and other sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, has naturally given rise to the fear of war and destruction. This, further, has resulted in the states, friendly to one another and with common interests, coming together to counter the threat posed by the enemy states. Now, these friendly or hostile relations among the states are designated as international relations and the policy adopted for the establishment of such political relations is called International Politics.

International Politics involves a process of adjustment of relationship among nations. Accordingly, international politics deals with both conflict and cooperation. In this unit, we shall also read about the nature and the scope of International Politics.Various scholars, universities, academic organisations and institutions have tried to demarcate a specific area of study for International Politics.



Hans Joachim Morgenthau (February 17, 1904 – July 19, 1980) **:** Leading American Political Scientist and a key figure in the study of international politics.

Quincy Wright (28 December 1890 – 17 October 1970)**:** He was an American political scientist known for his pioneering work in international law and international relations.

1.3 CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

However it may be pointed out here that there is no unanimity among the scholars regarding the meaning and definition of International Politics. Their approaches differ and this may be regarded as only natural because of the fact that the subject "International Politics" is still in a state of constant flux. We may therefore examine a couple of definitions –

American Political Scientist, Prof. Charles P. Schleicher defines International Politics as "Relations among nations", although he points out that all the inter-state relations are not political.

Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau says that "International Politics is a struggle for power among nations".

Prof. Quincey Wright maintains that International Politics consists of "relations between groups of major importance in the life of world at any period of history".

Charles Reynolds says, "International Politics refers to the process

by which conflicts arise and are resolved in international level..."

Eminent Indian scholar Mahendra Kumar states "International Politics is a process in which nations try to serve their national interests which may be in conflict with those of other nations, by means of their policies and action". He maintains that this definition can be applied to international politics in any period of the twentieth century.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out that the above definitions seem to suggest that International Politics includes the study of happenings exclusively among the nation states. However, International Politics also includes other aspects like the political actions which take place among the non-state units such as inter-state organisations like the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) or multi-national organisations like the Untied Nations (UN) or non state organisations such as professional groups of scientists, labourers, human rights organsiations, etc., which play very significant roles in the present day international scenario. International politics would be incomplete if we do not take these factors into consideration. As a matter of fact, International Politics is more dependent on non-political aspects of international relations - like economic, military and social. This is a problematic situation as far as the ***nomenclature*** of International Politics is concerned. Many scholars use the concepts of International Politics and International Relations interchangeably. Therefore, taking into account all these factors, David V. Edwards has come out with a comprehensive definition. According to him, "International Politics is made up of incidents in which the units or actors, generally nations or combinations of nations differ over power, resources, status or other desired ends and attempt to resolve their differences by whatever means available and acceptable."



***Nomenclature*:**
A system of names used in a particular subject or selecting a name for a particular subject.

Having delineated the concept of International Politics in a general way, let us explore the root of International Politics.

In order to understand the concept "International Politics" a brief discussion on the concept of "Politics" is necessary. Everything in politics, whether domestic or international, flows from the fact that people have wants and needs. The efforts to satisfy needs and wants bring people into contact with one another and this contact leads to formation of groups. Now since all men do not have identical interests, conflict becomes inevitable. Anyway, groups indulge in certain activities and follow certain policies in order to

satisfy the needs and wants of their own members. This interaction of the groups to fulfil their interests to the maximum extent is called Politics. The term Politics involve three elements (1) Interest (2) Conflict and (3) Power. Thus, in the words of Quincy Wright "Politics is the art of influencing, manipulating or controlling major groups so as to advance the purpose of some against the opposition of others".

Politics prevailing in relationships between nations is International Politics. In the case of international politics, groups are represented by nation states and their needs and wants are called national interests. Disagreement among groups (nations) is called conflict. But the element of power remains the same. Power is used by nations as a means to serve their national interests. Thus, to sum up, International Politics is a process of adjustment of relationships among nations in favour of a nation or a group of nations by means of power. The three important elements in the field of international politics are national interest, conflict and power.

1.3.1 International Politics and International Relations



Synonyms:
Words having the same or almost the same meaning

We have discussed above the concept of International Politics. However, a problem arises as to whether we should call it "International Politics" or "International Relations". In fact, these two terms are very often used ***synonymously***. Moreover, many writers do not want to draw a line of demarcation between the two terms. Renowned scholars like Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson use these terms interchangeably, for they regard International Politics as an inalienable part of International Relations. However, some other prominent scholars like Palmer and Perkins, Schleicher, Wolfe and others prefer to use the expression 'International Politics'.

But we may state that the term International Relations has a wider connotation than International Politics because it includes all sorts of relations among people and groups in the world society - like political, economic, social, cultural, legal - official as well as non-official. On the other hand, the term International Politics connotes the politics of the International community in a rather narrow sense. The fact is that International Politics is mainly concerned with diplomacy, foreign policy and relations among states and other political units. Looked at it from this angle, International Relations is a much wider term than

International Politics insofar as it includes all sorts of relations among people and groups in the world society and these relations operate both at the official as well as non-official levels. Conversely, International Politics includes only those aspects of international relations in which some national interest or conflict of purpose is involved.

It may also be pointed out that International Relations and International Politics differ with regard to the methodology of study: International Relations is essentially descriptive whereas International Politics is purely analytical. Thus, it can be said that International Relations provides the basis for the study of International Politics. So, we see that International Relations is more extensive than International Politics. However, it must be admitted that there are close relations between the two.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 1: Explain the meaning of International Politics.

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Q 2: The three important elements in the field of international politics are national interest, conflict and ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 3: International Politics includes the political actions of nation-states only and not those of non-state units such as inter-state organisations. (True/False)

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Q 4: Make a distinction between International Politics and International Relations.

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1.4 NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Different authors have discussed the nature of International Politics over the years. However, it must be mentioned here that actually there are marked differences among authors as to the nature of International Politics. For example, Charles Schleicher includes all inter-state relations in International Politics. Palmer and Perkins maintain that the study of International Politics is essentially concerned with the state system. For Hans. J. Morgenthau, International Politics is the struggle for and use of power among nations. Thus, there are broad and narrow range of phenomena included within the nature of the study, including description and explanation in International Politics.

In order to have a comprehensive idea about the nature of International Politics, we may talk about six variables -

- **Nations are the primary actors in International Politics :**

  International Politics is a process of interaction among nations and hence they are the primary actors. Though there are sub-national, transnational and supra-national groups, yet the nation-states control all the instruments of coercion and violence in international politics. It is the nation-state that makes war and peace in the field of international politics.

- **National interest is the objective :**

  International Politics basically involves the art of preserving one's national interests by managing control over other nations. It is the process by which each nation tries to safeguard and secure its interests which are dynamic in nature even as nations continuously seek to adjust their relations among them.

- **Conflict and Co-operation are the conditions of International Politics :**

  It is generally observed that the national interests of various states/ nations are neither fully compatible nor fully incompatible. The incompatibility results in conflicts and disputes. However, the possibility of making the interests compatible through accomodation and reconciliation leads to co-operation among nations. Thus, it is seen

that conflict and co-operation, coercion and persuasion are always present in International Politics.

- **Power is a means as well as an end in International Politics:**

  Since there is an atmosphere of conflict, nations attempt to secure the goals of their national interests. The means for securing these goals is power. For this reason, each state is continuously engaged in the process of acquiring, maintaining and increasing power. Thus, it is evident that in International Politics, power is both a means as well as an end. Nations always use power for securing the goals of their national interests. At the same time, they regard power as a vital part of their national interest.

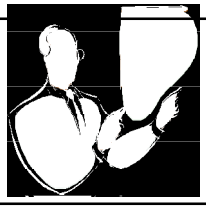
- **International Politics is also a process of conflict resolution among nations :**

  As stated above, conflict is an omnipresent condition of International Politics. Conflict of interests leads to the emergence of disputes among nations. But it may be pointed out that it is because of the existence of conflict that nations with similar objectives of national interests agree to co-operate with each other. At the same time, it drives the nations to co-operate for taking effective measures for preventing a future war. Thus, International Politics necessarily involves attempts at resolving conflicts at the international level.

- **International Politics is a system of continuous interaction among nations:**

  It is evident that the national interest of various nations are bound to be in conflict with one another. But conflicts cannot be eliminated completely from the international society. This, naturally, necessitates continuous attempts on the part of nations to adjust their relations with one another. This makes international politics by nature a continuous process.

Thus analysed, we may state that the nature of International Politics includes the study of all relations and interactions which form a part of behaviour of the nations at the International level.



LET US KNOW

There are three important elements relevant to international politics – *national interest*, *conflict* and

power. The first element is the aim or objective, the second element is the condition and the third element is the means of international politics. Each nation seeks to pursue its own national interest. At times, national interests of some nations may be identical. In this way, international politics may involve patterns of conflict and cooperation. International politics is concerned with the control of conflict and cooperation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: "Conflict and Co-operation are the conditions of l Politics."- Explain briefly.



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Q 6: "Power is both a means as well as an end in International Politics."- Explain briefly.

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Q 7: Describe the nature of International Politics. (within 50 words)

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1.5 SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

We have already stated that the concept of International Politics is constantly in flux. Therefore it is only natural that the scope of the subject is ever-changing and ever expanding. As a matter of fact, its scope has greatly widened over the years. It is not merely concerned with the study of the conduct of states but also examines the processes and environment which influence their international activities. It also takes into account the study of

the international organisations, military alliances and regional organisations. In addition, it also concentrates on the study of various instruments for the promotion of world peace as well as the international institutions which play a vital role in the regulation of international politics.

Let us now discuss its scope in an elaborate way.

International politics is relatively a new subject and as such its scope is not as yet well-settled and delimited. In fact, scholars have adopted different approaches for defining its scope : Morgenthau calls it a struggle for power among nations, while Feliks Gross terms it as a study of foreign politics. Sprout and Sprout define the scope of the international relations as "the study of inter-state relations and interactions that emerge in the process of struggle for resolving the conflict among nations".

Grayson Kirk observed that the study of International Politics has five ingredients which we may accept as the basis of the scope of International Politics:

(1) The nature and operation of the state system.
(2) Factors which affect the power of state.
(3) The international position and foreign policies of great powers.
(4) The history of recent international politics.
(5) The building of a more stable world order.

These ingredients help us to identify the basic scope of International Politics. Let us now systematically discuss the scope of International Politics and its elements :

- **Study of State System :**

  There are certain factors which dictate the working of a country's politics, such as geographical location, natural resources, military power, social stability, morale of its citizens, leadership etc. Inter-state relations are the result of these factors of a sovereign state and international politics studies these relations.

- **Foreign Policy :**

  The behaviour of a state at the international level is always directed and controlled by its foreign policy. Through its foreign policy, a nation exercises its national power for securing the goals of its national interest. No one can hope to understand the present- day international

politics without a study of the foreign policies of nations.

- **Study of the behaviour of individual and society :**

  With the emergence of the concept of behaviouralism, its impact is also very much in evidence in the international sphere. The behaviour of the leaders of different states greatly influence international politics.

- **Study of the changing situations :**

  The scope of the study of International Politics widened after the establishment of the United Nations (UN) after the Second World War (1939-1945). Developments in the field of international politics such as the existence of mutual tension between the two power blocs during the Cold War, namely the US-led Western Bloc and the Soviet Bloc, the Non-Aligned Movement, establishment of various organisations under the United Nations like the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the emergence of Afro-Asian countries as a prominent bloc in the UN – all these became part of the study of International Politics. Such developments extended the scope of International Politics.

- **Emergence of various International Organisations :**

  After the First World War (1914-1919) as well as the Second World War(1939-1945), various political, economic, social and regional organisations came up in the international arena like the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), General Agreement on Tarrifs and Trade (GATT), World Bank, South Asian Association For Regional Cooperation (SAARC), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), European Union (EU) and the Arab League. International Politics studies these organisations and hence the scope of International Politics has expanded considerably.

- **International Law :**

  International Law acts as a moral force in the international arena even as it acts as a restriction on national power and state action. Accordingly, International Law is regarded as an important aspect of the study of International Politics.

- **Diplomacy :**

  In the initial years of the beginning of the discipline of International Politics, the focus was mainly on diplomatic history whereby international relations were presented in a descriptive and chronological manner. Diplomacy is recognized as the official machinery for carrying out relations among nations whereby a nation seeks to promote its national interests by such means as negotiations, discussions, etc. At present, new approaches have been adopted and yet diplomatic history has not lost its relevance.

- **Power :**

  In the post Second World War period, "power" became the central theme in the study of international politics. Power has practical as well as theoretical relevance. It is a major determinant of the policies of the leading states of the world. In International Politics, one studies the nature, elements and measurement of national power, balance of power, power equations and limitations on national power. The scope of International Politics includes all these.

- **War and Peace :**

  It may be emphatically stated that the study of the problem of war and peace surround almost all the aspects of International Politics. Conflict of interests among nations often result in warfare between two or more nations or among groups of nations. War and peace are matters of human survival. Along with war, peace activities too are now studied systematically in International Politics.

- **Ideologies :**

  The twentieth century saw the rise of ideologies such as communism, socialism, capitalism, nazism, fascism, totalitarianism, liberalism, etc. As a matter of fact, the world became sharply divided into two rival power blocs on the basis of ideological issues.

  It is true that for the last few years there have been talk of "end of ideology" and "de-ideologisation of International Politics," whereby it began to be argued that over the years, ideological differences have been declining in the western democracies. However, at the same time, it is argued that ideological elements cannot be ignored in the

study of International Politics. In developing nations, new ideologies are emerging and determining the course of politics in the same. Accordingly, it is seen that ideology still plays a certain role in the field of International Politics.

- **Non State Actors :**

  The scope of International Politics also includes non-state actors. The emergence of several non-state international or supra-national or trans-national actors, such as the United Nations and its agencies and organisations, multilateral alliances and groupings including NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, EU, SAARC etc. has necessitated the inclusion of the role of these actors in international politics.

  The rise of violent non-state actors, particularly the international terrorist outfits, has become a major cause for concern in the field of International Politics at present. Aspects such as the emergence of such terrorist organisations, their sustenance and proliferation, efforts of various governments to tackle these outfits, etc., are being taken up even as International Politics seeks to deal with the problem of global terrorism.

Thus we see that the field of study of International Politics is the international society involving both state and non-state actors. But the international society has been changing at such a great speed that it is only natural that the scope of International Politics also has also been changing continuously. Rapid advancements in the field of science and technology has further given International Politics a new dimension.

LET US KNOW



The management of conflict and its resolution has always constituted a key concern in the field of international politics. Various techniques for the control, management and resolution of conflict are being explored in international politics, with various international organisations and peace research institutes making an effort towards this end.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 8: Who has termed International Politics as a study of foreign politics?

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Q 9: What are the five ingredients identified by Grayson Kirk which may be regarded as constituing the scope of International Politics ? Briefly mention them.

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Q 10: Discuss the scope of International Politics with reference to any four of its elements.

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1.6 EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

It is true that there were relations among some countries even in ancient times. For example in the 14th century, the rulers of Egypt developed some relations with the neighbouring countries. Even India and China established some such relations as is evident from the writings of the philosophers of China. However, there were no such relations in the international sphere. But with the passage time and technological development, radical changes appeared in the relations among the various countries of the world. We can understand these changes by examining the evolution of international politics as a subject of study.

The evolution of International Politics has been gradual. Kenneth

Thompson has pointed out that such stages of development have been mainly four, namely – (i) The Diplomatic History Stage.

(ii) The Current Events Stage.

(iii) The Law and Organisation Stage.

(iv) The Contemporary Stage.

(i) First Stage: The Diplomatic History Stage

The origin of International Politics as an academic discipline is generally traced back to the beginning of the 20th century when some scholars tried to examine as to why states behave in a particular manner which leads to war and how war could be avoided. Thus the first stage which continued up to the end of the First World War (1914-1918) was dominated by the monopoly of diplomatic historians in the sense that International Relations were presented only in a descriptive and chronological manner without reference to how various events and situations determined the behaviour of different states in the international field and vice-versa. Diplomatic historians generally avoided the study of current events and refrained from arriving at any universal principles from their descriptive study of facts. Thus, we see that their study only provided help in the knowledge of facts but did not provide a key to understanding either the present or the future international relations.

Now, in this connection it would be worth mentioning that it was in 1919 and at the University of Wales that the first Chair of International Politics was founded. It was known as **Woodrow Wilson** Chair. The founding of the chair indicates a beginning of the interest in the study of International Politics as an independent academic discipline. Many prominent scholars such as Alfred Zimmern and E.H. Carr occupied this Chair.

(ii) Second Stage :The Current Events Stage

The second stage in the development of International Politics started after the First World War. During this stage, the scholars in the field of International Politics emphasized the study of current events. They were mainly concerned with the interpretation of the immediate significance of the current developments and problems. However, while making a study of the present, the scholars did not pay much attention to the past. They also did not pay any attention to the methodology and the future of international relations. In short, the scholars concentrated mainly on the study of current events and completely neglected the historical aspect.

(iii) The Third Stage: The Law and Organisation Stage

Growing simultaneously with the second stage of the development of the study of International Politics, was the Third Stage. Both the second and the third stages began after the First World War and continued to dominate throughout the interwar years (between the First and Second World wars) and even afterwards. The approach adopted during the Third Stage stressed the institutionalization of International Politics through law and organization. Effort was made to search the goals and values towards which the international community should move. It was emphasized that peaceful world could be attained only through law and international institutions. With such a narrow focus on law and organisation, the study of international politics became idealistic in nature. This approach ignored the hard realities of international life during the period intervening the two World Wars.

(iv) The Fourth Stage: The Contemporary Stage

The deterioration of the international situation leading to the outbreak of the Second World War threw a challenge to all the approaches of the inter-war period and necessitated a search for a new approach to international politics.

Therefore, after the end of the Second World War, a new tendency came to the forefront, and thus began the fourth (or the present) phase of the development of the study of International Politics. Scholars discarded the utopian ideal of a peaceful World Order and resorted to a realistic analysis of world politics. They devoted themselves to the investigation of forces and influences which shape the behaviour of states. In this phase the main concerns among scholars in the field of International Politics are *fourfold*:

(a) motivating factors of foreign policies everywhere;
(b) techniques of the conduct of foreign policies;
(c) mode of resolution of international conflict; and
(d) creation of a new international order based on socio-economic justice.

It may also be mentioned that the scholars tried to find out the driving forces behind the foreign policy of states and came to the conclusion that ‘power’ constituted the most important factor in the study of International Politics.

These scholars also assigned an important position to the study of

the United Nations. However, the functions and purpose of the United Nations are now studied in a political rather than in a constitutional context. The purpose of studying world issues now is not to praise or condemn them but to understand them. The scholars tried to find out what people and nations really wanted and why there was conflict among them. This is what marked a new phase in the development of the study of International Politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 11: Mention the four stages of development in the evolution of International Politics

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Q 12: Describe the Current Events Stage in the evolution of International Politics.

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1.7 LET US SUM UP

- International Politics includes the study of happenings exclusively among the nation states. However, International Politics also includes other aspects like the political actions which take place among the non-state units such as inter-state organisations or multi-national organisations like the Untied Nations (UN) or non state organisations such as professional groups.
- Politics in relationships between nations is International Politics. In the case of international politics, groups are represented by nation states and their needs and wants are called national interests.

- Power is used by nations as a means to serve their national nterests. Thus, to sum up, International Politics is a process of adjustment of relationships among nations in favour of a nation or a group of nations by means of power. The three important elements in the field of international politics are national interest, conflict and power.
- International Relations is a much wider term than International Politics insofar as it includes all sorts of relations among people and groups in the world society and these relations operate both at the official as well as non-official levels. Conversely, International Politics includes only those aspects of international relations in which some national interest or conflict of purpose is involved.
- The nature of international politics could be analysed in terms of six variables. These are– (i) International Politics is a process of interaction among nations and hence they are the primary actors. (ii) International Politics basically involves the art of preserving one's national interests by managing control over other nations. (iii) International Politics, power is both a means as well as an end. (iv) Nations always use power for securing the goals of their national interests. (v) International Politics is also a process of conflict resolution among nations (vi) International Politics by nature involves continuous attempts on the part of nations to adjust their relations with one another.
- Regarding the scope of International Politics, it covers aspects like the study of the developments in the field of international politics, the study of state system, the study of foreign policy, the study of international organisations , the study of international law, the study of diplomacy, the study of power, the study of activities relating to war and peace, the study of ideologies and the study of non-state actors.
- Over the years, the scope of international politics has been ever-widening.
- The evolution of International Politics has been gradual. Kenneth Thompson has pointed out that such stages of development have been mainly four, namely -(i) The Diplomatic History Stage (ii) The Current Events Stage (iii) The Law and Organisation Stage (iv) The

Contemporary Stage.

- The first stage which continued up to the end of the First World War (1914-1918) was dominated by the monopoly of diplomatic historians in the sense that International Relations were presented only in a descriptive and chronological manner.
- The second stage in the development of International Politics started after the First World War. During this stage, the scholars in the field of International Politics emphasized the study of current events.
- Growing simultaneously with the second stage of the development of the study of International Politics, was the Third Stage.The approach adopted during the Third Stage stressed the institutionalization of International Politics through law and organization. Effort was made to search the goals and values towards which the international community should move.
- The fourth (or the present) phase of the development of the study of International Politics. Scholars started devoting themselves to the investigation of forces and influences which shape the behaviour of states. These scholars also assigned an important position to the study of the United Nations.



1.8 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005) *International Relations – Theory and Practice*.New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2006). *International Relations*.New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.

1.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q.no.1: Inernational Politics has been defined differently by different scholars. Some of the definitions are as follows:

Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau says “International Politics is a struggle for power among nations”.

Eminent Indian scholar Mahendra Kumar states "International Politics is a process in which nations try to serve their national interests which may be in conflict with those of other nations, by means of their policies and action".

The above definitions seem to suggest that International Politics includes the study of happenings exclusively among nation states. However, International Politics also includes other aspects like the political actions which take place among the non-state units such as inter-state organisations like the SAARC, NATO or multi-national organisations like the UN or non state organisations such as professional groups of scientists, labourers, human rights organsiations, etc.

Ans to Q.no.2: Power

Ans to Q.no.3: False

Ans to Q.no.4: Very often, the terms "International Politics" and "International Relations" are used interchangeably. But we may state that the term International Relations has a wider connotation than International Politics because it includes all sorts of relations among people and groups in the world society - like political, economic, social, cultural, legal - official as well as non-official. On the other hand, the term International Politics connotes the politics of the International community in a rather narrow sense and is mainly concerned with diplomacy, foreign policy and relations among states and other political units. Again, with regard to the methodology of study, International Relations and International Politics differ. International Relations is essentially descriptive whereas International Politics is purely analytical.

Ans to Q.no.5: The national interests of various states/ nations are neither fully compatible nor fully incompatible. The incompatibility results in conflicts and disputes. However, possibility of making the interests compatible through accomodation and reconciliation leads to some co-operation among nations. Thus, it is seen that conflict and co-operation, coercion and persuasion are always present in International Politics.

Ans to Q.no.6: Since there is an atmosphere of conflict, nations attempt to secure the goals of their national interests. The means for securing these goals is power. For this reason, each state is continuously engaged in the process of acquiring, maintaining and increasing power. Thus, we can see that in International Politics power is both a means and an end. Nations always use power for securing the goals of their national interest. At the same time, they regard power as a vital part of their national interest.

Ans to Q.no.7: The nature of International Politics has been discussed by many authors over the years. However, it must be mentioned here that actually there are marked differences among authors as to the nature of International Politics. In order to have a comprehensive idea about the nature of International Politics, we may talk about six variables -

(i) Nations are the actors in International Politics

(ii) National interest is the objective

(iii) Conflict and co-operation are the conditions of International Politics

(iv) Power is both a means as well as an end in International Politics

(v) International Politics is also a process of conflict resolution among nations

(vi) International Politics is a system of continuous interaction among nations

Ans to Q.no.8: Feliks Gross

Ans to Q.no.9:

(1) The nature and operation of the state system.

(2) Factor which affect the power of state.

(3) The international position and foreign policies of great powers.

(4) The history of recent International Politics.

(5) The building of a more stable world order.

Ans to Q.no.10: The scope of International Politics may be discussed as follows:

(i) Study of State System : There are certain factors which work in the politics of the country like the geographical location, natural resources, military power, social stability, morale of its citizens, leadership etc.

(ii) Foreign Policy : The behaviour of a state at the international level is always directed and controlled by its foreign policy.

(iii) International Law : International Law acts as a moral force in the international arena even as it acts as a restriction on national power and state action.

(iv) Diplomacy : At present, the study of diplomacy constitutes an important aspect of International Politics.

Ans to Q.no.11:

(i) The Diplomatic History Stage.

(ii) The Current Events Stage.

(iii) The Law and Organisation Stage.

(iv) The Contemporary Stage.

Ans to Q.no.12: The second stage or the Current Events Stage in the development of International Politics started after the First World War. During this stage, the scholars in the field of International Politics emphasized the study of current events. They were mainly and concerned with the interpretation of the immediate significance of the current developments and problems. However, while making a study of the present, the scholars did not pay much attention to the past. They also did not pay any attention to the methodology and the future of international relations. In short, the scholars concentrated mainly on the study of current events and completely neglected the historical aspect.



1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who defines International Politics as "a struggle for power among nations" ?

Q 2: The third stage in the evolution of International Politics was marked by an emphasis on the study of current events.(True/Flase)

Q 3: Diplomatic historians generally emphasised the study of current

events.(True/False)

Q 4: In which university and in which year was that the first Chair of International Politics founded ?

Q 5: Mention any two variables regarding the nature of International Politics.

Q 6: The scope of International Politics also includes non-state actors.(True/False)

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the concept of International Politics. Make a distinction between International Politics and International Relations.

Q 2: Describe the Contemporary Stage in the evolution of International Politics.

Q 3: Explain any two variables regarding the nature of International Politics.

Q 4: Discuss international organisations and diplomacy as elements of the scope of International Politics.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Describe the nature of International Politics.

Q 2: Explain the scope of International Politics.

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UNIT 2 : IDEALIST APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Emergence of Idealism

2.4 Main Features of the Idealist Approach

2.5 Reforms suggested by the Idealists in the International System

- 2.5.1 Distinction between Idealism and Realism
- 2.5.2 Criticisms against the Idealist Approach

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the emergence of the Idealist Approach
- explain the meaning of the Idealist Approach
- describe the features of the Idealist Approach
- explain the distinction between the Idealist Approach and the Realist Approach
- discuss the criticisms levelled against the Idealist Approach.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

There are various approaches to the study of international politics. An approach looks at a phenomenon from a particular point of view and explains it. Idealism is one of the traditional approaches to the study of international politics. The idealist approach holds that old, ineffective and harmful modes of behaviour in international politics, i.e. war, use of force and violence should be abandoned in favour of new ways and means as determined by knowledge, reason, compassion and self restraint. In this Unit we shall discuss emergence, meaning, features and criticisms levelled against the Idealist approach.

2.3 EMERGENCE OF IDEALISM



Nicolas de Condorcet (17 September 1743 – 28 March 1794): He was a French philosopher, mathematician and early political scientist.

Woodrow Wilson: He was the 28th President of the United States.

The emergence of idealism could be traced back to the eighteenth century. It is regarded as a major source of inspiration behind the American War of Independence of 1775 and the French Revolution of 1789. The approach found concrete expression in the works of writers like ***Condorcet***, Rousseau, Kant and Wilson. In 1795, Condorcet wrote a treatise spelling out the essential basis of idealism in international politics. As a matter of fact, the theoretical basis of idealism could be traced back to the liberal outlook of Condorcet. He visualised a world order free from war, inequality and tyranny, and marked by constant progress in human welfare. It would be brought about by the use of reason, education and science, based on the rational character of human brings. French political thinker, Rousseau's idealist views could be found in his book titled "Fragments on War". He dismisses evil and mercenary authorities who end up making men miserable slaves. Rousseau also followed Condorcet's line while advocating a state free from injustice based on well-being of all. Similarly, Kant strongly appealed for the prevention of war among states and creation of conditions for perpetuation of peace. But probably the greatest advocate of the idealist approach was President ***Woodrow Wilson*** of USA. He made a strong plea for world peace and international organisation. His "four-point principles", which he addressed to the US Congress, had been instrumental in bringing about a scenario of peace and rehabilitation after World War I. The idealist theory seeks to bring about a better world with the help of morality, education and international organisation.

All the above thinkers visualised a future system free from power politics, immorality and violence. On account of their optimism the idealists regard the power struggle as a passing phase of history. The theory proceeds with the assumption that the interests of various groups or nations are likely to be adjusted in the larger interest of mankind as a whole. The advocates of idealism envisaged a world order based on peace, harmony and co-operation. They were of the view that human beings would give up their selfish interests and work for common good. They believed that conscience would help human beings to establish a world order which would have no place for antagonistic self-interests or for power politics among nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention the names of any two writers in whose work the Idealist Approach found expression.

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Q 2: Rousseau's idealist views could be found in his book titled ..... (Fill in the blank).

Q 3: Which American President gave the "four point principles"?

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Q 4: Discuss the emergence of Idealism. (within 50 words)

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2.4 MAIN FEATURES OF THE IDEALIST APPROACH

Political idealism in international politics represents a set of ideas which together oppose war and advocate the reform of international community through dependence upon moral values and the development of international institutions and international laws.

The whole case of idealism is based on the general ideal of evolutionary progress in society. The theoretical proposition of idealism in international politics is the off-spring of the liberal outlook of Condorcet. It holds out the promise of bringing a better world with the help of education and international institutions. It maintains that since human nature is essentially good, a moral and rational world order is possible through reason, education, science and reforms.

The advocates of idealism start their discussion with a goal, an ideal or an objective. They state this aim expressly or implicitly. For instance, the goal may be world peace or some other. The discussion focuses on how international politics should be conducted so that the goal or the ideal may

be attained. If world peace is the ideal, the discussion is of the methods by which this goal may be achieved.

The main features of idealism or the idealist approach can be discussed in the following way :

1. Idealism believes that human nature is essentially good and capable of good deeds in international relations. So, people should find faith in the goodness of human nature.
2. At the international level, the fundamental human instinct to achieve human welfare and advancement of civilization makes progress possible.
3. According to the idealists harmful human behaviour is the product of bad environment and bad institutions that prompt people to act selfishly and to harm others and make war.
4. It is important to eliminate bad human environment and bad institutions that encourage war.
5. Idealism says that war represents the worst feature of relations among states. War hinders normal relations between states.
6. War needs to be eliminated and for that purpose, international relations should be improved.
7. Idealism suggests that united effort at the international level is needed to end and eliminate war, violence and tyranny.
8. International community should work for eliminating all such global instruments, features and practices which lead to war. War brings unlimited misery, destruction and insecurity to human beings.
9. Efforts should be made for securing peace, prosperity and development of humanity. For this purpose, international institutions should be formed, committed to the cause of preserving international peace and law and morality.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: What does political idealism in international politics imply?

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Q 6: The theoretical basis of idealism in international politics is the off-spring of the liberal outlook of Condorcet. (True/False)

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Q 7: Mention any four features of the Idealist Approach.

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2.5 REFORMS SUGGESTED BY IDEALISTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Some reforms have been suggested by the idealists in the international system.

Firstly, they say that the states should behave according to moral principles at the international level. This would help in minimising the harmful effects of power politics.

Secondly, they suggest that in place of competitive and war-prone territorial states, the world community should make attempts to establish some supra-national institutions. They also said that power politics among states can be abolished only by setting up a world government. In the ultimate analysis, the idealist theory aspires for the ideal of world federation or one world.

Thirdly, the idealists also suggested legal control of war. They wanted to have new transnational norms to check the initiation of a war as well as its destructiveness. They gave more importance in adhering to international laws to avoid a war. It may be noted here that the ***Kellog-Briand Pact*** of 1928 "outlawed" war as an instrument of national policy.



Kellog-Briand Pact of 1928:
This agreement condemned the "recourse to war for the solution of international controversies"

Fourthly, they advocated the elimination of destructive weapons which are the cause of war in most cases. They suggested that the states should take steps for disarmament and arms control.

Fifthly, the idealists believed that totalitarianism is one of the main causes of war. They said that totalitarianism should be eliminated so that chances of a war can be minimised to the largest possible extent.

Sixthly, the idealists also suggested the elimination of trade barriers among the states to ensure peace and security in the world. They said that for this purpose the international monetary system should be reconstructed.

2.5.1 Distinction between Idealism and Realism

Another traditional approach to the study of international politics is realism. The ideas of realism are just opposite to idealism. The Realist Approach regards international politics as struggle for power among nations and justifies the attempts of the nations to use power to secure national interests as being natural. The Realist Approach holds that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in the international sphere. It regards idealism as a utopian approach. The crucial point at which political realism and political idealism are at cross-purposes with each other is with regard to the problem of war. According to Prof. Quincy Wright, the terms 'realism' and 'idealism' are ambiguous. They can at the best be used to distinguish between short-run and long-run policies. Realism would aim at the fulfillment of the short-run national policy for fulfilling the immediate necessities, and idealism on the other hand represents the long run policy and would aim at the objectives to be realised in future. In fact, neither of these two approaches is wholly correct and both possess respective merits and demerits.

In the contemporary period of international politics, idealism was given renewed emphasis after the World War I under the inspiration of Wilson. The controversy between the two schools became very much manifest during interwar period (1919-1939), i.e., between World War I and World War II. The values sought by idealism are different from the values sought by realism. Whereas the values of power, cherished by the realists, can best be supported on the grounds of political expediency, the value of morality, cherished by idealists, can be upheld on philosophical grounds.

2.5.2 Criticisms against the Idealist Approach

The Idealist Approach is criticized on several counts. The advocates of idealism visualised a future system free from power politics, immorality and violence. But such a system could emerge only by following moral principles in mutual relations between nations, which

is not possible in practice. Secondly, to bring about such an order the totalitarian forces must be crushed by all means through the use of democratic methods and the establishment of world government or world federation. The Idealist Approach, though full of ideals and norms, is far detached from reality. The main criticism against this theory is that it ignores the actual situations. The nations do not behave as they are expected. A rigid adherence to idealism is likely to lead to frustration as nations will not be able to pursue their national interests.

The Realists also criticised idealism as utopianism which ignores the realities of human nature and politics. They believed that pursuit of rational self-interest is both natural and just. As a result, realism in international relations appears to be nearer to the real situations. Critics argue that morality has importance in human life but it does not work in international politics. The chances of war can be reduced, the power struggle can be managed through devices like diplomacy, disarmament, arms control etc., but it can not be eliminated. Struggle for power is the reality of international politics which has to be accepted and managed.

Though criticised, this theory has its importance because no science, more specifically social science can exist without a normative aspect. Even strong realists like Niebuhr, Butterfield and Carr realised the importance of moral principles in international relations. Because of this, in the late eighties of the 20th century, idealism re-emerged in the form of reflectivism. Reflectivism believes that institutions at the international level can be studied properly only subjectively and by non-positivist methods. It accordingly believes in the reintroduction of moral principles in the realm of international politics.



ACTIVITY 2.1

To what extent do you think that nations should be guided by moral principles in their conduct in the realm of international politics?

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 8: Mention any four reforms that have been suggested by the idealists in the international system. (within 50 words)

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Q 9: Write a short note on the distinction between Idealism and Realism.

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Q 10: Describe the main criticisms against the Idealist Approach. (within 50 words)

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2.6 LET US SUM UP

- The emergence of idealism could be traced back to the eighteenth century. It is regarded as a major source of inspiration behind the American War of Independence of 1775 and the French Revolution of 1789.
- The approach found concrete expression in the works of writers like Condorcet, Rousseau, Kant and Wilson. In 1795, Condorcet wrote a treatise spelling out the essential basis of idealism in international politics. But probably the greatest advocate of the idealist approach was President Woodrow Wilson of USA. He made a strong plea for world peace and international organisation.
- Political idealism in international politics represents a set of ideas which together oppose war and advocate the reform of international community through dependence upon moral values and the development of international institutions and international laws.

- Idealism believes that human nature is essentially good and capable of good deeds in international relations. So, people should find faith in the goodness of human nature. At the international level, the fundamental human instinct to achieve human welfare and advancement of civilization makes progress possible.
- Some reforms have been suggested by the idealists in the international system. They say that the states should behave according to moral principles at the international level. This would help in minimising the harmful effects of power politics.
- Idealists also suggest that in place of competitive and war-prone territorial states, the world community should make attempts to establish some supra-national institutions.
- The Idealist Approach is criticized on several counts. Though criticised, this theory has its importance because no science, more specifically social science can exist without a normative aspect. Because of this, in the late eighties of the 20th century, idealism re-emerged in the form of reflectivism.



2.7 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005). *International Relations – Theory and Practice*.New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar. (2006). *International Relations*.New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.



2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Condorcet and Rousseau

Ans to Q No 2: Fragments on War

Ans to Q No 3: Woodrow Wilson

Ans to Q No 4: The Idealist Approach is quite an old approach. Its origin

could be traced to the American War of Independence and the French Revolution in the eighteenth century. The most important writers in whose work the approach found expression include Condorcet, Rousseau, Kant, Wilson etc. In 1795, Condorcet wrote a treatise which contained everything constituting the essential basis of idealism in international politics. He visualised a world order free from war, inequality and tyranny. This new order world be marked by constant process in human welfare brought about by the use of reason, education and science. This is a state based on the rational character of human brings. Rousseau's idealist views could be found in his book titled "Fragments on War". He dismisses evil and mercenary authorities who end up making men slaves, evil and miserable. Rousseau also followed Condorcet's line while advocating a state free from injustice based on well-bring of all. Similarly, Kant made a strong plea for the prevention of war among states and creation of conditions for perpetuation of peace. But probably the greatest advocate of the idealist approach was President Woodrow Wilson of USA. He made a strong plea for world peace and international organisation. His "four point principles", which he addressed to the US Congress, had been instrumental in bringing about a scenario of peace and rehabilitation after World War I.

Ans to Q No 5: Political idealism in international politics represents a set of ideas which together oppose war and advocate the reform of international community through dependence upon moral values and the development of international institutions and international laws.

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7:

1. Idealism believes that human nature is essentially good and capable of good deeds in international relations. So, people should find faith in the goodness of their nature.
2. At the international level, the fundamental instinct of humans to achieve human welfare and advancement of civilization makes progress possible.
3. According to the idealists bad human behaviour is the product

of bad environment and bad institutions that prompt people to act selfishly and to harm others and make war.

4. It is very important to eliminate bad human environment and bad institutions that encourage war.

Ans to Q No 8: Four reforms that have been suggested by the idealists in the international system are as follows:

Firstly, they say that the states should behave according to moral principles at the international level. This would help in minimising the bad effects of power politics.

Secondly, they suggest that in place of competitive and war-prone territorial states, the world community should make attempts to establish some supra-national institutions.

Thirdly, the idealists also suggested legal control of war. They gave more importance in adhering to international laws to avoid a war.

Fourthly, they advocated the elimination of destructive weapons which are the cause of war in most cases. They suggested that the states should take steps for disarmament and arms control.

Ans to Q No 9: Another traditional approach to the study of international politics is realism. The ideas of realism are just opposite to idealism. The Realist Approach regards international politics as struggle for power among nations and justifies the attempts of the nations to use power to secure national interests as natural. The Realist Approach holds that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in the international sphere. It regards idealism as a utopian approach.The crucial point at which political realism and political idealism are at cross-purposes with each other is with regard to the problem of war.

Ans to Q No 10: The Idealist Approach is criticized on several counts. The advocates of idealism visualised a future system free from power politics, immorality and violence. But such a system could emerge only by following the moral principles in mutual relations of the nations which is not possible in practice. Secondly, to bring about such an order the totalitarian forces must be crushed by all means through the use of democratic methods and the establishment of world government or world federation. The Idealist Approach,

though full of ideals and norms, is far detached from reality. The Realists also criticised idealism as nothing but utopianism which ignores the realities of human nature and politics. They believed that pursuit of rational self-interest is both natural and just. As a result, realism in international relations appears to be nearer to truth. Critics argue that morality has importance in human life but it does not work in international politics.



2.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention any two features of idealism.

Q 2: Mention the names of any two writers who supported idealism.

Q 3: Who wrote the book titled “Fragments on War”?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning of Idealism in International Politics.

Q 2: How does Idealism differ from Realism? What are the main criticisms levelled against the Idealist Approach?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the features of idealism. Distinguish between idealism and realism in international politics.

Q 2: Discuss the main reforms suggested by the Idealists in the international system.

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UNIT 3 : REALIST APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Emergence of Realism
3.4 Realism and its Features
  3.4.1 Main Features of Realism
3.5 Explanation of Realism given by Hans.J. Morgenthau
  3.5.1 Idealism and Realism: two extreme views
  3.5.2 Criticisms against the Realist Approach
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Further Reading
3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.9 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- discuss the emergence of Realism
- explain the meaning of Realism
- describe the features of Realism
- discuss Hans. J. Morgenthau's views on Realism
- explain the criticisms against the Realist Approach.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, while discussing the Idealist Approach to study international politics, you have read about the distinction between the Idealist and Realist Approaches to international politics. The realists are of the view the struggle for power among nations and pursuit of national interests on their part is a natural process. Accordingly, the Realist Approach regards international politics as struggle for power among nations. It justifies as natural the attempts of a nation to use national power for securing the goal of its national interests. The realists regard the idealist approach as a ***utopian*** approach. According to the Realist Approach, moral



***Utopian*:**
Aiming for a situation in which everything is perfect.

principles can never be fully realized as the world is full of opposing interests and nations compete among themselves to realize their respective interests.

3.3 EMERGENCE OF REALISM

The philosophy of Realism which flourished almost throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been revived after World War II (1939-1945). The advocates of the Realist Approach include Reinhold Neibuhr, George Kennan, E.H. Carr, Spykman, Henry Kissinger and others. However, it is Hans. J. Morgenthau from the USA who is generally regarded as the chief exponent of the Realist Approach and the most influential advocate of the approach. It was he who gave realism a theoretical orientation. Other realists who followed Morgenthau have carried forward the tradition established by him.

Some writers like Treitschke, Nietzche, Kaufmann and others had talked about power approach to the study of Political Science prior to World War I (1914-1918). To them, the essence of the state lay in acquisition and display of power. Frederick Watkins, Harold Lasswell and David Easton also adopted the power approach to the study of Political Science. The post-1945 writers on International Politics like E.H. Carr, George Schwarzenberger, Quincy Wright and Morgenthau have extended the power concept of Political Science to the field of International Politics. These realists may differ in explaining the role played by the concept of power in international affairs, but all of them have emphasized primarily the concept of power in their discussions.

3.4 REALISM AND ITS FEATURES



***Perpetual*:** Unending

The basic assumption underlying the Realist Approach is the ***perpetual*** existence of conflict among the nations in one form or the other. A contest for power is going on in the world. It can be neither controlled nor regulated by international law or world government or an international organisation. The guiding principle of realism is the belief in the permanence of the struggle for power. For the realists, the struggle for power is a permanent phenomenon.

Realists take the position that it is pointless to talk of ideals or moral goals. One must take the reality as it exists. The morality applicable to individuals cannot be extended to nations. On crucial issues, the rulers of each state ought to give primary importance to their own national interests. It is necessary to observe what actually happens and how nations behave, rather than to pursue moral goals or ideals preached by statesmen.

National interests of all nations have often remained incompatible. This incompatibility has been the source of all conflicts, disputes and wars. What is required is an intelligent handling of the conflicts so as to prevent international politics or relations from developing into a war. The chances of war can be reduced, but war and power politics cannot be totally eliminated from international politics.

Realists look at the moral significance of politics in a different way. To them, morality means weighing the consequences of political action. They do not believe in an ethics which lays down abstract universal principles to which all actions have to conform. But, at the same time, they argue that both history and experience prove that it has been profitable to follow the 'political standard', namely national interests. Thus, realists give the pride of place to the "political standard" whereby the role of nations in the realm of international politics is to be judged by the fulfillment of national interests.

3.4.1 Main Features of Realism

The main features of realism can be discussed as follows –

1. The realists say that human nature is sinful and wicked and this has been proved in history.
2. Human beings are always running after power. The greed for power and dominance has been an all important and all pervasive fact of human nature.
3. The realists are of the view that the craving for power is natural to human beings and this cannot be eliminated. In case of states also, struggle for power is an inherent tendency and thus is a reality of international politics.
4. The realists hold that the nations always seek to secure the goals of national interests which they identify with power.

5. The behaviour of the states at the international level is determined by the principle of self-preservation at all times.

6. The realists believe that nations always seek power, demonstrate power and use power in the realm of international politics.

7. The realists also hold that peace can be preserved in the world only by the management of power through such devices as Balance of Power, Collective Security, World Government, Diplomacy, Alliances etc.



ACTIVITY 3.1

To what extent do you think you can relate developments in the realm of international politics to a struggle for power among nations?

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention the names of any two advocates of the Realist Approach.

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Q 2: Mention two features of Realism.

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Q 3: Explain the emergence of realism. (within 50 words)

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3.5 EXPLANATION OF REALISM GIVEN BY HANS J. MORGENTHAU

Hans J. Morgenthau is regarded as the chief exponent of the realist approach to the study of international politics. We shall now discuss his views. According to Morgenthau, International Politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power and whatever may be the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Statesmen and people may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity or power itself. They may define their goals in terms of a religious, philosophic, economic or social ideal and hope that this ideal will materialize naturally or through divine intervention. They may also try to achieve their goals through non-political means, such as technical cooperation with other nations or international organisations. But the point is that whenever they strive to realise their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power.



Hans Joachim Morgenthau (February 17, 1904 – July 19, 1980) : Leading American Political Scientist and a key figure in the study of international politics.

Morgenthau's views on realism are based on six principles:

- Objective laws of human nature: First, politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology. To understand political phenomenon properly, we should develop a theory based on human psychology and reason.
- Interest in terms of power: Secondly, Morgenthau lays great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he defines in terms of power. His assumption is that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power. It is the perennial standard by which political action should be judged. National interests are the motivating force which inspire nations to act in the realm of international politics. They seek to meet these interests with the help of power. In the process, international politics becomes a struggle for power.
- Interests are dynamic: Thirdly, Morgenthau holds that the interests of nations are not fixed. He believes that environment plays a vital part in shaping interests that determine political action. The national interests of a state vary according to the power of a nation. When circumstances make a nation a powerful one its interests will be different from those when it was a weaker state.

- Universal moral principles inapplicable: Fourthly, he asserts that universal moral principles cannot be applied to actions of states and these must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place.
- Moral aspirations of nations: Fifthly, Morgenthau makes a distinction between moral aspirations of a nation and the moral laws which govern human society. The moral laws that govern the society do not apply to states. The theory treats nations as actors in the realm of international politics striving to pursue and achieve their respective national interests with the help of power. The theory believes that states should not be led by ethics or ideologies and that states should only be concerned with protecting national interests with the help of power.
- The autonomy of the political sphere: Sixthly, according to Morgenthau, the political sphere is as autonomous as the spheres of the economist or the lawyer or the moralist. The political actor thinks in terms of interest defined as power, just as for an economist, interest would mean the concept of utility while for a lawyer, interest would mean conformity with legal rules while a moralist would think in terms of conformity of human action with moral principles.

The fundamental basis of Morgenthau's political philosophy of realism is his belief that political behaviour originates in human nature which is often marked by the traits of selfishness and greed for power. According to him, the social world being a projection of human nature, this world is a world of opposing interests and of conflicts among them. Morgenthau observes that every political action of the states seeks to keep power, to increase power or to demonstrate power. Three different policies correspond to these three patterns: policy of status quo (keeping power), policy of imperialism (increasing power) and policy of prestige (demonstrating power).

3.5.1 Idealism and Realism : Two Extreme Views

Idealism and realism represent two completely separate views. While the realists emphasise and advocate the primacy of power for achieving national interests at the cost of moral values, the idealists could be found to be on the other end of the debate in as they talk of only moral values in the field of international politics, completely ignoring the role of power politics. Accordingly, neither of these two

approaches may be said to correctly represent the true nature of international reality. Therefore, what is needed for developing a satisfactory theory of international politics is the combination of the views of idealism and realism. International politics contain elements of both conflict and co-operation among the actors. Noted British historian, E.H. Carr has rightly pointed out that any mature outlook must have elements of both utopianism and realism.

3.5.2 Criticisms Against the Realist Approach

The Realist Approach is criticised on several grounds. These are discussed below:

First, this approach is criticised because it wrongly assumes that all men and nations seek their national interests in terms of power. If it were so, there would be constant struggle going on between various states and there would be no systematic conduct of international relations.

Secondly, this approach is wrong when it says that power is the most important goal which nations pursue. Besides power, nations may have other goals as well, such as cultural and social welfare, security and protection of the state, promotion of ideology etc.

Thirdly, this approach is also criticised because it assumes that there is hardly any relationship or activity among the nations which does not involve power. There are various other kinds of relationship among the nations which involve co-operation and co-ordination among them.

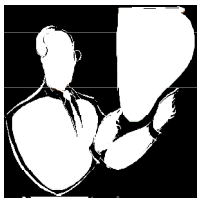
Fourthly, Morgenthau's concept of human nature is beset by a number of difficulties. He takes a deterministic and pessimistic view about the human nature. In a general sense, human nature is responsible for all human actions. Therefore, to say that international behaviour comes out of human nature does not mean anything.

Fifthly, this theory over-emphasises one factor, that is, power. That is why Hoffmann calls it "power monism". According to this theory, the world is a static field in which power remains the perpetual goal of every nation for all times and places. Actually, international politics is a dynamic process. It changes its character from time to time. As

such, Morgenthau's theory cannot be stated to be applicable for all times and places. Moreover, power is, after all an instrument and therefore, it should not be given a key position.

Sixthly, Morgenthau emphasises the autonomy of the political sphere. But he does not make it clear as to what type of autonomy he is talking about. The political sphere cannot be fully autonomous, as the economic, religious, moral and political spheres of life are inter-related. No single aspect should be over-emphasised and no single discipline can work in isolation.

But despite all criticisms, the realist theory is regarded as a pioneering theory in the development of international relations as an academic discipline. The ideas given by the realist theorists could be justified in a world where suspicion of the motives of others was the rule and where prospects for peace were not bright. The emergence of two superpowers in the world after World War II in the form of the United States and the Soviet Union and the increasing rivalry between the two power blocs at the global level, the proliferation of nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the seemingly continuous turmoil around the world - all these are examples which have been emphasised by the realists. The explanation of the post Second World War situation by the realists, which gave the real picture of the motives of the states, has been very important. Morgenthau's theory is often regarded as the starting point for providing a theoretical orientation to the study of International Politics. This theory was revived in the early eighties of the 20th century by Waltz, Gilpin, Axelrod, Bull, and Keohane in the form of neo-realism.



LET US KNOW

1. N.J. Spykman is credited to be the first noted realist of the twentieth century. In his book titled "America's Strategy in World Politics" written in the late nineteen thirties, Spykman insisted that the it is the preservation and improvement of its power position in relation to other states that must be the primary objective of a state.

2.Morgenthau's ideas of realism are found in his famous book "Politics among Nations", first published in 1948.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: According to Morgenthau every political action of the states seeks to keep power, to increase it or to demonstrate it. What are the three different policies corresponding to these three patterns?

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Q 5: What are the six principles of realism as identified by Hans. J. Morgenthau?

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Q 6: "Idealism and Realism represent two extreme views"- explain the significance of the statement. (within 50 words).

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Q 7: Mention any four criticisms of the Realist Approach.

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

- The philosophy of Realism which flourished almost throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been revived after World War II (1939-1945).

- The advocates of the Realist Approach include Reinhold Neibuhr, George Kennan, E.H. Carr, Spykman, Henry Kissinger and others. However, it is Hans. J. Morgenthau from the USA who is generally regarded as the chief exponent of the Realist Approach and the most influential advocate of the approach.
- The basic assumption underlying the Realist Approach is the perpetual existence of conflict among the nations in one form or the other. A contest for power is going on in the world. It can be neither controlled nor regulated by international law or world government or an international organisation.
- Hans J. Morgenthau is regarded as the chief exponent of the realist approach to the study of international politics. According to Morgenthau, International Politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power and whatever may be the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Statesmen and people may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity or power itself. Whenever they strive to realise their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power.
- Morgenthau's views on realism are based on six principles. These include Objective laws of human nature, Interest in terms of power, Interests are dynamic, Universal moral principles inapplicable, Moral Aspirations of nations and the autonomy of the political sphere
- Morgenthau observes that every political action of the states seeks to keep power, to increase power or to demonstrate power. Three different policies correspond to these three patterns: policy of status quo (keeping power), policy of imperialism (increasing power) and policy of prestige (demonstrating power).
- Idealism and realism represent two completely separate views. While the realists emphasise and advocate the primacy of power for achieving national interests at the cost of moral values, the idealists could be found to be on the other end of the debate in as they talk of only moral values in the field of international politics, completely ignoring the role of power politics. Therefore, what is needed for developing a satisfactory theory of international politics is the combination of the views of idealism and realism.

- The Realist Approach is criticised on several grounds. But despite all criticisms, the realist theory is regarded as a pioneering theory in the development of international relations as an academic discipline. This theory was revived in the early eighties of the 20th century by Waltz, Gilpin, Axelrod, Bull, and Keohane in the form of neo-realism.



3.7 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005) *International Relations – Theory and Practice*.New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2006). *International Relations*.New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.



3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Reinhold Neibuhr and Hans. J. Morgenthau

Ans to Q No 2: Two features of Realism are:

(i) The realists are saying that humanity is by nature sinful and wicked and this has been proved in history.

(ii) Human beings are always running after power. The greed for power and dominance has been an all-important and all-pervasive fact of human nature.

Ans to Q No 3: The philosophy of realism which flourished almost throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was revived after World War II (1939-1945). The advocates of the Realist Approach include Reinhold Neibuhr, George Kennan, E.H. Carr, Spykman, Henry Kissinger and others. However, it is Hans. J. Morgenthau from the USA who is generally regarded as the chief exponent of the Realist Approach and the most influential advocate of the approach. It was he who gave realism a theoretical orientation. Other realists who followed Morgenthau have carried forward the tradition established by him.

Ans to Q No 4: Policy of status quo, policy of imperialism and policy of prestige.

Ans to Q No 5: The six principles of realism as identified by Morgenthau are:

(i) Objective laws of human nature: First, politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology.

(ii) Interest in terms of power: Secondly, Morgenthau lays great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he defines in terms of power.

(iii) Interests are dynamic: Thirdly, Morgenthau holds that the interests of nations are not fixed. The national interests of a state vary according to the power of a nation.

(iv) Universal moral principles inapplicable: Fourthly, he asserts that universal moral principles cannot be applied to actions of states and these must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place.

(v) Moral aspirations of nations: Fifthly, Morgenthau makes a distinction between moral aspirations of a nation and the moral laws which govern human society.

(vi) The autonomy of the political sphere: Sixthly, according to Morgenthau, the political sphere is as autonomous as the spheres of the economist or the lawyer or the moralist.

Ans to Q No 6 : Idealism and realism represent two completely separate views. While the realists emphasise and advocate the primacy of power for achieving national interests at the expense of any moral values, the idealists could be found to be offering opposite views because they talk of only moral values in the realm of international politics and completely ignore the role of power politics. But in the practical world, there does exist an incompatibility of interests which make conflicts inevitable. Accordingly, neither of the two approaches correctly represents the true nature of international reality. Therefore, what is needed for developing a satisfactory theory of international politics is the combination of the views of idealism and realism.

International relations contain elements of both conflict and co-operation among the actors.

Ans to Q No 7: Four criticisms of the Realist Approach are :

Firstly, Realist Approach is criticised because of the following factors:

Firstly, this approach wrongly assumes that all men and nations seek their national interests in terms of power. If it were so, there would have been constant struggle going on between various states and there would be no systematic conduct of international relations.

Secondly, this approach is wrong when it says that power is the most important goal which nations pursue. Besides power, nations may have other goals as well, such as, cultural and social welfare, security and protection of the state, promotion of ideology etc.

Thirdly, this approach is also criticised because it assumes that there is hardly any relationship or activity among nations which does not involve power. There are various other kinds of relationship among the nations which involve co-operation and co-ordination among them.

Fourthly, Morgenthau emphasises the autonomy of political sphere. But he is not clear regarding the type of autonomy he talks about about. The political sphere cannot be fully autonomous from the economic, religious, moral and political aspects of life which are inter-related. No single aspect should be over-emphasised and no single discipline can work in isolation.



3.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of any two advocates of the Realist Approach.

Q 2: Mention any two devices through which peace can be preserved in the world as pointed out by the realists.

Q 3: Who gave the six principles of realism ?

Q 4: Who observed that every political action of the states seeks to keep , increase or demonstrate power?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the emergence of the realist approach.

Q 2: How do you reconcile realism with idealism in International Politics?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning of realism in International Politics. Discuss the main features of realism.

Q 2: Discuss Morgenthau's views on realism with reference to his six principles. Mention the criticisms against the theory.

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UNIT 4 : NEO-REALISM AND NEO-LIBERALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives
4.2 Introduction
4.3 Meaning and Nature of Neo-realism
  4.3.1 Theories of Relative Gain and Absolute Gain
  4.3.2 Offensive and Defensive Neo-realism
4.4 Meaning and Nature of Neo-liberalism
  4.4.1 Classification of Neo-liberalism
  4.4.2 Critical Estimate of Neo-liberalism
4.5 Debate between Neo-Realism and Neo-liberalism
4.6 Let Us Sum Up
4.7 Further Reading
4.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
4.9 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning and importance of neo-realism in the context of international relations of contemporary time
- explain the meaning and importance of neo-liberalism in the context of international relations of contemporary time
- discuss the different theories and concepts of neo-realism
- describe the various varieties of neo-liberalism
- make a comparative analysis of neo-realism and neo-liberalism.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Neo-realism and neo-liberalism are normative theories of international relations and the products of realism and liberalism. Both these theories are helpful for explaining international politics of today. Neo-realism looks at world politics from the security point of view and neo-liberalism focus on political economy and more recently on issues like human rights and environment. Both the theories agree on a single point that state is the centre of study in international relations and there is an

anarchic condition constantly present in the world. Both the theories confirm that states are always looking to uphold their national interest and prefer status quo. Neo-realists opine that they are concerned with issues of survival of the states amidst the condition of anarchy. On the other hand, neo-liberals are optimistic about the possibilities for cooperation among states.

4.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF NEO-REALISM

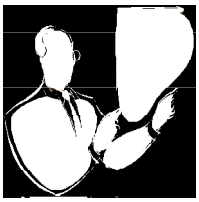
Neo-realist thought began with ***Kenneth Waltz'***s book "Theory of International Politics" published in 1979.

The theory of neo-realism brought changes to the classical realist approach to the study of international relations. Classical realism which dominated the theoretical debate in international relations after the Second World War is attributed to Hans J. Morgenthau. Classical realism explains international politics by looking at the actions and interactions of the states in the international system. Again the realists regard power as an end in itself. They define national interest in terms of power and activities of the states are motivated by the sole aim of acquiring more power for national interest. So, international politics becomes an arena of struggle for power.

Neo-realism is distinctive from classical realism in a number of ways. First, neo-realists consider the effect of structure instead of functions of the individual states while explaining international relations. Therefore, neo-realism is also known as structural realism. Structure of the international system shapes all foreign policy choices of different nations. According to Waltz, structure is defined by the ordering principle of the international system, which is anarchy. All sovereign states are considered to be formally equal in the international system and each state tries to foster its own interests leading to anarchy. Anarchy results due to the lack of a common power or central authority to enforce rules and maintain order in the system. Neo-realism focuses on issues of military security and war. It is concerned with issues of power and survival of the nations. The condition of anarchy creates a need for weapons to survive. Similarly, in an anarchic structure, states with greater power tend to have greater influence.

Secondly, the issue of power distinguishes neo-realists from the classical realist theory. Waltz and other neo-realists see power as the combined capabilities of a state. Neo-realists reject the classical realist view that power is an end in itself. According to the neo-realists power is a means for security and survival in a structure of anarchy. Power is more than the accumulation of military resources. States are differentiated in the system by their power not by their functions. Power gives a state a place or position in the international system and that shapes the state's behavior. The powerful leaders of international system, i.e., the big powers, believe that they can resolve their difference with force. So, powerful nations seek to maintain their position or placement in the system. This attitude has multiplied regional conflicts in the world despite the globalization process is operating. Neo-realists are convinced that effectiveness of the international organisations like UNO depends on the support of the major powers. In the eyes of neo-realists the disintegration of the Soviet after the end of cold war upset the balance of power and increased anarchy in the international system.

Thirdly, there is a difference between realism and neo-realism on how states react to the condition of anarchy. The realists consider that states are functionally different entities and they react to anarchy according to their size, location, domestic politics and leadership qualities. The neo-realists, on the other hand, says states are functionally similar units, meaning that they all experience the same constraints presented by anarchy and strive to maintain their position in the system. There may be a difference in the policy of big and small nations towards anarchy. But the difference in state policy is the manifestation of difference in power and capabilities. Location, size of the country, domestic politics, etc. hardly affect the response of the states to anarchy and 'security dilemma'. For example, both the China and the Belgium, one big country and the other a small one, recognizes the need for security to protect its national interest. China would most likely pursue a unilateral strategy of increasing military strength, whereas, Belgium would join alliance and play an activist role in regional and international organizations, seeking to control the arms race.



LET US KNOW

The term 'security dilemma' refers to the increased security related tension and conflict in a condition of anarchy. When the states try to heighten its national security by uplifting military strength, take measures for armament, make alliances, then other states respond with similar measures, producing probability of conflict, even when no side really desires it. This is called the security dilemma, also known as the spiral model in international relations. Security dilemma at this age of nuclear weapon is dangerous. Even a misunderstanding or an accident may result in war. States see all other states as potential enemies and threat to their national security. This distrust and fear creates a security dilemma.



Joseph M. Grieco : Joseph M. Grieco is a professor of Political Science at Duke University, in Durham, North Carolina, USA. He is a prominent figure in the debate between neo-liberalism and neo-realism.

4.3.1 Theories of Relative Gain and Absolute Gain

Joseph Grieco, a prominent neo-realist thinker put forward the concepts of Relative gain and Absolute gain. This theory explains whether the states will cooperate among themselves in a system of anarchy. All the states are interested in increasing its power and influence in international relations. This is 'absolute gains' for which states cooperate with other states or actors in the system to increase their capabilities. But in a cooperative endeavour, states always keep an eye on how much power and influence other states might achieve. This is relative gains which the states try to minimize. Neo-realists claim that there are two barriers to international cooperation: cheating and relative gains of other actors. If other states relatively gain more from cooperation, it is likely that rival participants will abandon the multilateral activity and act unilaterally. Grieco asserts that the fundamental question is not whether all parties gain from the cooperation: but, who will gain more. In a world of uncertainty and competition, the primary concern behind the aspects of absolute gain and relative gain, is the issue of survival.

4.3.2 Offensive and Defensive Neo-realism

The security studies scholars in the United States of America presented a different version of neo-realism. In contrast to the wittings of Kenneth Waltz and Grieco, this version of neo-realism was more prescriptive in nature and more policy relevant. These two versions came to be known as Defensive realism and Offensive realism.

Defensive neo-realists like ***Robert Jervis*** and ***Jack Snyder***, suggest that our assumptions of relations with other states depend on whether they are friends or enemies. They recognize the cost of war and assume that it usually results from irrational forces in a society. Yet war remains a tool of statecraft. The aggressive states willing to use military force make it impossible to live in a world without weapon. So, cooperation is possible, but, it is more likely to succeed in relation with friendly states only.

Offensive neo-realists like ***John Joseph Mearsheimer*** emphasize the importance of relative power and suggest that leaders of countries should pursue security policies that weaken their potential enemies and increase their power relative to all other states. Thus, talk of reducing military budget is in fact a pure folly. These scholars observe that the incompatibility of states' goal and interests enhances the competitive nature of an anarchic system and makes conflict as inevitable as cooperation. Offensive realism is more pessimistic about the world politics in the era of globalisation.



Robert Jervis: He is a Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University, USA.

Jack Snyder: He is a Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science and the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University, USA.



John Joseph Mearsheimer : He is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago, USA.



ACTIVITY 4.1

Try to give a neo-realist explanation of India's foreign policy since the 1990s.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Name the book written by Kenneth Waltz.

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Q 2: What is anarchy according to the neo-realists?

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Q3: According to the neo-realists, power is an end in itself. (True/ false)

.....

Q 4: What was the concept of neo-realism propounded by Joseph Grieco?

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4.4 MEANING AND NATURE OF NEO-LIBERALISM

Neo-liberalism is a philosophy of international relations as well as a policy discourse in the era of globalisation. Neo-liberalism borrows its basic assumptions from liberalism which believed in rational action of the nation states and building institutions for cooperation among the nations. Neo-liberalism is based on a state centric notion and the idea of capitalist market economy. Neo-liberalists do not reject the neo-realist assumption about the condition of anarchy in international system. Even though states have mutual interests and are interdependent, they can gain from cooperation. The neo-liberal ideology dominates the discourse of world economic institutions, foreign policy goals of powerful countries like the USA and its G8 partners in the Europe. Neo-liberals are more concerned with economic welfare or international political economic issues and other non military issue areas such as human rights, environment etc. Neo-liberals want maximisation of total amount of absolute gains for all parties involved in international cooperation. Unlike the neo-realists, the neo-liberals do not attach too much emphasis on survival and security as goals of each state. Neo-liberalism displays a more optimistic view of globalisation and working of international organizations.

Robert Keohane and ***Joseph Nye*** are considered to be the founders of neo-liberal school of thought which they put forward in their book "Power and Interdependence" published in 1977.



Robert Keohane: He is an American political scientist and currently a Professor of Political Science at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, USA.

Joseph Nye: He is an American political scientist and a Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard University, USA.

4.4.1 Classification of Neo-liberalism

Contemporary international relations is influenced by four varieties of liberalism. According to ***David Baldwin*** (1993), (The Globalization of World Politics- An Introduction to International Relations- Oxford University Press-p.132) these are commercial liberalism, republican liberalism, sociological liberalism and liberal institutionalism.

Commercial liberalism advocates free trade and capitalist economy as the way towards peace and prosperity. This has become the core philosophy of global financial institutions, major trading countries and multinational corporations.

Republican liberalism highlights the utility of democratic government. According to this view, democratic nations are peace loving and they respect human rights. Such nations are unlikely to go to war with their democratic neighbours. This is also known as democratic peace theory.

Sociological liberalism holds the view that the notion of community and the process of interdependence are important elements. The advancement in information and communication technology has made transnational activities and people to people contact quite easy. The transnational activities build communities of scholars, producers, consumers, musicians, artists, activists and others, who transcend the boundaries of state. As a result, it becomes more difficult for states to act unilaterally and eventually a peaceful international community is built.

Liberal institutionalism or neo-liberal institutionalism highlights the importance of institutions. According to scholars like Robert Koehane and Joseph Nye, the world has become pluralistic and various multilateral organizations, institutions and non state actors along with the states play an important role at the international level. This has led to a complex interdependence. In this competitive environment states seek to maximize absolute gains through cooperation. Neo-liberal institutionalists see the institutions as mediators and a means to achieve cooperation. Regimes and

institutions help to govern a competitive and anarchic international system and they encourage multilateralism and cooperation as a means of securing national interests. Cheating by states and violation of norms is greatest obstacle to cooperation. But in a mutually beneficial condition states tend to cooperate. Robert Keohane's book "After Hegemony" is a classic example of neo-liberal institutionalism.

4.4.2 Critical Estimate of Neo-liberalism

The Marxist scholars criticise neo-liberalism as undemocratic and arbitrary. The neo-liberal agenda of global interdependence is not conducive for the interest of small nations, the critics argue. They also observe that the global financial institutions like the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank etc. represent the interests of global corporations. The powerful nations display a big-brotherly attitude in international economic conferences and do not consider global issues on equal terms with the smaller nations. Most neo-liberals have incredible faith in the market and believe that globalisation will encourage further economic integration resulting in prosperity for all the participants. But the open market policy is criticised for being one dimensional and utopian. The weaker partner nations virtually lose economic sovereignty.

The neo-realists have pointed out the shortcomings of neo-liberalism. Neo-realists state that neo-liberals exaggerate the impact of regimes and international institutions on state behavior. In fact, the institutions are unable to mitigate the constraining effects of anarchy on cooperation. Uncertainty about the intentions of other states is always looming large on the states.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Neo-liberals are more concerned with economic welfare or international political economic issues and other non military issue areas such as human rights, environment etc.

(True/False)

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Q 6: Mention the name of the author of the book "After Hegemony".

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Q 7: Which variety of liberalism holds the view that the notion of community and the process of interdependence are important elements ?

.....

Q 8: …… liberalism says that democratic states are less likely to go to war with their neighbours. (Fill in the blank)

.....

4.5 DEBATE BETWEEN NEO-REALISM AND NEO-LIBERALISM

Contemporary international relations is characterised by a debate between neo-realism and neo-liberalism. In this section, therefore, we shall make a comparative analysis between neo-realism and neo-liberalism as follows:

Both neo-realism and neo-liberalism recognise the state as a rational entity and the principal actor of the international system. Both agree that the international system is anarchic. Anarchy means that there is no common authority to enforce any rules or law. Neo-realists and neo-liberal institutionalists also agree that anarchy encourages states to act unilaterally and to promote self-help behavior. The condition of anarchy makes cooperation more difficult. But the main point of difference between neo-realism and neo-liberalism is that neo-liberalism is optimistic about opportunities for cooperation amidst competition in areas of mutual interests to mitigate the effects of anarchy; whereas, neo-realism tends to be more pessimistic and see the world as more competitive and conflictive based on a struggle for survival.

Some scholars indicate that neo-liberalists work in the 'low politics arena', i.e., issues related to human security and good life. They focus on international political economy, the environment, human rights etc. which are less political aspects. But the neo-realists focus on the 'high politics issues'

like security and survival of the nation states. According to the neo-realists these are the real issues in international relations and politics of economic welfare emphasised by the neo-liberalists is a peripheral issue only.

Neo-liberalists and neo-realists also differ on the issue of foreign policy. Foreign policy according to the neo-liberalists is now about managing complex interdependence and the various processes of globalisation. Foreign policy is a tool for managing financial market on the basis of equality and responding to problems of the world that threaten economic wellbeing. At the same time, foreign policy experts must deal with the environmental issues of the world as well. In contrast to this, the neo-realists take a more state centric view of foreign policy. Foreign policy, according to them, remains busy with the issues of national security and survival. Threat of force even in this time of globalisation is real. So states must continue to look after their own interests.

The neo-liberals have great faith on the positive role of the global institutions and organisations in policy making and encouraging cooperation at local, regional and international level. Such organisations often serve as a catalyst for coalition building among state and non-state actors. Neo-realists also accept the existence of the global institutions and international regimes. But they observe that states build and support these cooperative initiatives till as long as these initiatives serve their own national interests and do not hamper the security interests. So the international institutions are subject to the intentions of the states.

In the ultimate analysis we can say that, both the theories of neo-realism and neo-liberalism have widened the analytical perspective of international relations in the time of globalisation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 9: Mention any two issues that the neo-liberalists focus on.

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Q.10: Explain the relationship between neo-realism and neo-liberalism on the issue of foreign policy.

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4.6 LET US SUM UP

- Neo-realism and neo-liberalism are normative theories of international relation and the products of realism and liberalism. Both these theories are helpful for explaining international politics of today.
- Both the theories confirm that states are always looking to uphold their national interest and prefer status quo.
- While the neo-realist thought began with Kenneth Waltz's book "Theory of International Politics" published in 1979, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye are considered to be the founders of the neo-liberal school of thought which they put forward in their book "Power and Interdependence" published in 1977.
- Neo-realism is distinctive from classical realism in a number of ways. First, neo-realists consider the effect of structure instead of functions of the individual states while explaining international relations. Secondly, the issue of power distinguishes neo-realists from the classical realist theory. Thirdly, there is a difference between realism and neo-realism on how states react to the condition of anarchy.
- Joseph Grieco, a prominent neo-realist thinker forwarded this concept of relative gain and absolute gain. This theory explains whether the states will cooperate among themselves in a system of anarchy.
- The security studies scholars in the United States of America presented a different version of neo-realism. In contrast to the wittings of Kenneth Waltz and Grieco, this version of neo-realism was more prescriptive in nature and more policy relevant. These two versions came to be known as Defensive realism and Offensive realism.
- Defensive neo-realists suggest that our assumptions of relations with other states depend on whether they are friends or enemies. Offensive neo-realists emphasize the importance of relative power and suggest that leaders of countries should pursue security policies that weaken their potential enemies and increase their power relative to all other states.
- Neo-liberalism borrows its basic assumptions from liberalism which

believed in rational action of the nation states and building institutions for cooperation among the nations. Neo-liberalism is based on a state centric notion and the idea of capitalist market economy. Neo-liberalists do not reject the neo-realist assumption about the condition of anarchy in international system.

- Contemporary international relations is influenced by four varieties of liberalism. According to David Baldwin (1993), these are: commercial liberalism, republican liberalism, sociological liberalism and liberal institutionalism.
- There are also criticisms leveled against neo-liberalism from different quarters.
- There are similarities and differences between both neo-realism and neo-liberalism .
- At the end it can be said that both the theories of neo-realism and neo-liberalism have widened the analytical perspective of international relations in the time of globalisation.



4.7 FURTHER READING

1. Asirvatham, Eddy and K.K. Misra (2003). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
2. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
3. Ghosh, Peu (2013). *International Relations*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd.
4. Heywood, Andrew (2003). *Political Ideologies-An Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
5. Johari, J.C. (1982). *Comparative Politics*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
6. Singhal, S.C. (2006). *International Politics*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Publication.

4.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Theory of International Politics.

Ans to Q No 2: According to Waltz, structure is defined by the ordering principle of the international system, which is anarchy. All sovereign states are considered to be formally equal in the international system and each state tries to foster its own interests leading to anarchy. Anarchy results due to the lack of a common power or central authority to enforce rules and maintain order in the system.

Ans to Q No 3: False

Ans to Q No 4: Concept of relative gain and absolute gain

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Robert Keohane

Ans to Q No 7: Sociological Liberalism

Ans to Q No 8: Republican

Ans to Q No 9: International political economy and the environment

Ans to Q No 10 : Neo-liberalists and neo-realists differ on the issue of foreign policy. Foreign policy according to the neo-liberalists is now about managing complex interdependence and the various processes of globalisation. Foreign policy is a tool for managing financial market on the basis of equality and responding to problems of the world that threaten economic wellbeing. At the same time, foreign policy experts must deal with the environmental issues of the world as well. In contrast to this, the neo-realists take a more state centric view of foreign policy. Foreign policy, according to them, remains busy with the issues of national security and survival. Threat of force even in this time of globalisation is real. So states must continue to look after their own interests.

4.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of two scholars who laid the foundation of neo-

liberalism in the 1970s.

Q 2: Which variety of liberalism advocates free trade and capitalist economy as the way towards peace and prosperity?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning of defensive realism and offensive realism.

Q 2: Explain four varieties of liberalism influencing contemporary international relations as pointed out by David Bladwin.

Q 3: Explain meaning and nature of Neo-liberalism.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Discuss the meaning and nature of Neo-realism. Explain the theory of relative and absolute gains.

Q 2: Discuss the relationship between neo-realism and neo-liberalism with regard to the similarities and differences between them.

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UNIT 5 : SYSTEMS APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives
5.2 Introduction
5.3 Emergence of the Systems Approach
5.4 Features of the Systems Approach
5.5 Morton Kaplan's Systems Theory
    5.5.1 Criticisms of the Systems Approach
5.6 Let Us Sum Up
5.7 Further Reading
5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
5.9 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the emergence of the Systems Approach
- describe the features of the Systems Approach
- explain Morton Kaplan's six-model theory of the international system
- discuss the criticisms levelled against the Systems Approach.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The Systems Approach is one of the modern approaches to the study of International Politics. It emphasises the significance of the interactions of the behaviour of states. The nation-states are in constant interaction with one another within a system. This system is called international system. Each nation finds itself participating in the international system in varying degrees. According to McClelland, a nation's behaviour in the international system is a two-way process, i.e., "taking from and giving to the international environment."

5.3 EMERGENCE OF THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

The systems approach has derived its name from the term 'system'. A system may be described as a collection of factors which are so connected

with each other that when one is affected, the others are also affected. A system may have sub-systems.

The international system is a set of inter-related and inter-dependent interactions among the states and some non-state actors. The international system came into existence with the emergence and extension of the modern European state system. Before that also, state system did exist. For example, there were the city-state systems about 6000 years ago. But all these state systems were confined to certain definite areas like Greece, Italy, China and India and contacts between them were not very substantial. Therefore, no international system existed at that time in the way in which it exists today.

The Systems Approach is the result of the behavioural revolution in social science after the Second World War (1939-1945), whereby efforts were made by the new social scientists to evolve a general body of knowledge by integrating the various disciplines of social sciences. They emphasised a comprehensive study of social phenomena. They were of the view that to have proper knowledge of a social phenomenon, we need to study it from various perspectives. Therefore, they propagated inter-disciplinary study in social sciences.

This approach was first used in Political Science by David Easton and Gabriel Almond in the field of national politics and Morton Kaplan and McClelland in the filed of International Politics. Later it was developed by many other scholars like Kenneth Boulding, etc. However, this approach was presented in the most scientific manner by Morton Kaplan. He declared that for the development of a scientific study of international politics, the systems approach provided the only possible method. Other writers who supported and extensively used this approach are James Rosenau, Richard Rosecrance, John Burton, David Singer, Karl Deutsch, K.J. Holsti, George Madelski and others.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The Systems Approach is the result of the behavioural revolution in social science after the Second World War. (True/ False)

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Q 2: Who used the Systems Approach for the first time in the field of

International Politics?

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Q 3: Briefly discuss the emergence of the Systems Approach. (within 50 words)

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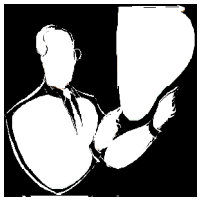
5.4 FEATURES OF THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

The Systems Approach is based on the assumption of the existence of an international system at the global level. According to this approach, international politics is the product of the behaviour of international actors – states and non-state entities (international organisations). The advocates of the Systems Approach are of the view that if we can study the behaviour of the actors at the international level properly, then we can have an understanding of international politics. According to Morton Kaplan, there are two types of actors at the international level: national actors and supra-national actors . National actors are the nations-states like UK, USA, India, France, etc. The Supra-National actors are represented by such international actors as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), etc. Each actor acts and reacts in the international environment. These interactions constitute the reality of international politics. The exponents of the approach also hold that the behaviour of these actors is characterised by some regularities.

The main features of the Systems Approach can be discussed in the following way :

- This approach regards international politics as an international system consisting of different actors.
- International politics involves interaction between international actors - states and non-state entities like international organisations.
- International politics constitute regular and continuous relations between states and non-state entities.

- This approach believes that while maintaining relations with other states, all states are influenced by their national interests.
- According to this approach, certain indefinable regularities can be identified in the interactions among the nation states.
- The use of the concept of system for describing or explaining or analysing international politics can greatly enrich our understanding of phenomena which can further help us in theory-building in international politics.



LET US KNOW

A system may have its own sub-systems. In the international system also, there may be sub-systems. Michael Haas has described twenty international sub-systems.

After the end of the Cold War (the strained and hostile relations that existed between two rival blocs or groups of countries. The main rival bloc was the Western Capitalist Bloc headed by United States and the Eastern Communist Bloc led by the erstwhile Soviet Union), there has been a trend towards the emergence of a multipolar world (with multiple centers of powers in the form alliances of several powerful nations or groups of nations as opposed to the domination of a single superpower {unipolarism} or by two rival superpowers {bipolarism}) resulting in the emergence of the "revitalised balance of power model." The clash of civilizations model has been given by American Political Scientist, Samuel P. Huntington whereby he identifies seven or eight major civilisations in today's world. Some other systems which have been put forward are the Unipolar Model (which argues that in the post-Cold War period, the international system is dominated by the sole superpower, namely, the United States), the Zones of Peace or Turmoil, the Global Village, etc.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 4: According to Morton Kaplan, there are two types of actors at the international level: national actors and …….. actors. (Fill in the

blank)

Q 5: Mention any four features of the Systems Approach.

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Q 6: Mention the names of any two supra-national actors.

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5.5 MORTON KAPLAN'S SYSTEMS THEORY

Morton Kaplan is the main exponent of the systems approach. According to him, International Politics offers the ideal sphere for the application of the concept of "system" as a tool for investigating all its phenomena. Kaplan is of the view that there is some coherence, regularity and order in International Politics. International Politics implies two things - international system and nation-state system. Nation-states are the main actors in international politics but their roles change with the change of international system. He puts forward six models of international system. These are –

(1) The balance of power system

(2) The loose bi-polar system

(3) The tight bi-polar system

(4) The universal international system

(5) The hierarchical system

(6) The unit-veto system

1. **The Balance of Power System:** The balance of power system prevailed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. It aims at maintaining an equilibrium of political power so that no particular nation becomes too powerful to impose its will on other states. The functioning of the balance of power system is based on six important rules:

   (i) Each state or national actor seeks to increase its power, not by resorting to war but through negotiations. The actors maintain a balance in their power positions and no actor is permitted to

become excessively powerful;

(ii) The chief objective of each state is to protect its national interests even if it might lead to war. An actor or a group of actors in such a system can resort to war for maintaining the balance of power of their relations;

(iii) An essential national actor should not be eliminated from the system. The national actor should call off the war before the opponent is eliminated;

(iv) The national actor should prevent other actors from forming a coalition so that they cannot disturb the international system;

(v) The national actor should prevent other actors from pursuing supranational principles;

(vi) A defeated national actor should be permitted to re-enter the system.

2. **The Loose Bipolar System:** When the balance of power system breaks down, this bi-polar system emerges. Bi-polar system may be of two types - loose bi-polar system and tight bi-polar system.

   In the loose bi-polar system, two powerful nations are successful in organising the other nations into their two respective competitive blocs or groups. However, the organisation of the blocs is loose and internal differences prevail among the members of each bloc. There are also several other supra-national and regional actors. The loose bipolar system has two bloc actors (USA and erstwhile Soviet Union), non-member neutral bloc actors (non-aligned states) and universal actor (UN).

3. **The Tight Bipolar System:** The loose bipolar system may give way to a number of other systems or it may be transformed into a tight bipolar system. In the tight bipolar system the world is sharply divided between two bloc actors and non-member neutral bloc actors (non-aligned states) would either disappear or their importance would be greatly reduced. Each bloc is dominated by a major power.

   The universal bloc actor is also not in a position to mediate between the two bloc actors.

4. **The Universal International System:** This system could be

identified with a world federation. Such a system would be possible when the United Nations or such other international agency becomes strong enough to prevent war. The bipolar system would cease to exist and nation states would be left with sufficient autonomy. The international agency would perform judicial, economic, political and administrative functions.

5. **The Hierarchical International System:** The hierarchical international system may come into existence when one universal actor absorbs the whole world. Only one nation is left as the universal actor. In this system, national actors will be territorial sub-divisions of the international system rather than remaining sovereign and independent political units. The system would be directive if it is established through world conquest. It would be non-directive when power would be distributed among units according to hierarchy under the domination of a single national actor. While the non-directive system would be based on will, the directive system will be based on force.

6. **The Unit Veto System:** The last model of Kaplan's scheme is the unit veto system. It involves the conception of a situation of multipolarity in which each state is equally powerful. Each state possesses such weapons as can be used by it for destroying any other state. The stability of the unit veto system is based on the ability of all national actors to resist threats and retaliate in case of an attack.

5.5.1 Criticisms of the Systems Approach

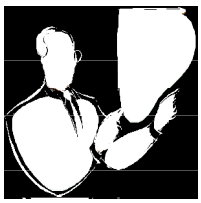
In this section, we will deal with the inherent limitations of the Systems Approach which is subjected to various criticisms. These can be discussed in the following way:

- Firstly, the Systems Approach suffers from methodological limitations. Some of the concepts cannot be tested practically and are often unrealistic in nature.
- Secondly, it is an inadequate theory. It ignores many concepts which are necessary for a comprehensive understanding of international politics. Kaplan never explained the forces and factors

that determine the behaviour of states in the international field.

- Thirdly, Kaplan's six systems model is criticised by many authors as being arbitrary. Out of the six models, only the first two were in actual operation. The balance of power system existed mostly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The loose bipolar system became operational in the late fifties and sixties of the twentieth centuries. After the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the trend has been towards the emergence of a multipolar world. The other four systems of Kaplan have never emerged at any stage of history. Thus, Kaplan's approach is criticised as being impractical.
- Fourthly, the loose bipolar system could not be converted into a tight bipolar system at any stage, in which there would be no non-aligned nations. But it was seen that over the years, more and more nations started joining the non-aligned movement.

Though criticised, the Systems Approach does give us a tool for analysing the relations among nations in different situations. Kaplan through his six-system model puts forward a highly systematic theory. The Systems Approach does not predict what will actually happen but it only forecasts what would happen if certain conditions develop in the international field. The application of the Systems Approach can improve our ability to describe, explain, predict and even control the nature and course of international politics.



LET US KNOW

The name of the book where Morton Kaplan discussed the Systems Approach was "Systems and Process in International Politics" (1957).



ACTIVITY 5.1

Try to analyse the present trends in the field of International Politics with the help of the Systems Approach.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: What are the six models of international system as identified by Morton Kaplan? Mention them briefly.

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Q 8: Mention the important rules on which the balance of power system is based .

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Q 9: Briefly discuss the tight bipolar system.

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Q 10: Discuss any two criticisms of the Systems Approach.

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5.6 LET US SUM UP

- The Systems Approach is one of the modern approaches to the study of International Politics. It emphasises the significance of the interactions of the behaviour of states.
- The systems approach has derived its name from the term 'system'. A system may be described as a collection of factors which are so connected with each other that when one is affected, the others are also affected. A system may have sub-systems.
- The international system is a set of inter-related and inter-dependent

interactions among the states and some non-state actors. The international system came into existence with the emergence and extension of the modern European state system.

- The Systems Approach is the result of the behavioural revolution in social science after the Second World War (1939-1945). The systems approach was first used in Political Science by David Easton and Gabriel Almond in the field of national politics and Morton Kaplan and McClelland in the filed of International Politics. Later it was developed by many other scholars like Kenneth Boulding, etc. However, this approach was presented in the most scientific manner by Morton Kaplan.
- The Systems Approach is based on the assumption of the existence of an international system at the global level. According to this approach, international politics is the product of the behaviour of international actors – states and non-state entities (international organisations).
- The advocates of the Systems Approach are of the view that if we can study the behaviour of the actors at the international level properly, then we can have an understanding of international politics.
- According to Morton Kaplan, there are two types of actors at the international level: national actors and supra-national actors . National actors are the nations-states like UK, USA, India, France, etc. The Supra-National actors are represented by such international actors as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), etc. Each actor acts and reacts in the international environment. These interactions constitute the reality of international politics.
- Morton Kaplan is the main exponent of the systems approach. He puts forward six models of international system. These are – (1) The balance of power system, (2) The loose bi-polar system, (3) The tight bi-polar system , (4) The universal international system , (5) The hierarchical system and (6) The unit-veto system.
- The systems approach is critised from different angles. Such as it suffers from methodological limitations, it is an inadequate theory. Apart from this Kaplan's systems approach is also critised by scholars.



5.7 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005) *International Relations – Theory and Practice*.New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2006). *International Relations*.New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.



5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: Morton Kaplan and McClelland

Ans to Q No 3: The Systems Approach is the result of the behavioural revolution in social science after the Second World War (1939-1945), whereby efforts were made by the new social scientists to evolve a general body of knowledge by integrating the various disciplines of social sciences. Therefore, they propagated inter-disciplinary study in social sciences.This approach was first used in Political Science by David Easton and Gabriel Almond in the field of national politics and Morton Kaplan and McClelland in the filed of International Politics. Later it was developed by other scholars like Kenneth Boulding, etc. However, this approach was presented in the most scientific manner by Morton Kaplan. He declared that for the development of a scientific study of international politics, the systems approach provided the only possible method.

Ans to Q No 4: supra-national actors

Ans to Q No 5:

(i) Systems approach regards international politics as an international system consisting of different actors.

(ii) International politics involves interaction between international actors -states and non-state entities like international organisations.

(ii) International politics constitutes regular and continuous relations between states and non-state entities.

(iv) The approach believes that while maintaining relations with other states, all states are influenced by their national interests.

Ans to Q No 6: United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU)

Ans to Q No 7: (1) The balance of power system, (2) the loose bi-polar system (3) the tight bi-polar system (4) the universal international system (5) the hierarchical system and (6) the unit-veto system.

Ans to Q No 8:

(i) Each state or national actor seeks to increase its power, not by resorting to war but through negotiations. The actors maintain a balance in their power positions and no actor is permitted to become excessively powerful; (ii) The chief objective of each state is to protect its national interests even if it might lead to war. An actor or a group of actors in such a system can resort to war for maintaining the balance of power of their relations; (iii) An essential national actor should not be eliminated from the system. The national actor should call off the war before the opponent is eliminated; (iv) The national actor should prevent other actors from forming a coalition so that they cannot disturb the international system; (v) The national actor should prevent other actors from pursuing supernational principles; (vi) A defeated national actor should be permitted to re-enter the system.

Ans to Q No 9: The loose bipolar system may give way to a number of other systems or it may be transformed into a tight bipolar system. In the tight bipolar system the world is sharply divided between two bloc actors and non-member neutral bloc actors (non-aligned states) would either disappear or their importance would be greatly reduced. Each bloc is dominated by a major power. The universal bloc actor is also not in a position to mediate between the two bloc actors.

Ans to Q No 10:

(i) It is an inadequate theory. It ignores many concepts which are necessary for a comprehensive understanding of international

politics. Kaplan never explained the forces and factors that determine the behaviour of states in the international field.

(ii) Kaplan's six systems model is criticised by many authors as being arbitrary. Out of the six models, only the first two were in actual operation.



5.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of any two advocates of the Systems Approach.

Q 2: Which system involves the conception of a situation of multipolarity in which each state is equally powerful?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the features of the Systems Approach.

Q 2: Discuss the Universal International System and the Hierarchical International System.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Describe Morton Kaplan's Systems theory. What are the criticisms levelled against the theory ?

Q 2: Discuss the emergence of the Sytems Approach. Explain the features of the Systems Approach.

* * * * *

UNIT 6 : CONCEPT OF POWER

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives
6.2 Introduction
6.3 Meaning of Power
6.3.1 Elements of National Power
6.3.2 Methods of Using Power by a State
6.4 Limitations on National Power
6.5 Let Us Sum Up
6.6 Further Reading
6.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
6.8 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the meaning of power
- explain the elements of national power
- discuss the methods of using power by a state
- discuss the limitations on national power.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

When we talk of power, we mean men's control over the minds and actions of other men. By political power is meant the mutual relations of control among the rulers or those who hold public authority and the ruled or people at large. When we speak of power in the field of International Politics, we mean national power. In this unit you shall learn about certain important dimensions regarding the concept of national power.

6.3 MEANING OF POWER

The concept of power is quite complex. Broadly speaking, power can be defined as the ability or capacity to control others and get them to do what one wants them to do. In other words, it is the ability to control the behaviour of others in accordance with one's will. Different writers have

defined power differently. Let us examine some of these definitions:

According to Organski, power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends. He says that unless a nation can do this, it may be wealthy, or may even be great, but it is not powerful.

Morgenthau defines power as the "power of man" and as man's control over the minds and actions of other men.

Charles. P. Schleicher defines Power as the ability to exercise such control as to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward them or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value.

In the field of International Politics, each nation or state desires to increase its power, that is, its national power, in relation to other nations. According to Morgenthau, whatever is the ultimate aim of International Politics, power is always the immediate aim. Although, it is easy to describe one nation as more powerful than the other, it is very difficult to pinpoint one nation as being more powerful than the other.

6.3.1 Elements of National Power

There are various elements of national power. These are sometimes called the determinants of national power. But this is not actually correct. Mere possession of these elements does not lead to enhancement of national power. But on the other hand, their proper utilization is necessary to enhance national power.

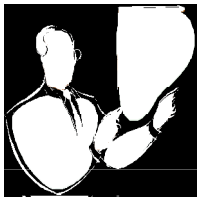
The elements of national power can be broadly divided into three categories, natural, social and ideational.

Natural elements would include geography, resources, and population.

Social elements would include economic development, technological achievement, military strength, political structure, national political structure, national culture and morale .

Ideational elements would include elements like idea, intelligence and wisdom of leadership.

LET US KNOW



Hans J. Morgenthau has classified elements of national power into stable and unstable elements. Charles O. Lerche and Abdul A. Said, in their book "Concepts of International Politics" (1970), divided these elements into tangible and intangible elements. Palmer and Perkins divided national elements into seven categories. These are: land, resources, population, technology, ideology, morale and leadership.

Geography : Among the elements of national power, geography is the most stable, tangible, permanent and natural element because physical characteristics of a nation do not change. Normally, geo-politicians like Rudof Kjellen, A.T.Mahan, Mackinder, Spykman and others believe that geography is the main element of power of a nation. Let us examine the opinions of some prominent geo-politicians. Mackinder was of the view that whoever ruled Eastern Europe commanded Central Europe (Heartland), whoever ruled Central Europe ruled the world islands and whoever ruled the world islands (including Africa and Oceans) commanded the world". Later on this dictum was revised by Spykman who remarked that whoever controlled Rhineland ruled Eurasia and that whoever controlled Eurasia controlled the destiny of the world. Now it is a different matter that recent history has proved these dictums wrong. History has proved that those who commanded Eastern Europe did not command the Heartland of Europe and those who commanded the Heartland of Europe did not command the world islands. Most important among geographical factors are the size of a country, its climate, topography and its location.

Size : Size contributes to the growth of natural power. But unmanageable size can also act as hindrance in the growth of national power. Large size can accommodate a large population and can also have a large and varied supply of natural resources. Large size also helps in the defence of the country. It was the largeness of size of the erstwhile Soviet Union that helped to defeat

the forces of Napolean and Hitler. Large size also provides ample scope to establish important industries. But largeness of territory alone is not enough. It should be useful. Canada with its frozen wastes, Brazil with its jungles and Australia with its long deserts are no doubt large countries, but their largeness does not help them much in terms of power. Thus size does not co-relate with resources. Most often, the small size of a country proves to be a hindrance in the way of its becoming a great power as its national power can grow only up to a limited extent. There may be a few exceptional cases. Large areas may also add to a nation's power by providing various types of military advantages. Erstwhile Soviet Russia was a vast country. Its territory covered about one-seventh of the earth and was two and a half times as large as the United States. The vast territorial extension itself was its source of strength enabling the nation to keep its invaders at bay. Large territory generally creates the possibility of a great power.

Climate : Climate plays an important role in determining the national power of a country. Climate determines the food production, economy and even culture of a nation. Countries with moderate temperatures are regarded as best for health and energy of the people which lead to increased productivity of the nation. Regions with extreme climatic conditions are generally unsuitable for the development of power.

Location : Location also plays an important role in determining the power of a nation. It determines the extent of a country's vulnerability to invasion. The success of England and Japan is attributed to being Island countries. The strategic location of England helped it to "rule the waves" in terms of both trade and naval power for centuries. The foreign policy of a country is closely connected with the location of a country. From the strategic point of view also, location plays an important role. The example of the Middle East can be cited. The Middle East is a land bridge for three continents. Its geography and strategic location made it a potential zone for power rivalry. The existence of oil placed Middle East at the height of global tension. Similarly various sea routes and ports like Malta, Aden, Panama,

Suez canal, Gibraltar, to name a few have assumed significance because of their strategic locations.

Topography : Topography is another important element in the growth of national power. Topography determines the natural boundaries between nations and limits their natural expansion. The English Channel has guarded the coast of England for a long time. Similarly the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean have provided a natural barrier to the United States of America. Again, the Himalayas have served as a barrier between India and China. But such barriers are useful only if they are adequately protected. It was topography that was responsible for the development of Europe and the backwardness of Africa.

But of late geography seems to have lost much of its relevance. The recent advancement of science and technology has relegated geography to the background. The development of long-range missiles, nuclear weaponry, increased air mobility, space satellites, etc, has greatly reduced strategic obstacles. Nevertheless, geography still is a factor which helps in the defence of a nation.

Natural Resources: The natural resources include raw materials available in a country such as minerals (coal, iron, uranium, bauxite, etc.), forest resources, rivers, natural gas, crude oil and the like. However, natural resources can create power only when they are exploited with the help of capital, technology and skilled labour. At present, availability of oil, uranium and atomic energy have contributed greatly towards increasing the national power of many countries. For instance, the prosperity of many Arab countries at present is due to the availability of abundance of oil there.

Technology: In recent years, technology has greatly contributed towards strengthening the power base of a state. When we speak of technology and national power, the three main spheres that stand out are: industrial technology, communications technology and military technology. The industrial technology increases the power of a nation by enabling a nation to increase its production and helping it to attain economic surplus. For instance, Japan emerged as a powerful nation after the Second World War due to her industrial strength. The advancements in the field of communications technology has resulted

in a faster movement of people and goods within and between nations. This has had a profound influence on the nature of international relations, particularly in the field of diplomacy and inter-state contacts. Finally, military technology has always played an important role in increasing the power of a nation. The military and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to establish a vast colonial empire. Similarly, superior military technology helped the US and the former Soviet Union to emerge as superpowers of the world.

Population : The population of a country, in terms of both quantity and quality, does have a significant impact upon the power of a nation. Generally speaking, a large population is considered to be a source of strength. However, the key question is as to how effectively a nation utilises its human resource. If a nation can ensure a decent standard of living to its population and provide its citizens the opportunities to express their talents, then such a population can prove to be an asset. Conversely, if a nation-state cannot provide the basic necessities to its population, then the same becomes a source of weakness to the state. It may be noted here that the strength of the nation does not depend merely on the number of people alone but what is of even greater importance is the quality of the population. If the population possesses a strong national character and high morale and has a strong conviction in democratic values, it adds to the power of a nation.

ACTIVITY 6.1



Try to relate the four elements of national power to India. To what extent do you think has each element contributed to enhancing the country's power position?

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6.3.2 Methods of Using Power by a State

According to Organski a state can exercise power by four means. They are persuasion, rewards, punishment and force.

Persuasion- It is the most common method used by the states. Generally smaller states resort to this method as they lack coercive power. But big nations can also adopt this method. This method of persuasion is used through the diplomatic representation accredited to various nations and international organizations and delegates at various conferences.

Rewards- The next method is rewards. The states offer rewards in the form of territory, military aid, weapons, troops, bases or training facilities and personnel etc. The rewards can also be economic in nature and it can take the form of loans or gifts, trading concessions, lower tariffs, access to strategic material, technical assistance etc. Rewards can also be political in nature, and can take the shape of grant of political freedom or increased self-government to dependent area, vote in an international organization, support for another nation's position at an international conference etc.

Punishment - This method is frequently used in the international sphere. Punishment to be effective must be announced beforehand, because sometimes it is observed that the very thought of punishment brings the desired result and prevents actual action. Punishment can take other forms such as unfavourable propaganda, political support for the enemies of the adversary, creation of deliberate inconveniences for the opponent with regard to immigration, trade, transport, economic sanctions and even military action. It may be noted that this method is intended to be preventive in nature.

Force- Finally state power can be exercised through the use of force. This is usually used as a last resort when a nation fails to persuade by persuasion or threat to achieve its goal. Generally states desist from using force because of the high price of warfare.

While deciding which of the above methods are to be used, the states are influenced to a large extent by the degree of friendliness between nations concerned. Further the choice is as also determined by the capacity of a nation to make use of a particular method. Thus a small nation can hardly think of making use of force to influence the behaviour of a large neighbour. Similarly weaker nations cannot make much use of economic rewards. Finally the choice of the method for

exercising power also depends on the goal which a nation has in mind.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who defined power as the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends?

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Q 2: What are the four methods of using power ?

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Q 3: Explain the role of location as an element of power.
(Write in about 50 words)

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6.4 LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL POWER

Just as several factors help in enhancing national power, similarly there are other factors which limit the growth of national power.

Balance of Power : Balance of power acts as a check in the growth of power of another nation. Just as in domestic politics, there is a system of checks and balance, in international politics also, one nation or group of nations is used to prevent a particular nation from imposing its will upon others. The usual methods of balance of power are direct opposition and that of competition. In case of opposition one state directly opposes the growth of power of the other state with the aim of maintaining the status quo. But in the case of competition, two nations compete with each other to gain control over the third nation. The most common devices used to maintain balance of power are divide and rule, compensations and acquisitions, armaments and intervention, alliances and counter alliances and buffer-state formations.

International Morality : Just as society regulates human behaviour

with a set of moral norms or rules, similarly the behaviour of states in the international environment is also regulated by a set of rules based on international morality. International community accepts certain values like peace, order, equality, goodness, mutual help, respect for life and liberty for all and respect for human rights which must be followed by all the states. If pre-determined vales and rules are not laid down, then the struggle for power would take an independent course whereby 'might would have been right'. But in the civilized world, the struggle for power cannot go un-checked. It has to be controlled or else it would lead to disruption of society endangering human lives. Thus, to preserve the society, certain moral perspectives have been laid down which the statesmen and diplomats ought to follow in order to make relations between nations more peaceful based on mutual respect, fair dealing, respect for international law, safeguard of human rights and the like. This puts a limit to the actions of statements and diplomats. All states are expected to observe a universally accepted moral code of conduct, often described as international morality.

World Public Opinion : The world public opinion though an abstract concept, limits the growth of national power. No nation can take recourse to power which is at its disposal to fulfil its selfish interest in violation of the world public opinion. Public opinion gives safeguard to the interest of humanity as a whole whenever any government or nation carries out any particular foreign policy which is harmful to the interest of mankind.

However the question is whether public opinion does actually exert a restraining influence upon the foreign policies of national government. The answer is both yes and no. Modern history is witness to the fact that such a world public opinion had never acted as a deterrent against any state which insisted on following a particular policy. The Italian attack against Ethiopia in 1937 and Russian suppression of Hungarian revolution in 1957 stand out as examples where public opinion failed to restrain these powers. But on the other hand, the advocates of world public opinion cite the example of the formation of League of Nations which was the result of the world public opinion. Similarly Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, on the basis which peace talks were held at the end of the First World War and which were accepted by the entire mass of humanity across the world regardless of national boundaries as principles for just and enduring peace settlement. These examples clearly prove that public opinion does exist.

International Law : another limitation on national power is international law. Just as human societies run on the basis of certain prescribed code of conduct, similarly the nations of the world also run on the basis of some moral and legal norms. The sum total of these norms is known as International Law. In international relations, the execution of national policy for the fulfilment of the national interest requires the use of force. Commonly the force which is used is war or threat of war. If each nation uses its power over her neighbours or opponents unrestrained, the world society would come to an end. There would be no peace or stability. There would be a perpetual state of war. Accordingly, a code of conduct in the form of an international law is necessary to restrict the national power. International law in the strict sense is not law because of the absence of a common law-making, law-enforcing or law-adjudicating body. Its implementation is dependent on the will of the state.

Furthermore, International Law permits nations to make arrangements for what is known as collective security by a group of nations. Such a group opposes collectively any threat to their independence posed by a particular nation or another group of nations.

Disarmament : Various efforts at disarmament at the international level especially through the League of Nations and the United Nations have also limited the national power. This aspect has acquired much importance in the present times. Various conventions have been held from time to time to control the use of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the entire world. This has put a restraint in the growth of national power.

International Organizations : The formation of international organizations like the League of Nations and the United Nations has put a check on the growth of powers of the states. The objective of the United Nations stipulates: to maintain internal peace and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats of peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace, and to end international disputes by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. The states are expected to act in accordance with the principles stated in the Charter. Although the United Nations cannot intervene in the internal affairs of any state unless they pose a threat to peace, it certainly acts as a check on the unfair and unlimited use of power by the states. It thus exerts a limitation on national power.

An overview of the United Nations shows that the organization has done commendable work not only in preserving world peace but has also acted as a check on the ambitious super-powers. It serves as a platform for forming public opinion. The operation of the United Nations since 1945 shows that in many cases the United Nations has been successful in preventing the big powers from coming into open conflicts. However the efficacy of the United Nations was limited in situations where the super-powers were on opposite sides of the conflict. In the future also the United Nations is expected to play an important role in peace keeping operations and development programmes.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Mention any two limitations on national power.

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Q 5: What is the role of international morality in checking national power? (within 60 words)

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6.5 LET US SUM UP

- The concept of power is quite complex. Broadly speaking, power can be defined as the ability or capacity to control others and get them to do what one wants them to do. In other words, it is the ability to control the behaviour of others in accordance with one's will.
- In the field of International Politics, each nation or state desires to increase its power, that is, its national power, in relation to other nations.
- There are various elements of national power. These are sometimes called the determinants of national power. But this is not actually correct. Mere possession of these elements does not lead to

enhancement of national power. But on the other hand, their proper utilization is necessary to enhance national power.

- The elements of national power can be broadly divided into three categories, natural, social and ideational. Natural elements would include geography, resources, and population. Social elements would include economic development, technological achievement, military strength, political structure, national political structure, national culture and morale. Ideational elements would include elements like idea, intelligence and wisdom of leadership.
- According to Organski a state can exercise power by four means. They are persuasion, rewards, punishment and force.
- Just as several factors help in enhancing national power, similarly there are other factors which limit the growth of national power. The limitations on national power include balance of power, international morality, world public opinion, international law, disarmament and international organisations.



6.6 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005) *International Relations - Theory and Practice*.New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2006). *International Relations*.New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.



6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Organski

Ans to Q No 2: Persuasion, rewards, punishment and force

Ans to Q No 3: Location plays an important role in determining the power of a nation. It determines the extent of a country's vulnerability to invasion. The success of England and Japan is attributed to

being Island countries. The strategic location of England helped it to "rule and waves" in terms of both trade and naval power for centuries. The foreign policy of a country is closely connected with the location of a country. From the strategic point of view also, location plays an important role. The example of the Middle East can be cited.

Ans to Q No 4: Balance of power and international organisations.

Ans to Q No 5: In the society, we see that human behaviour is regulated by a set of moral norms or rules. Similarly, the behaviour of states in the international environment is also regulated by a set of rules based on international morality. International community accepts certain values like peace, order, equality, goodness, mutual help, respect for life and liberty for all, respect for human rights etc, which must be followed by all the states.. All states are expected to observe universally accepted moral code of conduct, often described as international morality.



6.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of two geo-politicians.

Q 2: Mention any two methods of using power by a state.

Q 3: According to whom a state can exercise power by four means ?

Q 4: Mention any two limitations on national power.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain persuasion and rewards as methods of using power.

Q 2: Discuss geography and technology as elements of national power.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the concept of power. Describe any five elements of national power.

Q 2: Discuss the limitations on national power.

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UNIT 7 : BALANCE OF POWER

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Balance of Power

- 7.3.1 Meaning of Balance of Power
- 7.3.2 Evolution of the Concept of Balance of Power
- 7.3.3 Assumptions of Balance of Power

7.4 Types of Balance of Power

- 7.4.1 Devices for Maintaining Balance of Power
- 7.4.2 Relevance of Balance of Power

7.5 Let Us Sum Up

7.6 Further Reading

7.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.8 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the meaning of balance of power
- discuss the evolution of balance of power
- explain the assumptions of balance of power
- discuss the types of balance of power
- explain the devices for maintaining balance of power and the relevance of balance of power.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, while discussing the concept of national power, we learnt about the various limitations on power in international politics, balance of power being one of them. Simply speaking, the concept of balance of power is a device used to prevent a particular nation from imposing its will upon others. Balance of power is a kind of checks and balances. In this unit, we shall discuss the various aspects regarding the concept of balance of power.

7.3 BALANCE OF POWER

7.3.1 Meaning of Balance of Power

Balance of Power is one of the oldest concepts of International Politics. Generally speaking, the term "Balance of Power" implies that there is at least a rough equilibrium of power between various nations. There exists a large number of nations with varying levels of power. Each nation tries to maximize its power. To achieve this objective, nations form various groups so that no single nation or other group of nations becomes strong enough to dominate others. The power of one group is balanced by the other opposing group. The prevalence of peace depends upon the existence of such a balance of power.

7.3.2 Evolution of the Concept of Balance of Power

The origin of the concept of balance of power can be traced back to the growth of the present state system. It was in operation in Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The system of balance of power could be noticed in the rivalries among the princes of Northern Italy and among Spain, France and Prussia which attempted to intervene in the politics of Italy. Bernardo Rucellai from Italy is credited to have put forward the first explicit statement of the concept of balance of power. It was further elaborated by Machiavelli, the Italian political thinker. Machiavelli in his book "The Prince" stated whoever contributed towards the advancement of another power ruins his own power.

In the sixteenth century the concept was applied to a greater area than just the Italian city states. Morgenthau states that the first modern example on a grand scale of the balance of power could be noticed in the alliances that Francis I, King of France, concluded with Henry VIII, King of England, and the Turks in order to prevent Charles V of Hapsburg from establishing and expanding his empire. During the sixteenth century, England played the role of a balancer between France and the Holy Roman Empire.

In the seventeenth century, the Treaty of Westphalia concluded in 1648 firmly established the nation-state system and presented a general picture of international relations. As a result the balance of power system began to play a much stronger role. When the balance of power system was threatened by the ambitious policy of Louis XIV of France he was checked by the combined efforts of England and the Netherlands.

In the eighteenth century the balance was maintained through the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht. Through this treaty the War of the Spanish Succession came to an end and provided that Spanish inheritance should be divided between France and Austria in order to restore the balance of power in Europe.

The nineteenth century saw the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to power and with it a disturbance in the existing balance of power system. The Congress of Vienna sought to establish a new balance of power in Europe based on the doctrine of 'legitimacy' and status quo'. The Monroe Doctrine stated in 1823 marked the beginning of the extension of the balance of power system on a world-wide scale. The balance of power extended beyond the soil of Europe when in 1854 France, Britain and Austria formed a coalition against Russia declaring that the maintenance of the existing power of the Ottoman Empire was of essential importance to the balance of power among the states of Europe. The Crimean War (1854-56) followed this declaration.

In the twentieth century Europe got divided into two camps, namely, the Triple Entente powers comprising of England, France, and Russia against the Triple Alliance powers comprising of Germany, Austria, Hungry and Italy. The disturbance of the balance of power in the Balkan area, led to the First World War.

During the inter-war period (1919-1939) the concept worked only in theory as it was incompatible with the concept of collective security. However, collective security in the form of the League of Nations failed to be effective, leaving some hope that the balance of power system could still play a strong role. But the formation of alliances and counter-

alliances in the name of retaining balance among various nations ultimately led to the out break of the Second World War. The post-war period proved to be unfavourable for the old system of balance of power to work. New concepts emerged like 'bipolar' and 'multipolar' systems. These have proved to be detrimental to the concept of balance of power. Today world politics is marked by the absence of the holder of balance- the balancer.

7.3.3 Assumptions of Balance of Power

1. Each nation tries to protect its vital interests, rights and privileges through all possible means, which may include peaceful and violent means. Some of the vital interests which states try to protect are territorial integrity, independence, security, preservation of domestic economic, political and social systems etc.

2. Each state is concerned with power relationship and tries to protect its vital interests.

3. The balance of power either deters the threatening state from launching an attack or enabling the victim to avoid defeat if an attack takes place. The states normally do not attack unless they have superiority of power. They resort to war only in the hope that the distribution of power will turn out to be in their favour.

4. States calculate their relative power positions so that they can decide about the proportion of their resources to be allocated to military preparations.

5. The statesmen make foreign policy decisions on the basis of power considerations which determine the course of balance of power.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who is credited to have put forward the first explicit statement of the concept of balance of power?

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Q 2: Mention any two assumptions of Balance of Power.

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7.4 TYPES OF BALANCE OF POWER

There are three types of balance of power

1. **Simple balance of power and Complex balance of power-** It is called simple balance of power if the balance is aimed at preserving the safety of the nationalities of the world. On the other hand, complex balance of power concentrates on the preservation of peace in the wake of warring positions of two militant nations.

2. **Local balance of power, Regional balance of power and Worldwide balance of power-** Depending upon the area of its operation, the balance of power can be local, regional or worldwide. If the balance of power seeks to checkmate only one power or state, which seems to threaten the freedom of other neighbouring states, it is regarded as local. If the balance of power aims at maintaining balance in a particular geographical or political region, it is regarded as regional balance of power. The balance of power is considered as worldwide if it concerns more than one region.

3. **Rigid balance of power and Flexible balance of power-** A balance of power is regarded as rigid if two groups of states are not willing to deviate from their respective stands. The rigid stand taken by the United States of America as the leader of the Western Bloc and the Soviet Union as the leader of the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War period is an example of this type of balance of power. On the other hand, a flexible balance of power is visible when the member states change their alignment and seek fresh alliances due to changed circumstances.

7.4.1 Devices for Maintaining Balance of Power

Though balance of power is an uncertain regulator of international politics, yet it had developed its own means and techniques to maintain it. These means are as follows:

- **Alliances and counter- alliances**

The balance of power has been often been maintained through the technique of alliances and counter-alliances. Alliances could be offensive as well as defensive.

➢ **Compensation**

Compensation normally leads to annexation or division of territory. For example the Spanish possessions were divided among Bourbons (French) and Hapsburgs (Spanish) by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) keeping in view the balance of power.

➢ **Armament and Disarmament**

It is the inherent tendency of the nations to amass arms to gain power so that they can tilt the balance of power in their favour. Disarmament or proportional reduction of arms may also create the condition for maintaining balance of power.

➢ **Intervention and War**

The device of intervention and non-intervention is the privilege of those countries that has the capacity to hold the balance. Intervention is usually employed to regain a lost ally or pick new one so that the balance of power is not disturbed. The Soviet Union's intervention in Poland and Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Afghanistan in 1979 are a few such examples.

➢ **Buffer States**

Creation of buffer states is another device for maintaining the balance of power system. A buffer state provides a cushioning effect between great powers facing each other. For example, Poland became the buffer between Russia and Germany.

➢ **Divide and Rule**

This is a time honoured practice which has been resorted to by nations who tries to weaken their enemies by taking recourse to the divide and rule policy. It has been employed by the Romans to maintain their control over the scattered people under their dominion. Great Britain also applied this policy to keep her large empire intact. France adopted such a policy towards Germany from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

7.4.2 Relevance of Balance of Power

Viewed in the present context it has been observed that balance of power has greatly contributed in maintaining peace in the absence of a system of collective security. The principle objective has been to

ensure peace by checking aggression. In the face of equilibrium of power, no state can be sure about its victory and hence shall not dare to resort to war. According to E.H. Carr peace was maintained in Europe in the nineteenth century only because of the balance of power system. But after the Second World War some writers began to think that balance of power system would soon become obsolete because of some new developments that have taken place in the international field. The new forces which have emerged and which seem to threaten the balance of power system are national identity consciousness, growing industrialism, popular democracy, mass education, development of international law and international organization, economic interdependence of nations and globalization and the disappearance of colonial frontiers and the new methods of war. The sudden increase in the destructive potentiality of new weapons and the frightening implications of total war rules out the possibility of war to correct the balance. Under the existing circumstances it will be more relevant to think in terms of balance of influence rather than think of balance of power. The current feeling is that in order to assure peace and human survival we must seek better alternatives rather than rely on a 'balance' or 'imbalance' of power. Thus, the balance of power theoretically is still an important concept, and in modern times its importance has increased tremendously in the form of arms control, strategic stability and mutual deterrence.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Write about Simple balance of power and Complex balance of power.

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Q 4: Mention any two devices for maintaining balance of power.

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Q 5: Write about the relevance of Balance of Power.

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ACTIVITY 7.1

Do you think that the balance of power has been able to maintain it relevance in the present times. (Write in about 50 words)

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7.5 LET US SUM UP

- Balance of Power is one of the oldest concepts of International Politics. Generally speaking, the term "Balance of Power" implies that there is at least a rough equilibrium of power between various nations.
- The power of one group is balanced by the other opposing group. The prevalence of peace depends upon the existence of such a balance of power.
- The origin of the concept of balance of power can be traced back to the growth of the present state system. It was in operation in Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The system of balance of power could be noticed in the rivalries among the princes of Northern Italy and among Spain, France and Prussia which attempted to intervene in the politics of Italy.
- Bernardo Rucellai from Italy is credited to have put forward the first explicit statement of the concept of balance of power. It was further elaborated by Machiavelli, the Italian political thinker. Machiavelli in his book "The Prince" stated whoever contributed towards the advancement of another power ruins his own power.
- In the sixteenth century the concept was applied to a greater area than just the Italian city states. In the seventeenth century, the Treaty of Westphalia concluded in 1648 firmly established the nation-state system and presented a general picture of international relations. As a result the balance of power system began to play a much stronger role.
- In the eighteenth century the balance was maintained through the

conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht. Through this treaty the War of the Spanish Succession came to an end and provided that Spanish inheritance should be divided between France and Austria in order to restore the balance of power in Europe.

- The nineteenth century saw the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to power and with it a disturbance in the existing balance of power system. The Congress of Vienna sought to establish a new balance of power in Europe based on the doctrine of 'legitimacy' and status quo'.
- In the twentieth century Europe got divided into two camps, namely, the Triple Entente powers comprising of England, France, and Russia against the Triple Alliance powers comprising of Germany, Austria, Hungry and Italy. The disturbance of the balance of power in the Balkan area, led to the First World War.
- During the inter-war period (1919-1939) the concept worked only in theory as it was incompatible with the concept of collective security. However, collective security in the form of the League of Nations failed to be effective, leaving some hope that the balance of power system could still play a strong role. But the formation of alliances and counter-alliances in the name of retaining balance among various nations ultimately led to the out break of the Second World War.
- The post-war period proved to be unfavourable for the old system of balance of power to work. New concepts emerged like 'bipolar' and 'multipolar' systems. These have proved to be detrimental to the concept of balance of power. Today world politics is marked by the absence of the holder of balance- the balancer.
- The balance of power either deters the threatening state from launching an attack or enabling the victim to avoid defeat if an attack takes place. The states normally do not attack unless they have superiority of power. They resort to war only in the hope that the distribution of power will turn out to be in their favour.
- States calculate their relative power positions so that they can decide about the proportion of their resources to be allocated to military preparations. The statesmen make foreign policy decisions on the basis of power considerations which determine the course of balance of power.
- There are three types of balance of power: Simple balance of power

and Complex balance of power; Local balance of power, Regional balance of power and Worldwide balance of power; Rigid balance of power and Flexible balance of power.

- There are certain techniques and means through which balance of power is maintained. These means are as follows: Alliances and counter- alliances, compensation, armament and disarmament, intervention and war, buffer states, divide and rule.
- It has been observed that balance of power has greatly contributed in maintaining peace in the absence of a system of collective security. The principle objective has been to ensure peace by checking aggression. In the face of equilibrium of power, no state can be sure about its victory and hence shall not dare to resort to war.
- The new forces which have emerged and which seem to threaten the balance of power system are national identity consciousness, growing industrialism, popular democracy, mass education, development of international law and international organization, economic interdependence of nations and globalization and the disappearance of colonial frontiers and the new methods of war.
- The current feeling is that in order to assure peace and human survival we must seek better alternatives rather than rely on a 'balance' or 'imbalance' of power. Balance of power theoretically is still an important concept, and in modern times its importance has increased tremendously in the form of arms control, strategic stability and mutual deterrence.



7.6 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005) *International Relations - Theory and Practice*. New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.

7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Bernardo Rucellai

Ans to Q No 2:

(i) Each nation tries to protect its vital interests, rights and privileges through all possible means, which may include peaceful and violent means. Some of the vital interests which states try to protect are territorial integrity, independence, security, preservation of domestic economic, political and social systems etc.

(ii) States calculate their relative power positions so that they can decide about the proportion of their resources to be allocated to military preparations.

Ans to Q No 3: Simple balance of power aims at preserving the safety of the nationalities of the world. On the other hand, complex balance of power concentrates on the preservation of peace in the wake of warring positions of two militant nations.

Ans to Q No 4: Compensation and Buffer States

Ans to Q No 5: Viewed in the present context it has been observed that balance of power has greatly contributed in maintaining peace. The principle objective has been to ensure peace by checking aggression. In the face of equilibrium of power, no state can be sure about its victory and hence shall not dare to resort to war. According to E.H.Carr peace was maintained in Europe in the nineteenth century only because of the balance of power system. But after the Second World War some writers began to think that balance of power system would soon become obsolete because of some new developments that have taken place in the international field. The new forces which have emerged and which seem to threaten the balance of power system are national identity consciousness, growing industrialism, popular democracy, mass education, development of international law and international organization, economic interdependence of nations and globalization and the disappearance of colonial frontiers and the new methods of war. Under the existing

circumstances it will be more relevant to think in terms of balance of influence rather than think of balance of power. Thus, the balance of power theoretically is still an important concept, and in modern times its importance has increased tremendously in the form of arms control, strategic stability and mutual deterrence.



7.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention one of the first modern examples of balance of power as cited by Morgenthau.

Q 2: Depending upon the area of its operation, the balance of power can be divided into what types?

Q 3: Mention any two assumptions of Balance of Power.

Q 4: What kind of balance of power concentrates on the preservation of peace in the wake of warring positions of two militant nations?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the evolution of the concept of balance of power.

Q 2: Discuss the different devices used for maintaining balance of power.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the evolution of the concept of balance of power. Explain the assumptions and types of balance of power.

Q 2: Explain the concept of balance of power. Discuss the different devices used for maintaining balance of power.

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UNIT 8 : NATIONAL INTEREST

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 National Interest
  8.3.1 Meaning of National Interest
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8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the meaning of national interest
- expalin the vital and non-vital components of national interest
- discuss the types of national interest
- explain the methods for securing national interest.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In international politics, national interest occupies a key position. Every nation tries to fulfill or secure the goals of their national interest. The foreign policy is also formulated in such a manner that it helps to achieve its national interest. It has become a universally accepted fact that every nation tries to fulfill its national interest. The behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interest.

8.3 NATIONAL INTEREST

8.3.1 Meaning of National Interest

It is difficult to give a precise meaning of national interest. American Political Scientist, Joseph Frankel divides the approaches to study

national interest into two broad categories- the objectivist approaches and the subjectivist approaches. The objectivist approaches view national interest as a concept which can be defined or examined with the help of some definite criteria, whereas the subjectivist approaches describe national interest as something which is constantly changing. Accordingly, the objectivist view look at national interest in a narrow sense in terms of a concrete single interest while the subjectivist approach views national interest in a broader light in terms of a set of ever changing goals. The definition of national interest depends upon the position which a particular person assumes. Such a position must maintain a balance between extreme options such as ideals versus self interests, idealist versus realists, short term and long term concerns, and traditional and individual concerns. We may refer to the definition of national interest as defined by the ***Brookings Institute*** according to which, national interest is the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts. The meaning of national interest will become clearer in the subsequent sections where you will learn about the components and types of national interest.



Brookings Institute**:** A premier research and public policy organsiation based in Washington, DC in the United States .

8.3.2 Vital and Non-Vital Components of National Interest

Components of national interest can be classified into two categories– (a) necessary or vital components and (b) variable or non-vital components.

(a) Necessary or vital components of national interest- According to Morgenthau, the vital components of the national interests that a foreign policy seeks to secure is survival or identity. Identity is further sub-divided into physical identity, political identity and cultural identity. Physical identity includes territorial identity; political identity means politico-economic system and cultural identity stands for historical values upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. These three are called vital components as they are essential for the survival of the nation and can be easily identified and examined. A nation is even willing to risk war if it is essential for the protection of her vital interests. Nations formulate their foreign policy in a way that protects and promotes their vital interests.

(b) **Non-vital or variable components of national interest –** The non-vital components are those parts of national interest which are determined either by circumstances or by the necessity of securing the vital components themselves. These are determined by several factors like the decision-makers, public opinion, party politics, sectional or group interests and political and moral folkways.

8.3.3 Types of National Interest

A. Six-fold classification of national interest:

American Political Scientist, Thomas W.Robinson, presents a six fold classification of interest which nations try to secure. These are discussed below:

1. **Primary Interests –** These are those interests in respect of which no nation can compromise. It includes the preservation of physical, political and cultural identity against possible encroachments of other states. A state has to defend them at all costs.
2. **Secondary Interests –** These are considered as less important than the primary interests they are less important, but they are vital for the existence of the state. Secondary interests include the protection of the citizens abroad and ensuring of diplomatic immunities for the diplomatic staff.
3. **Permanent Interests –** These refer to the long-term interests of the state. They are subject to very slow changes. An example of this is noticed in the determination of Britain to maintain freedom of navigation in all the oceans during the past few centuries for the protection of her overseas colonies and growing trade.
4. **Variable Interests –** Variable interests are those interests of a nation which are considered vital for the national good in a given set of circumstances. In fact these interests can deviate from both primary and permanent interests. The variable interests are determined by factors such as personalities,

public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics, etc.

5. **The General Interests –** The General interests of a nation refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations in common with respect to several fields such as economic, trade, diplomatic relations, etc. To maintain international peace is the common interest of all the nations. Similarly disarmament and arms control is a common interest of all the nations.

6. **Specific Interests –** These interests flow logically from the general interests and are defined in terms of time and space. For instance, securing of the economic rights of the Third World countries through an organized new international economic order is a specific interest of India and other developing countries.

B. International interest:

Apart from the aforementioned six-fold classification of national interests, Robinson also refers to three other interests. These he calls international interests. These are :

(i) Identical interests

(ii) Complementary interests

(iii) Conflicting interests

The first category includes those interests which are common to a large number of states, the second category includes those interests which are not identical but can form the basis of agreement on some specific issues, and the third category includes those interests which are neither complementary nor identical. However this classification is neither complete nor absolute. The complementary interests can become identical interests in due course of time and conflicting interests can become complementary interests.

In the ultimate analysis, the classification offered by Robinson can provide the outline for analyzing the national interests of all nations and help us to examine the behaviour of nations in international politics.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 1: What are the two broad categories into which Joseph Frankel divides the approaches to studying national interest?

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Q 2: Survival is a vital component of national interest.(True/False)

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Q 3:.Mention the six-fold classification of national interest as given by Thomas W.Robinson.

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8.4 METHODS FOR SECURING NATIONAL INTEREST

Securing the goals and objectives of national interest is the paramount concern of every nation. Nations adopt various modes through which their national interest can be achieved. They are as follows:

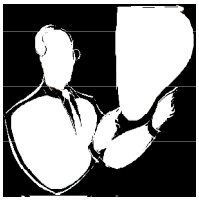
- **Diplomacy :** Diplomacy is considered a universally accepted mode for securing national interests. Diplomacy is the channel through which the foreign policy of a country spreads to other countries. Diplomats establish contacts with the decision –makers and diplomats of other nations and conduct negotiations for achieving the desired goals and objectives of national interest of their nations. The art of diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives in such a way so as to persuade others to accept these as just and rightful demands of the nation. Diplomatic negotiations constitute the most effective means of conflict resolution. Through mutual give and take, persuasion, accommodation and reconciliation, diplomacy tries to secure the desired goals and objectives of national interest.
- **Propaganda :** Propaganda is another method for securing national interest. Propaganda is the art of convincing others about the justness of the goals and objectives or ends which are desired to be secured.

Through propaganda attempt is made to impress upon other nations the necessity of securing the goals which a nation wishes to achieve. The revolutionary changes in the field of communication have increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interest.

- **Economic means :** The rich and developed nations use economic aid and loans as the means for securing their interests in international relations. The existence of a wide gap between the rich and the poor countries provides ample scope to the rich countries to enhance their national interest at the cost of the poor countries. The dependence of the poorer countries upon the rich and the developed countries for the import of technological know-how, industrial goods, foreign aid, armament and for selling raw materials, etc., has been responsible for strengthening the role of economic means for securing national interests.
- **Alliances and treaties :** Alliances and treaties are concluded by two or more states for securing their common interests. This method is mostly used for securing identical and complementary interests. However, even if there is a conflict of interests, it may lead to alliances and treaties with like-minded states against common rivals or opponents. Alliances and treaties make it legally obligatory for the signatory states to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. Alliances could be economic or military in nature. During the Cold War period, the need for securing the security of the western bloc gave birth to military alliances like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO), Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) etc. Similarly, the Soviet led communist bloc had the Warsaw Pact to ensure its security. The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led to the establishment of a European Common Market and several other economic agencies.
- **Coercive means :** The role of power in international politics is a recognized fact. There is an unwritten understanding in international politics that nations can use force for securing their national interest.

International law also recognizes coercive means short of war as a method that can be used by states for fulfilling their desired goals and objectives. Some of the coercive measures generally resorted to are embargoes (partial or complete restriction of the movement of merchant ships into or out of a country's ports so as to isolate it), boycott and severance of relations, reprisal and retaliation (when one country antagonises another country, the latter may take similar action against the country which has caused it harm) and pacific blockade (cutting off food, supplies, war-material or communications to a country or region by laying siege to it).

War and aggression have been declared as illegal means, yet in the field of international politics, nations continue to use them. Although nations today fully realize the importance of peaceful means of conflict resolution like negotiations and diplomacy as the ideal method of promoting their national interests, nations still believe in using coercive means, if necessary, to fulfill their national interests. Military power is regarded as a major part of national power and is often used by a nation for securing its desired goals and objectives.



LET US KNOW

In the interest of international peace, security and prosperity, nations are expected to refrain from using coercive means. Nations are to peacefully and amicably resolve their disputes for securing their interests. While formulating the goals and objectives of national interests, states should make sincere attempts to make them compatible with the goals of peace, security and sustainable development at a global level.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q **4:** Mention any two methods of securing national interest.

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Q 5: Write about alliances and treaties as a method of securing national interest. (within 60 words)

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8.5 LET US SUM UP

- It is difficult to give a precise meaning of national interest. American Political Scientist, Joseph Frankel divides the approaches to study national interest into two broad categories- the objectivist approaches and the subjectivist approaches.
- The objectivist approaches view national interest as a concept which can be defined or examined with the help of some definite criteria, whereas the subjectivist approaches describe national interest as something which is constantly changing.
- Components of national interest can be classified into two (a) necessary or vital components and (b) variable or non-vital components.
- American Political Scientist, Thomas W.Robinson, presents a six fold classification of interest which nations try to secure. These include primary interests , secondary interests , permanent interests , variable interests , general interests , specific interests.
- Apart from the six-fold classification of national interests, Robinson also refers to three other interests which he calls international interests. These are : (i) Identical interests (ii) Complementary interests and (iii) Conflicting interests.
- Nations adopt various modes through which their national interest can be achieved. These include diplomacy , propaganda , economic means, alliances and treaties and coercive means.



8.6 FURTHER READING

1. Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2005) *International Relations – Theory and Practice*.New Delhi :Kalyani Publishers.
3. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.



8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1:

(i) The objectivist approaches

(ii) The subjectivist approaches

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: Primary interests, Secondary interests, Permanent interests, Variable interests, General interests and Specific interests.

Ans to Q No 4:

(i) Alliances and treaties

(ii) Coercive means

Ans to Q No 5: Alliances and treaties are concluded by two or more states for securing their common interests. This method is mostly used for securing identical and complementary interests. Alliances and treaties make it legally obligatory for the signatory states to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. Alliances could be economic or military in nature. During the Cold War period, the need for securing the security of the western bloc gave birth to military alliances like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO), Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) etc. Similarly, the Soviet led communist bloc had the Warsaw Pact to ensure its security. The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led to the establishment of a European Common Market and several other economic agencies.



8.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who presented a six fold classification of national interest?

Q 2: Mention the two broad categories in which American Political Scientist, Joseph Frankel divides the approaches to study national interest .

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about Vital and Non-Vital components of national interest.

Q 2: Explain diplomacy and propaganda as methods of securing national interest.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning of national interest. Discuss the different types of national interest.

Q 2: Discuss the different methods of securing national interest.

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