PG PS S2-02 (DSC)

TWO YEAR MARSTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - II

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORY

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course of Second Semester of P.G. in Political Science of KKHSOU is titled “International Politics: Theory”. It is designed to help the learners to have a deep understanding about various theoretical dimensions of international politics. As a learner of Political Science one must have basic understanding about some important concepts of International Politics. Accordingly, the course begins with a very basic discussion on the meaning, nature and scope of International Politics. The second unit discusses various stages of evolution of international politics as an academic discipline. A number of theories have been formulated whereby the conduct of international politics is sought to be explained through particular standpoints. Accordingly, the third, fourth and fifth units deal with the important theories, namely, Idealist theory, Realist theory, Game theory, Bargaining theory, Decision Making theory and Communication theory respectively. There are certain concepts which are very imporatnt to understand for the learners to have a comprehensive understanding about various phenomena of international politics. 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. Power. This unit deals with meaning, elements, limitations of national power. The seventh unit focusses on the concepts of Balance of Power and Collective Security, other two important issues of International Politics. Another important aspect of the study of International Politics is Foreign Policy which is the basis of all international relations. The eight unit deals with various aspects of foreign policy. National interest is the main force behind every activity of each and every nation at the international level. The ninth 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 tenth unit discusses the concept of ideology, relationship between national ineterest and ideology and end of ideology debate. The eleventh unit discusses the concept of Diplomacy which is considered to be an important means whereby international relations are conducted and managed. Another major issue of international relations of contemporary time is conflict among nations at various levels. Accordingly the twelft unit discusses the concepts of conflict and dynamics of war that take place at the international levels among various nations. Disarmament and arms control are two other important issues through which world peace is sought to be preserved and maintained. The thirteenth unit focuses on various aspects associated with disarmament and arms control. In the contemporary time the concept of security has been changing drastically; from traditional concept of security now it has included various alternative concepts of security within its jurisdiction. Accordingly

the fourteenth unit deals with some alternative concepts of security, such as human security, cooperative security and human development.

While going through the units of the course, 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 “POSSIBLE QUESTIONS” is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of International Politics

1.4 Nature of International Politics

1.5 Scope of International Politics

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Further Reading

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.9 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of International Politics
- explain the differences between International Politics and International relations
- describe the nature of International Politics
- discuss the various subject matters of International Politics.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the meaning, nature and subject-matters of International Politics. International Politics is a process through which a congenial relationship among nation-states is adjusted. Such type of process exists among nation-states since immemorial. As a subject of academic discipline, International Politics has attained the status of an autonomous discipline although controversy exists among political scientists in this regard. Now International Politics has passed through various phases of development. In this unit we will discuss all these in details.

1.3 MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Before entering into any discussion of International Politics, it would be useful to examine the word 'politics' in brief. American political scientist Quincy Wright in his work 'The Study of International Relations' (1995) mentions that ''politics is the art of influencing, manipulating or controlling major groups, so as to advance the purposes of some against the opposition of others''. Politics is the process by which power is acquired, maintained and rationalised. Likewise, international politics is the process through which relationship among nations is adjusted. Basically scientific advancement, improvement in the means of communication and development in nuclear warfare encourage nations to come closer to the friendly countries to counter the threat posed by enemy countries. Such friendly or hostile relations among states are termed as international relations and the process adopted for establishment of such political relations is called international politics. In 1870, Jeremy Bentham first used the term 'international' to denote law of nations and since then, the term has been used to refer to such relations between nations. The term 'international politics' is sometimes used as synonymous for the concepts like world politics, international relations etc. International relations has a wider connotation than international politics as it embraces all sorts of relations among peoples and groups in the world society. viz. political, social, cultural, economic, legal, official as well as non-official. On the other hand, international politics connotes the politics of international community in a narrow sense which concentrates mainly on diplomacy and relations among states and other political units. It includes only those aspects of international relations in which some conflict of purpose or interest is involved. Besides, with regard to methodology of study, international politics is different from international relations. International relations is descriptive while, international politics is purely analytical. International relations is concerned with study of various factors in chronological order which provides the basis for the study of international politics. It takes into account both political and non-political aspects. On the contrary, international politics is mainly concerned with political aspects of the relations. International politics is less extensive than international relations. Despite all these differences

between international politics and international relations, both subjects aim to concentrate on promotion of international peace and harmony among nations. Different political scientists have defined International Politics in different manner. According to Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, International Politics is struggle for power among nations. Prof.Schleicherdefines international politics as relations among states. Norman D. Palmar and Howard C. Perkins, mentions that the study of international politics is essentially concerned with the state system. F.H Hartmanalso mentions international relations as a field of study that is focussed upon the process by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states.

From the above definitions one can come to the conclusion that international politics is a process by which nations try to serve their national interests, through policies and actions. It is the process by which conflicts are resolved at international level. The main three elements of international politics are national interest, conflict and power. National interest is considered as the objective, conflict is the condition and power is the means of international politics. Conflict arises out of an incompatibility of interest of nations and every nation tries to safeguard their own interest by trying to influence and control the behaviour of other nations. Along with conflict, co-operation also exists since interests of some nations are identical to the interests of other nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who has written the book "The Study of International Relations" (1995)?

.....

Q.2: Who first used the term "International" to denote law of nations?

.....

Q.3: "Politics Among Nations" is written by .....
(Fill in the blank)

.....

Q.4: Name the three main elements of International Politics.

.....

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.

International politics is an autonomous discipline like other disciplines i.e. history, economics, sociology, and political science.Reacting to the idea of international politics as an autonomous discipline, Robert Lorning Allen remarks that international politics is not an independent discipline since it lacks a distinct method of investigation. Prof.Quincy Wright on the other hand remarks that international politics is an independent discipline as it has synthesised in itself various other discipline like world history, world geography, psychology and sociology of international relations. Palmar and Perkinsremark that international politics lacks clear cut conceptual framework and systematic body of applicable theory. Mortan Kaplan also remarks that international politics lacks appropriateskills and techniques and theoretical frameworks of its own. He further says that international politics possesses only one condition of an independent discipline, viz. subject matter. He regards international politics as a sub-discipline of political science.

There is a controversy among scholars over the issue whether international politics can be regarded as science or not. Some have regarded it as science while, others have opposed the move to treat international politics as science. F.S.C. Northrop has regarded it as science while, Kenneth Thompson, Stanley Hoffmann, Fredrick, Schuman and Hedley Bull refused to treat it as science. Amidst this controversy Quincy Wright has given a moderate view that international politics can become a science in the near

future. There is an ambiguity regarding nature of international politics. In international politics there are two difficulties– uncertainty of events and uncertainty of human nature. All the events in international politics are unique occurrences and it is not possible to make generalisations on the basis of these events. Similarly, the uncertainty of the human nature renders predictions in international politics uncertain because the political leaders often change their stand according to the exigencies of situation. International politics deals with international events which are the product of human behaviour. Due to variability of human behaviour it is difficult to make a precise conclusion.

Despite this ambiguity, it is true that although the results of the scientific study of international politics are not easily amenable to precise calculations, the direction of the study and attitudes and tools employed for the study of international politics are scientific. It possesses a systematic body of knowledge besides the capacity to predict any event although such capacity is much lower than physical sciences. This has happened due to existence of a large number of factors like sovereignty, international law, world public opinion, balance of power etc. Scholars of international politics are now adopting empirical method, inductive reasoning and comprehensive testing of deductive hypotheses. Although it is impossible to draw conclusions with mathematical precision yet, certain truths about international affairs can be discovered. Because scientific elements like objectivity, accuracy, quantification, logic etc. can be applied in international field. Discover of general laws and principles governing the conduct of nation-states are possible in international politics with more accuracy. At the same time, it is to be admitted that international politics lacks a satisfactory theory of its own. “It has neither any classic nor any theory of its own; it has only a few text books.” Its field of study has “few fixed bounds with respect to time, space or the relevance of data.”

Nevertheless international politics has potentialities of becoming an independent discipline. It is not a fully developed discipline at present. Attempts are being made at appropriate level regarding theory building and conceptual frameworks of its own. It can be asserted that international politics is gradually proceeding towards the achievement of an independent status.



ACTIVITY 1.1

1) Name two political scientists who refused to regard International Politics as science.

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.....

.....

2) Try to find out some causes of conflict and co-operation among nations.

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1.5 SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

As mentioned earlier international politics is a new discipline on academic scene and it has passed through various phases of development in the twentieth century. Parallely, the scope or subject matter of international politics has also been increasing in the context of their changing nature in present context. Globalisation has its profound impact on international politics. Globalisation has increases mobility of ideas, thoughts, people, goods and technology across borders and accordingly the scope of international politics has also expanded in the present context of globalisation. In this context, only the main subject matters of international politics are discussed.

- **State System:** International politics is concerned with the relation among the sovereign states. In international politics, greater importance has been given on state system and each state is treated as the actor in international affairs because, the actions and interactions of the states always exercise profound influence on international politics. Due to some specific characteristics, each state differs from another although they posses certain common features. Similarly, various elements of states involve them in mutual relations. Although boundaries between states

are clearly defined yet a sort of uncertainty exist which may involve the states in conflict. For example, the tension that exists between India and China is largely due to their interpretation with regard to their respective boundaries. Besides, each state has to choose and carry out policy in consonance with international law since all states possess same rights. Such activity always leads to interference by one state over the other.

- **Non-state Actor:** Apart from state system, certain non-state actors also greatly influence the course of international politics. The United Nations (U.N.) is a non-state actor which carries out vast range of activities through its major political organs- the Security Council and the general assembly. Each state has to cooperate with the U.N while formulating policies for their own. There are some Regional Organisations, Multinational Corporations and National Liberation Organisations which also influence the course of international events. African Union(AU), European Union(EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation(NATO), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Arab League (AL), Association of South East Asian Nations(ASEAN), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Commonwealth of Nations, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation etc. are some example of regional organisations which are basically busy in bringing only peaceful changes in the territorial boundaries of the organisation.
- **Conflict and Co-operation:** Conflict and cooperation amongnations are two important subjectmatterof international politics. Conflict is considered as an actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests while, cooperation is a process of working to the same end. Conflict arises from incompatibility of interests of nations. International politics basically revolves around these two elements. It is the study of the control of conflict and establishment of co-operation among nations.
- **Power:** Acquisition of power and its exercise is another important subject matter of international politics. Hans J. Morgenthau, chief exponent of realist school of thought said, International Politics like all politics is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Power is the ability of a state to

control the behaviour and actions of other states in accordance with one's own will. Power plays the same role in international politics as money plays in market economy.

- **International law:** It is considered as an indispensable part of international politics. International law is a body of generally accepted principles formulated to control the conduct of nation-states, individuals and international organisations. It prevails both during war and peace.
- **War and Peace:** Another subject matter of international politics is war and peace. War occurs as a result of discontent among nations. Each nation tries to influence the other and fulfil national interest by exercising power, that sometimes results in armed conflict or war-like situation. "War is the state's highest performance in which its special nature reaches its fullest development" (Kauffmann). Most of the nations propagated war as an instrument of national policy.
- **Ideology:** Ideology constitutes an indispensable part in the study of international politics. Each nation follows some principles concerning economic, social and political values and goals. Most of the ideologies concerned with the achievement of power as an immediate goal of foreign policy. Ideology constitutes the backbone of the foreign policy of a state and each state strives for its effective implementation.
- **Foreign Policy:** Foreign policy constitutes the centre of study of international politics. Foreign policy of a state is the totality of its dealings with the external environment. Each nation tries to make congenial atmosphere with other through formulation of foreign policy and translate its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action. Foreign policy aims at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations.
- **National Interest:** Another subject of international politics is national interest. Each nation tries to promote its national interest and accordingly foreign policy is prepared in a systematic and well-defined manner. Diplomacy, propaganda and political warfare, policy of status-quo, policy of prestige, ideology etc. are some instruments adopted to realise national interest in true sense. It is said that the conflict between two states is the conflict of two different national interest.

- **Geo-Politics:** Geo-politics is the effects of geography on politics and international relations. At the level of international relations, geo-politics is a method of studying foreign policy to understand, explain and predict international political behaviour through geographical variables. Climate, topography, demography, national resources, territory, water etc. are some variables that influence power-relationship among nations in international relations. Besides these, nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, arms control, national character etc. are some other subjects of international politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Name two major non-state actors that influence the course of international politics.

.....

Q.6: What are the full forms of NATO, ASEAN and SAARC?

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Q.7: Write about state system as important subject matter of international politics.

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ACTIVITY 1.2

1) Do you think war as an instrument of national policy? (Try to give arguments)

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2) Try to find out the major instruments adopted by a state to realise its national interest.

.....

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.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

- International politics is a process by which nations try to serve their national interests, through policies and actions. It is the process by which conflicts are resolved at international level. The main three elements of international politics are national interest, conflict and power.
- National interest is considered as the objective, conflict is the condition and power is the means of international politics. Conflict arises out of an incompatibility of interest of nations and every nation tries to safeguard their own interest by trying to influence and control the behaviour of other nations. Along with conflict, co-operation also exists since interests of some nations are identical to the interests of other nations.
- Nature and subject-matter of international politics including various elements like state and non-state actors that influence in the course of international politics. You have also come to know about the difficulties encountered by international politics since its inception to the present time. Despite the difficulties, international politics have been gradually proceeding towards the achievement of an independent status. Now international politics encompasses a variety of subjects which contribute

towards making it as emerging discipline. It is believed that international politics will become an autonomous discipline by acquiring all potentialities for becoming a full-fledged subject.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (2012). *International Politics.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2) Chandra, Prakash. (1979). *International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
3) Chatterjee, Aneek. (2010).*International Relations Today: Concepts and Application.* New Delhi: Pearson Publications.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Quincy Wright

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Jeremy Bentham

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Hans J. Morgenthau

Ans. to Q. No. 4: National interest, Conflict and Power

Ans. to Q. No. 5: United Nations, European Union

Ans. to Q. No. 6: NATO– North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, ASEAN– Association for South East Asian Nations, SAARC– South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: International politics is concerned with the relation among the sovereign states. In international politics, greater importance has been given on state system and each state is treated as the actor in international affairs because, the actions and interactions of the states always exercise profound influence on international politics. Due to some specific characteristics, each state differs from another although they posses certain common features. Similarly, various elements of states involve them in mutual relations. Although boundaries between states are clearly defined yet a sort of uncertainty

exist which may involve the states in conflict. For example, the tension that exists between India and China is largely due to their interpretation with regard to their respective boundaries. Besides, each state has to choose and carry out policy in consonance with international law since all states possess same rights. Such activity always leads to interference by one state over the other.



1.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Differentiate International Politics from International Relations.

Q.2: Define International Politics.

Q.3: Write a note on nature of International Politics.

Q.4: Give argument in favour of International Politics as a science.

Q.5: Discuss the main subject-matters of International Politics.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AS AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Phases of Development of International Politics

2.4 Factors Responsible for Changing Nature of International Politics

2.5 Changing Dimension of International Politics

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the phases of development of International Politics
- examine the factors responsible for changing the nature of International Politics in the world scenario
- discuss the changing dimension of International Politics in post - world war period
- discuss the situation where great power lost their relevance and new sovereign states emerged as an international force.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

The history of development of International Politics as an academic discipline can be traced back to post world war I period. Prior to this, International politics was studied as a part of other discipline like history, philosophy, international law, political science etc. Now it is essentially an interdisciplinary subject in character that has relations with more disciplines like political science, history, geography, international law and so forth.

Besides, it is dynamic in nature since it has achieved its present status as an independent discipline spending several phases of history in a specified way. Yet it can be said that the study of international politics is relatively recent in academic scene.

2.3 PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The first chair of International Politics was founded in 1919 at the University College of Wales. Several eminent scholars like Alfred Zimmern, C. K. Webster, Reynolds, E. H. Carretc, were the early occupants of the chair. This is the starting point of the development of international politics as an academic discipline. Similarly, emergence of First World War and contemporary incidence stimulated the teaching of international relations/ politics as a separate discipline among academic community. Incidence of conflict, persuasion, inducement, punishment, coercion and co-operation among the states during first world war period influenced some countries particularly United States of America to study international relations in a systematic way. After all, the study of international relations passed through various stages of development in twentieth century. Kenneth Thompson (1921-2013) in his book "The Study of International Politics: A Survey of Trends and Development" mentions four stages of development of International Politics which are discussed below:

The first stage of development of international politics started in the first part of twentieth century and continues up to the end of First World War. This period of development of international politics was dominated by diplomatic historians who avoided the study of current affairs as well as deducing any universal principles from their descriptive study of facts. During this period emphasis was laid on the study of diplomatic history and the current political events were studied in historical context only. International Politics was studied through descriptive method which helped in understanding current events. Such study did not help in understanding international politics in theoretical perspective. But their historical orientation helped in establishment of a theoretical core for the subject although, no

theory of international politics could be developed during that period. Some scholars tried to examine as to why states behave in a particular manner which leads to war or war-like situation and by how such situation could be avoided. These scholars tried to acquire systematic knowledge about the behaviour of the states in international arena with a view to locating areas of conflict and suggested ways for minimization of these conflicts in order to secure world peace.

The second stage of development of international politics started after the end of First World War. During this period, scholars of international politics adopted two different approaches and laid emphasis on the study of current events. They stressed on the study of the present without much preference to the past. They even did not pay attention to the methodology and the future of international relations. So, their study lacked an integral view as they completely neglected study of past and future. But the most impressive fact is that during this stage of development, international politics become free from the clutches of history.

The third stage of development of international politics started almost simultaneously with the second stage of development and it continued to exist throughout the inter-war period and even after that. During this period, scholars of international politics shocked by the incidence of First World War, emphasised on establishment of world peace and harmony among nations. They stressed on the importance of international organisations and international law as an alternative to establish world peace among nations and therefore, they stressed on institutionalisation of international relations and made efforts to search the goals and values towards which international community should move. They believed that international problems could be solved and a peaceful world could be attained only through formulation of international law and establishment of international organisations. These scholars under the inspiration of American President Woodrow Wilson adopted a visionary reformist approach and emphasised on legal and moral aspects regarding minimization of war-like situation prevailed among the aggrieved nations. After all, they were optimistic about formulation of an ideal international society and had great faith in the newly established League

of Nations (1920), formed as a result of the Paris Peace Conference (1919) that ended the first world war. But the main concern of the scholars was to develop legal institutions and organizations, not to realise and understand the hard realities of international relations. Therefore, such approach did not last for long period as the study of international relations lacked dynamic character. Yet it can be said that during this period importance of international law and organisations in minimization of war and establishment of world peace gained a crucial place in the study of international politics.

The fourth stage of development of international politics started by the end of Second World War. During this stage, emphasis shifted from international law and organisations to forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of states– such as determinants of foreign policies, techniques of the conduct of foreign relations and the mode of resolution of international conflicts. Because international law and organisations had lost its prior relevance due to the occurrence of Second World War and irreparable damages caused by it. League of Nations could not fulfil its role as devised and failed totally in securing peace and harmony among the nations. Scholars therefore discarded the utopian ideal of a peaceful world order and resorted to realistic analysis of world politics. Scholars like George Schwarzenberger [Power Politics, 1941]; Hubert Butterfeild [Christianity, Diplomacy and War, 1953]; Morgenthau [Politics Among Nations, 1948]; George Kennan [American Diplomacy, 1952] etc, devoted in their study the investigation of the elemental facts of the activity of states. These realist scholars tried to find out the driving forces behind the formulation of foreign policy of the states and came to the conclusion that the power constituted the most decisive factor in the study of international politics. During the middle part of 1950 s research activity started to develop a scientific theory of international relations and since then, a number of new subjects have been added to the study of international politics. Thus, the content and nature of international politics has changed after the Second World War due to emergence of several new factors in international life.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who wrote the book "The study of International Politics: A Survey of Trends and Development"?

.....

Q.2: Which method was used during first stage of development to study international politics?

.....

Q.3: Who wrote the book "American Diplomacy" (1952)?

.....

Q.4: Which International Treaty contributed towards formation of League of Nations?

.....



ACTIVITY 2.1

Find out under what circumstances International Community formed League of Nations.

.....

.....

.....

2.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Basically emergence of large number of new sovereign states out of the clutches of colonial rulers and formation of two power blocs in world politics changed the whole scenario of international politics. Due to fast declining phase of colonialism Europe ceased to be epicentre of world politics and international politics assumed truly international character and lost in a large measure its former European dominated character. Some other factors that contributed to change in the nature of international politics in the post-second world war are the technological development, growing liquidation

of colonialism, emergence of new universal values, desire for seeking a theoretical order in the knowledge of international affairs etc. As a result 51 new sovereign states emerged as a new international force and great powers lost its earlier role as sole guardians of small powers. Though by the emergence of new states international politics assumed international character simultaneously their emergence made international politics more complicated. Their aggressive nationalism, economic backwardness, population explosion, administrative instability and defencelessness made world politics more disturbing. Another development took place with the emergence of these states was the growth of people's participation in formulation of foreign policy. People obtained their greater say in foreign affairs because of their concern for securing peace and harmony among nations. In this way international politics achieved democratic approach and resulted in socialization of foreign policy. Public opinion became a part of foreign policy and it became a responsibility bestowed upon foreign policy makers to satisfy worldwide audience. For example, under pressure of American public opinion on Vietnam issue Mr. Richard Nixon had to resign and the „Voice of America deal was cancelled. As a result ideals of peace, international justice, disarmament became a charised value for people all over the world. Herbert J. Spiro, an American political scientist, has brought out the changing nature of international politics thus- "a change in unit from a few mainly European sovereign national states as the major actors in the international relations to the so-called blocs combined in treaty organisations plus the poorly defined new states, plus the secretariat of the United Nations". One of the important factors which has contributed in the changing nature of international politics is globalisation. Globalisation is a process which has enabled easy movement of ideas, thoughts, goods and people across borders. With this nature of relations among state and non-state actors has also changed and expanded towards new dimensions.



ACTIVITY 2.2

1) Find out the two power blocs emerged in post-world war period.

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2) Try to identify the factors responsible for changing nature of International Politics.

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2.5 CHANGING DIMENSION OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The study of international politics assumed a new dimension when a group of thinkers of behavioural school of thought adopted interdisciplinary approach and tried to develop theories and models relating to the pattern of behaviour of political units with fair degree of accuracy. By this humble beginning international politics began to study in theoretical context and a large number of new subjects had been enjoined to the study of international politics.

In subsequent period, the study of international politics underwent remarkable changes. Scholars of international politics stressed on substantive issues which have firm basis in reality with the help of sophisticated methods and tools of study. Similarly, technology development and advent of atomic or nuclear weapons changed the nature of warfare or conflict among the states. Due to highly destructive nature of nuclear weapons, the efficacy of war as an instrument of national policy was questioned among states and there was a growing tendency among states to avoid war as far as possible since war had lost its primacy as a means for settlement of international disputes. Development of Jet Air Craft with intercontinental range and super-

sonic speed, Missiles with nuclear powered planes and Submarines changed the nature of warfare among states and thereby that of international politics. Increasing military power among states changed warfare from a fight to a process of devastation. Military superiority became a status symbol among nations of the world. The destructiveness of nuclear weapons changed the character of international politics in more than one respect. Max Larner expressed the changing nature of international politics in the light of the capacity of overkill [Max Larner- The Age of Overkill, London, 1964]. In other words, power surplus was the distinguishing feature of post-world war period.

Growth of peace movement also exercised profound influence on the nature of international politics. The fast declining phase of colonialism in post-second world war period and emergence of new sovereign states and formation of a new force under the initiative of Non-Aligned Movement enlarged the area of international politics. Great powers who were the sole guardians of the interest of small powers lost their relevance in international politics and concept like multi-state interest got recognized. Most of the newly emerging sovereign states were keen to avoid war at any cost due to their past experience about colonialism and First and Second World War and promote their national interests through peaceful means. Those states also realised that only through international institutions world peace could be secured among the states. As a result, concept like peace and role of international organization in securing world peace become a part of international politics.

Another important aspect of nuclear warfare was its violent and destructive nature and impact on humanity. Use of atom bomb and concentration on violence in terms of time makes the concept of victory meaningless since nuclear war involves the danger of mutual suicide. Such defencelessness against nuclear weapons brought some radical changes in the nature of international policies. Later on power politics came to take new form i.e. bipolarity and bipolar world became major determinant of the nature of international politics. An environment of indefiniteness in terms of war came into exist which resulted to security concern for human being of most of the states. This “indefiniteness of nuclear age” made foreign policy and international politics a complicated subject.



LET US KNOW

Bipolarity is defined as a system of world order prevalent during cold war where two rival super power states i.e. United States (Capitalist Bloc) and Soviet Union (Socialist Bloc) dominated and regulated International Politics during second half of twentieth century. It implies existence of two power blocs in two extreme opposite point.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write briefly about the impact of peaceful movement on international politics.

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Q.6: Write about two universal values developed during post- world war period.

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2.6 LET US SUM UP

- The history of development of International Politics as an academic discipline can be traced back to post world war I period. Emergence of First World War and contemporary incidence stimulated the teaching of international relations/ politics as a separate discipline among academic community. Incidence of conflict, persuasion, inducement, punishment, coercion and co-operation among the states during first world war period influenced some countries particularly United States of America to study international relations in a systematic way.
- The second stage of development of international politics started after the end of First World War. During this period, scholars of international politics adopted two different approaches and laid emphasis on the study of current events.
- The third stage of development of international politics started almost simultaneously with the second stage of development and it continued to exist throughout the inter-war period and even after that. During this period, scholars of international politics stressed on the importance of international organisations and international law as an alternative to establish world peace among nations and therefore, they stressed on institutionalisation of international relations and made efforts to search the goals and values towards which international community should move.
- The fourth stage of development of international politics started by the end of Second World War. During this stage, emphasis shifted from international law and organisations to forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of states– such as determinants of foreign policies, techniques of the conduct of foreign relations and the mode of resolution of international conflicts. The content and nature of international politics has changed after the Second World War due to emergence of several new factors in international life.

- The nature of international politics in the contemporary time has changed to a large extent and a number of factors are responsible for this changing dimension of international politics.



2.7 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (2012). *International Politics.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2) Chandra, Prakash. (1979). *International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
3) Chatterjee, Aneek. (2010).*International Relations Today: Concepts and Application.* New Delhi: Pearson Publications.



2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Kenneth Thompson

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Descriptive Method

Ans. to Q. No. 3: George Kennan

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Paris Peace Conference

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Growth of peace movement exercised profound influence on the nature of international politics. The fast declining phase of colonialism in post-second world war period and emergence of new sovereign states and formation of a new force under the initiative of Non-Aligned Movement enlarged the area of international politics. Great powers who were the sole guardians of the interest of small powers lost their relevance in international politics and concept like multi-state interest got recognized. Most of the newly emerging sovereign states were keen to avoid war at any cost due to their past experience about colonialism and First and Second World War and promote their national interests through peaceful means. Those states also realised that only through international institutions world

peace could be secured among the states. As a result, concept like peace and role of international organization in securing world peace become a part of international politics.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: i) Respect to public opinion

ii) Avoid war and maintain world peace



2.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Discuss the various stages of development of International Politics.

Q.2: Write the factors responsible for changing nature of International Politics.

Q.3: Discuss the remarkable changes taken place in the study of International Politics.

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UNIT 3: IDEALISM AND REALISM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 What is Idealism or Idealist Approach

3.4 What is Realism or Realist Approach

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Further Reading

3.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.8 Possible Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain idealism, its features that emerged as an approach or ideology in international politics in the beginning of twentieth century
- explain realism and its features that emerged as a dominant approach in international politics after the Second World War
- discuss the visionary and innovative ideas of both idealist and realist approaches relating to establishment of a better future world besides relationship between both
- analyse the values sought to be applied in future world through their respective study.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Political scientists have adopted different approaches for the study of international politics. Among these, Prof. Hedley Bull divided various approaches into two categories– (i) Classical Approach or Traditional Approach and (ii) Scientific Approach. Classical approach which was prevalent till the twentieth century, mainly concerns itself with the historical dimensions and lays emphasis on diplomatic, historical and institutional

studies. On the other hand, scientific approach or behavioural approach which became popular in the wake of the second world war lays special emphasis on the scientific method of study, behaviour of men reflected in the field of international relations and to devise an explanatory theory about international phenomena. In this unit the two variants of Classical Approach, viz., Idealism and Realism are discussed in details.

3.3 WHAT IS IDEALISM OR IDEALIST APPROACH

Idealism or Idealist Approach which dominated the international scene from beginning of twentieth century to early 1940's is utopian in nature. This approach regards power politics as the passing phase of history and presents the picture of a future international society free from power politics, immortality and violence. Idealism always aims at bringing about a better world with the help of education and international organisation. Condorcet, Rousseau, Kant, Woodrow Wilson, etc. are some prominent exponents of this approach. Among these, Condorcet is well known for his liberal outlook and contribution to idealists thought. He wrote treaties in 1795 which is considered as the essential basis of idealism in international relations. He visualized a world order free from war, inequality and tyranny. Rousseau's views are also reflected in his work "Fragments of an Essay on the State of War". Kant also made a strong plea for the prevention of war among states and creation of conditions for perpetual peace. Another strong advocate of idealism Woodrow Wilson made a strong plea for establishment of world peace and international organisation and under the inspiration of Wilson, idealism was given renewal emphasis in inter-war period Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) was an early advocate of idealism. He was an American statesman and academic who served as the 20th President of the United States from 1913-1921. He was the key leader at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) where he championed a new League of Nations.

After all, exponents of idealist approach visualised a future better world free from power politics, immortality and violence. These exponents believed the assumption that the interests of various groups or nations are

likely to be adjusted in the larger interest of mankind as a whole. Since human nature is essentially good therefore, a moral and rational world order is possible through education and reforms. A future better world could emerge only by following moral principles in mutual relations in place of power and therefore, the idealists emphasised on suppress the totalitarian forces by the use of democratic principles. Another necessity propounded by idealists is the establishment of the world government. The idealists regard international relations as a separate field of study with the visionary hope of abolishing war and initiating an era of law and order in international society. The main principles of idealism are–

- Idealism believes that a rational and moral political order, derived from universally valid abstract principles, can be achieved.
- Idealists claim that they can explain the understanding of total reality of international politics in a well organised manner.
- Idealists stressed on value of morality to be followed by the states in international politics. States should follow the non-partisan principle and must alienate themselves from traditional power politics.
- Idealists emphasised on the principles of international understanding and mutual cooperation in order to combat war. They realised about war and its devastation impact during world war and therefore regarded war as an international problem as war represents the worst feature of the international system.
- Idealists emphasised on establishment of world peace through the process of global disarmament and arms control. Therefore they suggested on reduction of arms race among nations.
- Idealists also suggested to suppress the totalitarian forces the use of democratic methods which will minimize the ideological clash between democratic and dictatorial forces and promote world peace and co-operation among nation-states.



ACTIVITY 3.1

1) Try to find out the reasons why Idealists are called as utopian.

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2) Try to find out the contribution of the Idealist towards promotion of values in International Politics.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who wrote the book "Fragments of an Essay on the State of War"?

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Q.2: Who visualised a future better world free from power politics, immortality and violence?

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Q.3: Write about the principles of idealism.

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3.4 WHAT IS REALISM OR REALIST APPROACH

Realism or Realist approach which emerged mainly after the Second World War and remained influential till early 1960's, approached the recurring world problem with a view to understanding them. Exponents of realism believe that they can explain the total reality of international politics. Realism in international politics is a set of ideas which take into account the implications of security and power factors. The basic assumption underlying the realist theory is the perpetual existence of conflict among nations in one form or the other. It maintains that a contest for power or influence always goes on in international society and this can hardly be controlled by international law or world government. It unequivocally accepts as its guiding principle the permanence of the struggle for power. This approach is also known as Power Approach.

Some of the well known leading realists are Hans J. Morgenthau, E. H. Carr, Henry Kissenger, George Kennan, Stanley Hoffmann, Herbert Butterfield, Reinhold Niebuhr, Thompson, Spykman etc. Among these, Hans. J. Morgenthau (b.1904) is considered as the most persuasive advocate of realist approach due to his contribution of theoretical orientation to realism. Morgenthau made landmark contributions to international relations theory and the study of international law. He was esteemed as an academic interpreter of United States foreign policy. He said, "International Politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim". According to him, the central focus of realism is power. He defined power as "man's control over the minds and actions of other man". Since Morgenthau is the chief exponent of the realist approach, it is proper to discuss in details his theory of international politics. The essence of his theory is contained in six principles of political realism mentioned in his celebrated book "Politics Among Nations" (1948). The book introduces the concept of political realism, presenting realist view of power politics. This concept played a major role in the foreign policy of United States which made it exercise globe-spanning power in the cold war period. The six principles of political realism as propounded by Morgenthau are–

- Firstly, politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology. The laws by which man moves in the social world are eternal. To improve society it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. Morgenthau also maintain that the human nature has not changed since classical times.
- Secondly, Morgenthau lays great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he defines in terms of power. His assumption is that statesman think and act in terms of interest defined as power.
- Thirdly, Morgenthau holds that interest is not fixed and is moulded by the environment. He assigns important role to environments in the determination of political action.
- Fourthly, he asserts that universal moral principles cannot be applied to states actions and these must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place.
- Fifthly, Morgenthau does not find any identity between moral aspirations of a nation and moral laws which govern the universe and asserts that all political actors pursue their national interest.
- Finally, Morgenthau says that political sphere is as autonomous as the sphere of the economist, or the lawyer or the moralist.

The realist approaches have some significance to the study of international politics. Basically this approach is based on three basic assumptions. First, the statesman desire to pursue their national interest. Secondly, the interest of every nation lies in the expansion of its influence, and thirdly, states use their power or influence in the protection and furtherance of their interests.

Critics have criticised Morgenthau's theory of political realism. They argued that Morgenthau does not give a precise definition of national interest. He only states that the content of national interest is determined by the total cultural context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy. He emphasised on the conflict of national interest among states and totally ignored the element of mutual cooperation which is equally relevant to international politics. The failure of realist theory to see national interest in terms of various interpretations is responsible for its inadequacy to explain the behaviour of

states. Similarly, realistic theory is incorrect in giving a deterministic and mechanical meaning to the concept of national interest.

Robert Tucker and Kenneth Waltz have criticised realist approach of Morgenthau as inconsistent with reality. Stanley Hoffmann also criticised that Morgenthau's theory wrongly assumes power as the most important goal which the nations pursue and excludes other considerations that greatly influence the national power and actions of the state. Hoffmann also remarks the realist approach as too static. After all, realist theory fails to explain any other aspects of international politics. But his contribution can be appreciated in the context of other theoretical efforts made before and after Morgenthau. Definitely his theory is a starting point of any theoretical study of international politics.

The controversy between the idealist and realist approach became very much manifest during the inter-war period. The differences between two approaches regarding establishment of world peace and minimization of war are manifested in terms of their methods and approach. Yet both Idealist approach and Realist approach have much significance to the study of International Politics. Though both are competing to each other yet values developed by both approaches contributed much towards development of international politics as an autonomous academic discipline. The principle of international understanding, mutual cooperation, establishment of world peace through global disarmament and arms control, value of democracy, morality initiation of an era of law and order etc. are some principles developed through these approaches.



ACTIVITY 3.2

Try to find out the differences between Idealism and Realism.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who is called as the main exponent of the Realist approach?

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Q.5: What is the central focus of realism/ realist approach?

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Q.6: Write briefly about the principles of realism as propounded by Morgenthau.

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3.5 LET US SUM UP

- Idealism and realism are two perspectives to study international politics from two different perspectives.
- Idealist approach regards power politics as the passing phase of history and presents the picture of a future international society free from power politics, immortality and violence. Idealism always aims at bringing about a better world with the help of education and international organisation.
- Exponents of the idealist approach visualised a future better world free from power politics, immortality and violence. These exponents believed

the assumption that the interests of various groups or nations are likely to be adjusted in the larger interest of mankind as a whole. Since human nature is essentially good therefore, a moral and rational world order is possible through education and reforms.

- Realism in international politics is a set of ideas which take into account the implications of security and power factors. The basic assumption underlying the realist theory is the perpetual existence of conflict among nations in one form or the other. It maintains that a contest for power or influence always goes on in international society and this can hardly be controlled by international law or world government. It unequivocally accepts as its guiding principle the permanence of the struggle for power. This approach is also known as Power Approach.
- Hans. J. Morgenthau is the chief exponent of the realist approach. He propounded six principles of realism which constitute core of this theory.
- Idealist approach and Realist approach have much significance to the study of International Politics. Though both are competing to each other yet values developed by both approaches contributed much towards development of international politics as an autonomous academic discipline.



3.6 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (2012). *International Politics.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2) Chandra, Prakash. (1979). *International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
3) Chatterjee, Aneek. (2010).*International Relations Today: Concepts and Application.* New Delhi: Pearson Publications.



3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Rousseau

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Idealist thinkers

Ans. to Q. No. 3: i) Idealism believes that a rational and moral political order, derived from universally valid abstract principles, can be achieved.

ii) Idealists claim that they can explain the understanding of total reality of international politics in a well organised manner.

iii) Idealists stressed on value of morality to be followed by the states in international politics. States should follow the non-partisan principle and must alienate themselves from traditional power politics.

iv) Idealists emphasised on the principles of international understanding and mutual cooperation in order to combat war. They realised about war and its devastation impact during world war and therefore regarded war as an international problem as war represents the worst feature of the international system.

v) Idealists emphasised on establishment of world peace through the process of global disarmament and arms control. Therefore they suggested on reduction of arms race among nations.

vi) Idealists also suggested to suppress the totalitarian forces the use of democratic methods which will minimize the ideological clash between democratic and dictatorial forces and promote world peace and co-operation among nation-states.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Hans. J. Morgenthau

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Power

Ans. to Q. No. 6: i) Politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology. The laws by which man moves in the social world are eternal. To improve society it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. Morgenthau also maintain that the human nature has not changed since classical times.

ii) Morgenthau lays great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he defines in terms of power. His assumption is that statesman think and act in terms of interest defined as power.

iii) Morgenthau holds that interest is not fixed and is moulded by the environment. He assigns important role to environments in the determination of political action.

iv) He asserts that universal moral principles cannot be applied to states actions and these must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place.

v) Morgenthau does not find any identity between moral aspirations of a nation and moral laws which govern the universe and asserts that all political actors pursue their national interest.

vi) Morgenthau says that political sphere is as autonomous as the sphere of the economist, or the lawyer or the moralist.



3.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Write a brief note on what is Idealism and Idealist Approach.

Q.2: What are the main features of Idealist Approach?

Q.3: Give a picture of future better world envisaged by the Idealist.

Q.4: Why realist approach is known as Power Approach?

Q.5: Critically discuss Morgenthau's views on realism.

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UNIT 4: GAME THEORY AND BARGAINING THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Game Theory

4.3.1 What is Game Theory

4.3.2 Basic Concepts of Game Theory

4.4 What is Bargaining Theory

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.6 Further Reading

4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.8 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the basics of game theory and its different types applied in conflict and co-operation process
- describe major concepts, strategies followed by each player/ actor to achieve outcome in international scene
- discuss the bargaining and strategic behaviour highly useful in international negotiations between states.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Game theory is a theoretical approach to International Politics by contracting it with metaphorical and analogical uses of games. It embraces a diversity of models.Game theory finds its application in international relations as conflict, co-operation and competition among nationstates form important areas of discussion. The theory is useful in analysing situations of conflict, competition and co-operation. On the other hand, Bargaining theory, which is called as an extended version of Game theory, defines war

and conflict among nation-states as a bargaining interaction. International relations theory has long seen the origins, conduct and termination of war as a bargaining process. Bargaining models have been applied by researchers to answer questions ranging from why states rationally start wars to why democracies tend to win wars they enter.

4.3 GAME THEORY

In the following sections we shall discuss game theory in detail.

4.3.1 What is Game Theory

Game theory has been widely applied in social sciences since the 1950's. Game theory is the study of mathematical models of conflict and co-operation between intelligent decision makers. A mathematical model is a description of a system using mathematical concepts and language. Such mathematical models are used in the natural sciences as well as in the social sciences. This theory has been developed as a model mainly by some renowned mathematicians and economists to analyze international politics. Among them John Von Neumann, Martin Shubnik, Oscar Morgensterns, Anatol Rapport, Karl Deutsch and John Nash were prominent. In this regard, the contribution made by John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern who published the book "The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour" (1944), is remarkable. John Von Neumann, a Hungarian- American mathematician originally conceived this game theory and during later stage, his followers widely applied this theory in social science. In brief, Game theory is a method of analysis and also of selecting the best course of action. It is a body of thought dealing with rational decisions, strategies in situation of conflict and competition, when each participant or player seeks to maximise gain and minimise losses. Basically this theory attempts to answer the question what action is rational in which situation.

Game theory applies a game of strategy, not a game of chances. This theory envisages several types of game. The basic game is known as the “two person zero sum” game where there are only two players– victory and defeat, each cancels out other in the struggle. In this game the struggle is decisive, the victor destroys the enemy. For example, if A wins 70, B also loses 70 and the outcome is zero, i.e. what one player wins, the other loses.

Another type of game is ‘constant-sum” where both the players try to acquire equal advantage by mutual cooperation while in ‘non-zero sum” both the players involve themselves in conflict and co-operation. In this game neither side loses and both may win.

4.3.2 Basic Concepts of Game Theory

Game theory has five major concepts. The first one is the strategy which means skilful plan of the previously decided set of moves to be taken as and when the anticipated moves of the opponent require them. The strategy can be pure or mixed depending upon the number of calculated strategic steps. The aim of strategy is to play against anything which the opponent may do. Strategy always takes into account the potential behaviour of opponents. The second component of game theory is the existence of opponents. The third one is pay-off, acquired by each player as a result of each possible outcome. It simply refers to what the game is worth at the end. The fourth concept is rules that govern the behaviour of players. These rules are governed by geographical, economic, sociological, biological and psychological factors. The last concept is the information about the enemy.

In international relations, game theory assumes that each player would pursue strategies within a set of rules which help to achieve the most profitable outcome and get the maximum pay-off. Generally, nation-states are considered as the player or actor who pursue strategies to achieve the outcome. Each actor tries to win or achieve their goals in competitive situations and accordingly follow

a set of rules to pursue and finally achieve goals. During this uncertain situation, sometimes rivals share their common interests and even cooperate to some extent or coordinate their strategies.

Game theory usually supports a decision making approach based on the assumption of rationality of players in a situation of competition. Each player tries to maximise their gains or minimise losses under conditions of uncertainty and incomplete information. This situation requires each player to rank preferences, estimate probabilities, and try to discern or find out what the other player is going to do. For instance, during cold war both capitalist bloc led by United States and socialist bloc led by USSR wanted to maximize their gains and minimize their losses under conditions of uncertainty.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write the name of any two thinkers who contributed towards development of Game theory.

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Q.2: Who wrote the book "The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour" (1944)?

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Q.3: Write briefly about five major concepts of the Game theory.

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4.4 WHAT IS BARGAINING THEORY

Bargaining theory is an extended version of Game theory. Carl Von Clausewitz (b.1780) was the first to define war as a bargaining interaction and remarked that war has no value itself, no one pursues war without having a larger goal. During the 1950s, the limited conflicts of the cold war furthered the Bargaining theory. Because wars were limited, it was determined that war usually ends with a bargain rather than a total military victory. Due to inadequacy in the orthodox Game theory, Thomas Schelling and others have suggested this Bargaining theory and seek to apply the same in the field of international negotiations.

International negotiation is called as dialogue between two or more people or parties intended to reach a beneficial outcome over other or more issues where a conflict exist with respect to at least one of these issues. Since international negotiations are becoming more common the bargaining theory has acquired added significance. The basic idea behind this theory is that statesman should make bigger and bigger claims in negotiations and try to get as many claims as possible satisfied by the opponent.

Thomas Schelling (b.1921) an American economist and professor of foreign policy, national security, national strategy and arms control claimed in the 1960s that most conflict was a bargaining interaction and defined the end of world war II in bargaining rather than in military terms. His contribution enhanced the understanding of conflict and co-operation through game theory analysis and is remarkable for the study of international politics.

"The Strategy of Conflict" (1960) is his famous work where he pioneered the study of bargaining and strategic behaviour that Schelling refers to as "Conflict Behaviour". In this book Schelling describes "focal point(s) for each person's expectation of what the other expects him to expect to be expected to do". This type of focal point later was named as Schelling point. Schelling further explains that such points are highly useful in negotiations, because we cannot completely trust our negotiating partner's words. Thomas Schelling in his book "Micromotives and Microbehaviour" (1978) quotes– "I define Game theory as the study of how rational individuals

make choices when the better choice among two possibilities, or the best choice among several possibilities, depends on the choices that others will make or are making." Schelling made a number of fundamental contributions to the field using Game theory- the analysis of the strategic interactions between people, firms or nations. His ideas explain some of the decisions we make every day, influenced the cold war and can still be found in modern behavioural economics.

Bargaining theory is considered as a part of international negotiation process. The strategy that followed during international negotiation process is to offer a set of such proposals from one side which have a wider popular appeal, at least one factor that the other side could not possibly accept, forcing a rejection of the whole claims.

Bargaining theory is criticised as it focuses on specific cases only. The theory is not concerned with ethics, but with situation ethics. Critics have termed it as partial approach as it does not contribute directly to the evolution of a general theory of international relations. No doubt, international bargaining and negotiations constitute a relatively well-defined sub-field of international relations at present scenario.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who wrote the book "The Strategy of Conflict" (1960)?

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Q.5: Who defined war as a bargaining interaction at first?

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Q.6: What is the basic idea behind the bargaining theory?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

- Game theory is the study of mathematical models of conflict and co-operation between intelligent decision makers. A mathematical model is a description of a system using mathematical concepts and language. Such mathematical models are used in the natural sciences as well as in the social sciences.
- Game theory has five major concepts. These are– strategy, existence of opponents, pay-off, rules that govern the behaviour of players, information about the enemy.
- The relevance of the Game theory in international politics goes undisputed as most of the states interact by trying to predict other states reactions to their decisions. The theory has provided the basis concerning how co-operation among competitive states could be achieved.
- Bargaining theory is an extended version of Game theory.The basic idea behind the bargaining theory is that statesman should make bigger and bigger claims in negotiations and try to get as many claims as possible satisfied by the opponent.
- The contribution made by Bargaining theory in international negotiations process is also significant as it conceived a basic idea that states should make bigger and bigger claims in negotiations and try to get as many claims satisfied as possible by the opponent.



4.6 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (2012). *International Politics.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2) Chandra, Prakash. (1979). *International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
3) Chatterjee, Aneek. (2010).*International Relations Today: Concepts and Application.* New Delhi: Pearson Publications.



4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: John Von Neumann, Karl Deutsch

Ans. to Q. No. 2: John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Game theory has five major concepts. The first one is the strategy which means skilful plan of the previously decided set of moves to be taken as and when the anticipated moves of the opponent require them. The strategy can be pure or mixed depending upon the number of calculated strategic steps. The aim of strategy is to play against anything which the opponent may do. Strategy always takes into account the potential behaviour of opponents. The second component of game theory is the existence of opponents. The third one is pay-off, acquired by each player as a result of each possible outcome. It simply refers to what the game is worth at the end. The fourth concept is rules that govern the behaviour of players. These rules are governed by geographical, economic, sociological, biological and psychological factors. The last concept is the information about the enemy.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Thomas Schelling

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Carl Von Clausewitz

Ans. to Q. No. 6: The basic idea behind the bargaining theory is that statesman should make bigger and bigger claims in negotiations and try to get as many claims as possible satisfied by the opponent.



4.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Write the major concepts of Game theory.

Q.2: What do you mean by strategy?

Q.3: Critically discuss the Game theory.

Q.4: Examine the significance of Game theory in International Politics.

Q.5: Critically discuss the Bargaining theory.

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UNIT 5: DECISION MAKING THEORY AND COMMUNICATION THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Decision Making Theory

5.4 Communication Theory

5.5 Significance of Decision MakingTheory and Communication Theory

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Reading

5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.9 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the decision making theory, factors that influence decision making and policy formulation process of a state
- explain political communication, its relation to political system and political culture nurtured by different political systems.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

We have already discussed the game theory and bargaining theory in the previous unit. This unit introduces you about the decision making theory and communication theory to the study of international politics. Both the decision making theory and communication theory have much theoretical impact on the study of international relations. Basically decision making theory analyses the behavioural aspects of the states. Why a nation behaves in a particular manner in international relations and reasons behind such behaviour is the main subject matter of decision making theory. On the contrary, communication theory analyses about the political system and

importance of communication system in the smooth operation of a political system. In this unitwe shall discuss both the theories in details.

5.3 DECISION MAKING THEORY

Decision making theory is considered as the remarkable one among other theories to study international politics. This theory has gained tremendous popularity in international relations including other social sciences since 1950's. The theory is still popular because it analyses interesting issues like crucial factors which lead a particular nation to behave in a particular manner in international relations and reasons behind such behaviours. Theorists like Richard C. Synder, H. W. Bruck, Burton Sapin, Harold and Margaret Sprout have made significant contributions in the study of decision making in international relations. Basically, these theorists undertook a theoretical exploration of the behaviour of the actors in international relations. In the sixties, several writers like William Riker, James Robinson, Herbert Simon and J. W. Buston brought about an enrichment to the theory and focus on decision making for the study of the processes of policy formulation. The theory focuses inquiry on actors called decision makers and on the state defined as decisional units. The theory believes that the actions of the state are seen through the actions of decision makers.

The object of the decision making theory is to devise a conceptual framework that could help in the reconstruction of the situation as defined by the decision makers. The theory proceeds with the assumption that the key to political action lies in the way in which decision makers define their situation. The setting in which the foreign policy decisions are made is the one which is perceived by the decision maker. The setting consists of internal and external parts. Internal setting includes domestic politics, public opinion, personalities and organisations. The external setting includes all the relevant factors in the total situation of the international system existing at a particular time e.g. the factor beyond the territorial boundaries of the state, the decision of other states and nature of their society.

Advocates of this approach put emphasis on different aspects. Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout put much emphasis on the environmental factors

as it influence upon the decision making process. Environment has two aspects- one which the decision makers can see and the other which is beyond their perception. Alexander George and Juliette George put stress on personality factors viz, the study of behaviour of decision makers. Harold Lasswell, Gabrial Almond, Hermann, Milbrath etc. too recognise the importance of personality factors. The study of personality of decision makers can be helpful in explaining things at least so long as the same decision makers continue to shape and control the foreign policy of their nations. Bernard Cohen postulates five elements in the process of foreign policy-general climate of public opinion, political interest groups, the media of mass communication, specific agents in the executive branch and specific committees of a legislature. Roger Hilsman insists on a conceptual scheme of interaction between the executive and legislature branches of the government while, James Robinson put emphasis on organisation and internal process of the legislature determine the actual nature of a foreign policy.

Though the decision making theory help us to identify important structures in the political system of a nation where decisions are made yet the theory suffers from serious defects. Some of these criticisms are–

First, the theory is too empirical and completely ignores the norms andvalues which exercise profound influence on international politics. For example, ethical principles relating to right or wrong followed by a policy formulator inadvertently influence the formulation of foreign policy. It is not value-oriented.

Secondly, decision making approach is based on the principle of indeterminism as it fails to show how the factors like situation, personality, environment etc. influence the decision.

Thirdly, the theory fails to portray a comprehensive view of international politics; rather it offers a “state centric” model of international relation.

Due to such serious defects, critics have argued againstthis approach as partial as it lacks the essentials of a theory. In this regard, Young has mentioned that this approach has been used so imprecisely and indiscriminately by social scientists that it is in danger of losing any meaningful content.



ACTIVITY 5.1

Try to find out the internal and external factors that influence the states during foreign policy formulation.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention names of two exponents who contributed towards development of decision making theory.

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Q.2: Write two factors that influence foreign policy formulation of a state.

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5.4 COMMUNICATION THEORY

Communication theory is relatively a new approach in the field of scientific analysis which received great impetus from the revolutionary developments that occurred after the Second World War. Communication approach is of great importance in understanding a political system because no operation of political system can take place smoothly unless parts of the system can communicate with each other.

In international relations the term 'political communication" as an approach to the analytical study of international political system is used as appropriate in comparison to the term "communication" which is just used in relation to the media of dissemination of information. So, communication and political communication are two different terms. The term "communication" has been borrowed from the concept of cybernetics which means "steering".

In international relations "communication" refers to a body of basic concepts underlying several contemporary approaches to human behaviour including the interaction of nation-states. Noted mathematician Warren Weaver used the term communication and includes all the procedures by which one mind may affect another. Robert C. North also used the term to include the concept of "cybernetics" to signify the control of communication and the ability of a state to control is related to its ability to deal with information. Norbert Wiener, chief exponent of the cybernetics equates communication and control; every time we communicate, we control, cybernetics is concerned with a particular kind of system, namely one that is steered and that is conceived in terms of communication and information. But in strict cybernetic term, the communication is political, if it involves the transmission of political messages, demands, supports and binding decisions. Norbert Weiner developed the concept of cybernetics to signify the control of communication in political system.

The study of political communication approach is integrally related to the study of political system. It is the communication that gives dynamics to the political system. Similarly the study of communication is truly the study of dynamics of the political system. The political communication approach lays stress on the point that all functions of a political system are performed by means of communication. It is the communication that sustains and nourishes the body of a system. Hence, one may liken the communication function to the circulation of the blood. It is not the blood but what it contains that nourishes the system. For example, legislators make laws on the basis of information communicated to them by their fellow parliamentarians and ministers of the government. Administrators perform their functions on the basis of information communicated to them by the society and the organs of government.

Karl Deutsch (1912-1992) another political scientist contributed much towards the development of communication approach. Karl Deutsch in his celebrated work, "The Nerves of Government: Model of Political Communication and Control" (1963) applies the concept of information, communication and control to problem of political and social science borrowing from Norbert Weiner's concept of "feedback""channel capacity" and "memory". For Karl Deutsch, communication approach revolves around

certain important concepts which are related to operating structure viz., flows, processes and outcomes. According to him, every political system has some "receptors" or "reception systems" dealing with the intake of information from internal and external environment. The "flows and processes" deal with the channels and other terms like load and load capacity. Load relates to the overall intake of Information at any given time. Load Capacity relate to factors like responsiveness, fidelity, voice and distortions. The outcome manifesting in the form of decisions are the results of inputs. There are some specific concepts which are central to an explanation of the operation of the negative feedback processes. They are- feedback, lag, gain, and lead. Feedback refers to the message about the actions which are returned to the system and enable the decision makers to access their success or failure. Lag is a measure of delay in reporting and acting on information about the consequences of decisions and actions. Gain represents the extensiveness of a system's response to the information. Lead refers to the capacity to act in response to forecast of future consequences.

Political communication approach can be utilised as a variable for making comparison between different political systems. Democratic political system guarantees freedom of information flow in multidimensional and diverse channels resulted to a fragmented political culture while, totalitarian political system exercises total control over means of communication. Coercion is the hallmark of totalitarian system and political party in power or elite group exercises its monopolistic control over the media of communication, emphasises upon the growth of single political culture.



LET US KNOW

Totalitarianism: Totalitarianism is a political ideology or structure and the government that believes in such ideology is called as totalitarian government. Such government always believes in total power and exercises complete dictatorial control over means of communication and does not allow people freedom to oppose the government.



ACTIVITY 5.2

Try to find out the distinction between democratic political culture and totalitarian political culture.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Who used the term communication at first?

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Q.4: Who is considered as chief exponent of concept of cybernetics?

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Q.5: Who wrote the book "The Nerves of Government: Model of Political Communication and Control" (1963)?

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Q.6: What is the main principle of totalitarian government?

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Q.7: Write briefly about Karl Deutsch (1912-1992) views on communication approach.

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5.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DECISION MAKING THEORY AND COMMUNICATION THEORY

Both Decision Making theory and Communication theory have much significance in International Relations. Undoubtedly, decision-making theory has been able to devise a conceptual framework under which decision makers try to perceive and define the situation during formulation of their foreign policy. Decision-making theory also helps to identify the structures of a political system where decision makers come into a decision. On the other hand, the contribution of communication theory has great importance in the field of scientific analysis and understanding operation and functioning of a political system.



5.6 LET US SUM UP

- Decision making theory is considered as the remarkable one among other theories to study international politics. This theory is of immense significance as it analyses interesting issues likecrucial factors which lead a particular nation to behave in a particular manner in international relations and reasons behind such behaviours.
- The decision-making theory focuses inquiry on actors called decision makers and on the state defined as decisional units. The theory believes that the actions of the state are seen through the actions of decision makers.
- The object of the decision making theory is to devise a conceptual framework that could help in the reconstruction of the situation as defined by the decision makers. The theory proceeds with the assumption that the key to political action lies in the way in which decision makers define their situation. The setting in which the foreign policy decisions are made is the one which is perceived by the decision maker.
- The decision making theory suffers from serious defects.
- Communication theory is relatively a new approach in the field of international politics. Communication approach is of great importance in

understanding a political system because no operation of political system can take place smoothly unless parts of the system can communicate with each other.

- The term "communication" has been borrowed from the concept of cybernetics which means "steering". In international relations "communication" refers to a body of basic concepts underlying several contemporary approaches to human behaviour including the interaction of nation-states.
- The study of political communication approach is integrally related to the study of political system. It is the communication that gives dynamics to the political system. Similarly the study of communication is truly the study of dynamics of the political system. The political communication approach lays stress on the point that all functions of a political system are performed by means of communication.



5.7 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (2012). *International Politics.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

2) Chandra, Prakash. (1979). *International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

3) Chatterjee, Aneek. (2010).*International Relations Today: Concepts and Application.* New Delhi: Pearson Publications.



5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Richard C. Synder and H.W. Bruck

Ans. to Q. No. 2: i) Domestic politics

ii) Public opinion

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Warren Weaver

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Norbert Wiener

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Karl Deutsch

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Coercion and control

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Karl Deutsch (1912-1992) contributed much towards the development of communication approach. Karl Deutsch in his celebrated work, "The Nerves of Government: Model of Political Communication and Control" (1963) applies the concept of information, communication and control to problem of political and social science borrowing from Norbert Weiner's concept of "feedback""channel capacity" and "memory". For Karl Deutsch, communication approach revolves around certain important concepts which are related to operating structure viz., flows, processes and outcomes. According to him, every political system has some "receptors" or "reception systems" dealing with the intake of information from internal and external environment. The "flows and processes" deal with the channels and other terms like load and load capacity. Load relates to the overall intake of Information at any given time. Load Capacity relate to factors like responsiveness, fidelity, voice and distortions. The outcome manifesting in the form of decisions are the results of inputs. There are some specific concepts which are central to an explanation of the operation of the negative feedback processes. They are- feedback, lag, gain, and lead. Feedback refers to the message about the actions which are returned to the system and enable the decision makers to access their success or failure. Lag is a measure of delay in reporting and acting on information about the consequences of decisions and actions. Gain represents the extensiveness of a system's response to the information. Lead refers to the capacity to act in response to forecast of future consequences.



5.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: What is the main object of decision making theory?

Q.2: Write the internal and external factors that influence the decision making process.

Q.3: Critically discuss decision making theory.

Q.4: What is political communication?

Q.5: Write the contribution made by Karl Deutsch to the development of communication approach.

Q.6: Critically discuss communication approach.

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UNIT 6: POWER IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Concept of National Power

6.4 Elements of National Power

6.5 Limitations on National Power

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the concept of power
- discuss the elements of national power
- examine the limitations on national power.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Power occupies a very significant position in international politics. Power is one of the core elements which determines the behavior of nation in relation to other nations. The realist thinkers have also recognized the importance of power in international relations and considered power as the ultimate aim of any nation. In this unit we shall discuss the concept of power, mainly national power in details.

6.3 CONCEPT OF NATIONAL POWER

Power is the key concept in politics both domestic and international. It is central to the understanding and practice of politics-local, national and international. Power has occupied central position in human relations since the beginning of human history. A very standard definition of power is difficult

to provide as it is one of the most complex, contested and controversial concepts in Political Science. Political philosophers have mostly concentrated on the study of power in the political system. For example, we may refer to Hobbes or Machiavelli who took up the issue of power both as a concept and application in the political system. Perhaps, Hobbes was the first political thinker to note the significance of power in human life and stated that pursuit of power is the greatest leitmotif of human life. Power is considered to be the strongest emotion by Henry Kissinger. Other great advocates of Power are Max Weber, Morgenthau, George Catlin, C. W. Mills, E. H. Carr, Lasswell, Morton Kaplan, etc. In simple terms, power could be described as the capacity to influence the behaviour of others. It is the ability of a person to fulfill his desire or achieve his objectives. In order to understand the concept of power in clear terms, we may refer to some of the definitions on power given by some eminent social thinkers, such as–

a) According to Morgenthau, power is "men's control over the minds and actions of others"
b) According to Robert Dahl, power is "a relationship among others in which one actor induces other actor in some way they would not otherwise act"
c) According to Charles Schleicher, "power is the ability to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward them or by depriving or threatening to deprive of something they value".

According to Couloumbis and Wolfe power has three elements– force, influence and authority. Force implies explicit threat or use of military, economic and other weapons of coercion by one actor against other actor for pursuing its political objectives. Influence denotes the use of instruments of persuasion, a short of force to maintain or change the behaviour of one actor the way preferred by the other actor. Authority implies legitimate power. It means the recognized power to secure a desired change in the behaviour of his subjects by the authority holder. According to Brandt, "authority is power that is based on consent". It implies compliance by a actor to the directives issued by another actor nurtured by its own perception of respect, affection, leadership, knowledge and expertise regarding that actor.

The Realist theory of International Politics stated that international politics is nothing but an incessant struggle for power. This is precisely pointed out by its chief exponent Hans J. Morgenthau in his classic work, *Politics Among Nations.* For Morgenthau power comprises anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man and it covers all social relationships that serve that goal or will. Morgenthau defines political power as a "psychological relation between those who exercise it and those on whom it is exercised. According to Organski power is a " part of relationship between individuals or groups of individuals". To him power is the "ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends". Further he says that unless a nation can do this, the nation is not powerful irrespective of being large in size and wealthy.

6.4 ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER

A nation becomes powerful through the possession of certain elements and the skillful use of these elements. These elements are also called the determinants of national power. As it is stated earlier that in the globalized world politics at present power is an important factor and occupies an important position, therefore, it is very rational to discuss the elements of national power as it is impossible to measure national power and moreover this would further help us to comprehend the pattern of interaction in the international arena. It is often believed that wealth, resources, manpower and armies are the basis of national power. But mere possession of these alone cannot make a nation powerful. It is the various elements which will be examined below if possessed and skillfully used serve the foundation of a nation's power position. The elements of national power are–

- **Geography:** Geography is the most constant factor as it is a physical character of a nation and normally it does not change. In fact, the importance of geographical factor upon which power of a nation depends, has been recognised since ancient times. The Geo-politicians, especially Sir Halford Mackinder (1869-1947), Nicholoas J. Spykman (1893-1943), Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914)and Rudolph have attached great importance to geography. 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.The presence of these factors underline the importance of geography as a factor of national power.

- **Size:** A country's size increases its power to a great extent in various ways and it is a natural and tangible factor of 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 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.

- **Topography:** It also plays a great role in the defence of nations and also affects foreign policy decisions. Topographical features are mountains, rivers, valleys, deserts which helps in communication and also in security matters. For example, the Himalaya and Alps and the rivers like the Rhine, the Rio Grande, Yale, etc. serve as natural boundaries. These elements also determines the limit of natural expulsion of states. Topography determines the density of population and also the climate of the land and the position of the land influences the wind, rainfall, temperature and soil conditions.
- **Climate:** Climate is another element of geography which plays a very crucial role in determining the power potential of a nation. It determines the culture and economy of a nation. Climate considerably affects the health status and energy level of the inhabitants of the nation. Moreover, agricultural production of a nation is also influenced by its climate. When the climate is favourable, it leads to greater work culture and ultimately it leads to more productivity. Modern industrialised nations are greatly dependent on its climate as extremes of climate make development of industries difficult. In fact, climate has its impact on foreign policy as when there is uncertain rainfall and drought, there emerges limit in the power of the state as more dependence on food import restricts the nation in taking independent foreign policy.
- **Location:** The geo-strategic location of a state is a major factor which influences a nation's power position and it determines its level of vulnerability to invasion. The culture, economy and military power of a state is dependent to a great extent to its location. It helps in making a state a land power or a sea power. Britain could rule in terms of both trade and naval power for many centuries due to its strategic location. There is even a relation between location and foreign policy. Switzerland is the best example in this connection. Then isolated position of the United States has affected the foreign policy decision of the state. Again due to the geography and strategic location of the Middle East, it became

a zone for power rivalry. Other nations which gained tremendous importance due to its strategic location are Hong Kong, Singapore, Panama, Aden, Malta, Cyprus, Greenland and so on.

- **Natural Resources:** The natural resources are the gifts of nature.Water and its products, fertility of soil, agricultural products like food and fibre, minerals, forests, raw materials are all natural resources as it is naturally available to the states. But raw materials sometimes have to be produced like rubber and cotton. Till 19th century raw materials played a subordinate role so far as defence is concerned. Of late certain raw materials like oil and uranium gained importance. Besides war purpose the natural resources are also required as other sources of power. It is also a stable and quantifiable element of national power. The nations having abundance natural resources are rewarded either in the form of agricultural products or mineral resources. Natural resources are very helpful in terms of development of the states industrially, economically and also militarily. Industrially because possession of resources like coal, iron, oil, uranium, rubber, bauxite manganese and non-metallic and natural gas leads to industrial production and also serve in defence purposes in the states. Moreover, possession of petroleum is an important source of economic development of industrialised nations. Proper utilisation of natural resources is also considered to be important by the states where there is availability of natural resources. Again natural resources strengthens the position of states in the international community. It increases the bargaining capacity of states internationally. Policy decisions are also influenced by sufficiency of natural resources. For example, Gulf countries and the West Asian countries are experiencing prosperity due to its availability of oil and which contributed towards these countries embarking on the policy of diplomacy. Russian and the United States are also in an advantageous situation in terms of foreign policy choices due to sufficiency of mineral, energy and food resources.
- **Population:** Although it is believed that people are the most important power in the world, it would be wrong to state that possession of large population is one of the greatest assets for a state. It is so because

sometimes possession of a huge population do not make a nation powerful. For example China being the largest populated nation in the world is not as powerful as the United States. In World War I it was the American military manpower which tipped the scale in favour of the allied powers. On the contrary the countries like Israel, Japan and Germany are very powerful in spite of their small population. Population can serve both as an asset and also as a liability. It is therefore necessary to educate and properly trained the people of a stateand they should also be well-nourished so that they become a great source of national power. Both quality and quantity of population is thus very important. Again qualities of the people of a state such as literacy, loyalty, unity, spirit of love, sacrifice, performance of duties plays a very pivotal role in the process of development of the state and also making the state powerful. If the population is properly trained then it could be a major asset in the field of economic development. The imperialists always tried to encourage population growth as during the World War II the Soviet Union and China were able to trade both men and space with their enemies.

- **Economic Development:** It is another major element which adds up the national power of a state and also it determines the policy choices of the state. The economic performance of a state in terms of GNP per capita is always a key indicator to understand the state's ability to utilise its natural and human resources. The countries with large economy like the United States is always seen to secure its objectives in relation to developed, underdeveloped and developing states. But according to UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) GNP is not the sole indicator of economic development and well-being of the masses. HDI includes, on the other hand, three basic components of human development—longevity, knowledge and standard of living. However, it had also been revealed that the countries whose rank was high in HDI group had also high GNP per capita. Thus, whether it is HDI or GNP measure of economic development,it is actually the developed countries that occupy an advantageous position in international relation. Moreover, economic development also determines a state's ability to gear up its military

preparedness and improve its military capacity.This in turn determines the foreign policy objectives of the state.

- **Technology:** Technological development is another major factor of national power of a nation. It is a great contributor of a strong economy, strong industrial base, strong military, a good system of transport and communication and a crucial factor capacity-building of a nation to win war and in order to influence other nations during peacetime. It is the application of scientific knowledge for human welfare. It helps a nation to convert its endowed resources into actual power. It is evident that nowadays the countries that have acquired developed technology and with possession of important raw materials are actually the fully powerful and developed countries in the international field. It is in this process that the countries like USA, Japan, China, etc. have become very much powerful in the international field.But merely having developed technology without natural resources is inadequate for a nation. To become a powerful nation in the real sense of the term, a nation will also need to have superior technology, industry and markets to process natural resources. There is a need for technological progress in order to exploit natural resources. Processing of natural resources is possible through technological development.
- **Military Strength:** The military capacity is the most important factor of national power and prestige of a nation. Possession of a strong and powerful military base is a great help for a nation in both war and peace time. It is not possible to win a war for a nation without a strong military. In peacetime also diplomacy is significantly affected by the military strength of a nation. Russia, the United States and China are countries with strong and huge army. Military becomes strong and powerful with the possession of manpower with sophisticated technology that is continuously upgraded through research and development. Again military strength involves two things- armed forces and weapons. The number and size of the forces is of great importance. Then weapons and equipments supplied to the armed forces is equally important. The quality and quantity of both the army and weapons is equally very crucial for

maintaining the military strength of a nation. In a war the weapons and equipment though plays a very key role but their role is even more effective only when there is existence of quantity and quality of soldiers. However, it would be worth mentioning in this connection that military preparedness is not an independent determinant of national power. It is directly dependent on factors such as technology, industrial capacity, economic development, policies of government and strategic factors.

- **Political Structure and Leadership:** The political system of a state contributes to a great extent to the national power of the state. The formulation of a foreign policy and realisation of national policies is influenced by the political structure of the state and by the nature of ruling elite. Efficient bureaucracy along with the responsible leadership generates more power of a nation. Bureaucracy is needed to be impartial, honest, clean and efficient. At the same time, quality of the leadership is also significant in the process of analysis of national power as leadership utilises the natural resources to build up power. Quality of rulership is also an important factor in considering the effectiveness of national power. An able leadership is a great inspiration to a people. Morale of people revolves around leadership. Leadership is considered to be an important human element of power. Quality and wisdom of leadership is important. The leaders like Napoleon, Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Lenin, Gandhi, etc. made a deep impact on world history. Leadership is an important variable that affects the power of a nation state. Proper utilisation of manpower, technology, industrial capacity, military strength, ideologycompletely depends upon the leadership qualities that runs the government of the state. It is the political leaders who ultimately decide the destiny of their respective nations.
- **National Character and National Morale:** National character is another basic element of power. In international relations, national character finds its expression through perceptions, reactions and behavioural patterns of the decision-makers of a state. It is an intangible element of national power. For example, America's national character is worship of wealth and power and the foreign policy of the state is consistent with these

attributes. Similarly, the culture and the belief-system of tolerancemoulds the outlook and foreign policy perspectives of India's decision-makers. Likewise, Britishers are known for their undogmatic and common sense nature, then Japanese for their nationalism, Germany for their discipline and industriousness, Russians for their sturdiness and persistence and Chinese for their cosmic unchangeability of character.

National morale like national character is a major factor of national power. National morale consists of a state of mind which can be called patriotism. National character is a broader concept than national morale though both elements are related to each other. Both national character and national morale are unstable elements of power, but national morale is even more elusive and less stable. It is revealed in times of crisis. For example, India's morale was higher in the war with Pakistan in 1971 than what it was faced in Chinese War in 1962.

- **Ideology:** Ideology is also an essential element of national power and it form the ideational part of the elements of national power. Ideology in international relations can be a source of friendship and also a source of enmity. It is an intangible element of national power. The various ideologies like democracy, socialism, communism, capitalism, nationalism, and so on accepted by nations of this world serve the interests of the nations. Ideology element is used by the states or group of states in order to advance their national interests. In fact, ideology helps a nation to influence the exercise of its power. Most of the ideologies are concerned with the achievement of power as the immediate goal of foreign policy. They are often used as a cover to hide the real nature of the objectives of a foreign policy. Sometimes a choice of wrong ideology becomes a source of weakness too. For example, Hitler's ideology of nazism weakned Germany, similarly Fascism of Mussolini weakened Italy. Therefore, a good choice of ideology is necessary.
- **Intelligence:** Intelligence is another major element of national power. Intelligence is the activity which is designed to produce knowledge, and the knowledge is which contributes in governmental decisions concerning foreign relations. A proper effective and reliable intelligence service for

a government is very necessary in the absence of which the power of the state may be weakened and have to face a number of problems. Therefore, almost all nations have maintained intelligence services for their security.

- **Diplomacy:** Of all the factors that make for the power of a nation, the most important is diplomacy. Diplomacy is the brain of national power. It is mainly because of the tradition of diplomacy that Britain has continued to be a powerful nation. During the inter-war period USA was politically very strong but played a minor role in world politics as its diplomacy was weak. At the same time we may refer to Nazi Germany which failed to present itself in international forum because of failure of diplomacy. That is why, it has been stated that diplomacy is of considerable importance as an element of national power.

Thus, in this age of knowledge power and globalisation, the combination of these major tangible and intangible elements together contributes towards the strength of the nation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who is the author of the book "Politics Among Nations"?

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Q.2: Write briefly about any two elements of national power.

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6.5 LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL POWER

Although exercise of national power by each and every nation is an accepted reality in international relations, national power still operates within certain limitations. These limitations act like restrictions on the actions of the states. No nation can act in an arbitrary and authoritative way in dealing with other nations of the world. Unlimited use of power is not allowed to any nation as it can be a source of war, chaos and anarchy in the international relations. Today in the era of globalisation there has increased interdependence among the nations, so the nations themselves realised the need to put control on the exercise of its power. In order to prevent war and anarchy and bring sustainable development in the world regulation of power of the nations is very essential. This limitation on national power is realised with the help of several devices. The major limitations on national power of nations are discussed below:

- **Balance of Power:** Balance of power can be defined as a device of balancing the power positions by the major actors. A nation's power position cannot become a threat to other nations. Thus, no nation is allowed to become unduly powerful and if any nation tries so, then another state or states should collectively pool their powers and create preponderance of power against that offending state. To reduce the power of the threatening state and restore balance of power, even use of force or coercion is allowed. Unjustified increase of power by any nation is prevented. The Balance of power implies containing power with power. There should be a check on the preponderance of power of a state by combined power of states. There are some common methods of balance of power like divide and rule, compensation and acquisitions, armaments and intervention, alliances and counter alliances and buffer state formation.
- **World Public Opinion:** In contemporary international relations, with foreign policy being democratised, a strong and organised World Public Opinion has developed. The pressure of World Public Opinion can influence, modify or even halt the nations' policies or activities directed

towards fulfillment of its objectives. It is impossible for a nation-state to dare the world public opinion to achieve its selfish ends. Various global peace movements, environment protection movements, Human Rights protection movements and such other movements have clearly showed the evidence of the presence of a strong World Public Opinion. The United Nations is considered to be an important instrument of the world public opinion and vice versa. In contemporary times it has been seen that there is a wide spread support of world public opinion especially for the human rights protection and the protection of freedoms of all by all the countries and this has been a big influence on the role of national power in the realm of international relations.

- **International Law:** Another major device as a limitation on national power of nations is International Law. It is nothing but a set of rules which regulates the behaviour of nations in international relations and it is accepted by nations- states as binding upon them. International law is like a code of conduct which is essential to maintain peace and stability world wide and to avoid a state of war. It is very useful in establishing diplomatic relations. Moreover violation of international law invokes sanctions against the violating states.
- **International Morality:** International morality implies a set of moral norms or rules and values which the nation-states and international organizations should observe in their relations with each other.The behaviour of states in the international environment is limited by this international morality. It is like moral code of conduct which is followed by nations in international relations. This international morality also plays a key role in strengthening human consciousness against war.
- **International Organisations:** One of the most important outcomes of the World War I is the rise of international organisations that is the League of Nations. But the League of Nations failed to fulfil its objectives and these led to the occurrence of the World War II. Again the Second World War also led to the establishment of some more world organisations-the United Nations Organisations and the UNO is still in existence.These international organisations help in keeping the power

of the states within limits. At the present age,the UNO is functioning as a global organisation of all the members of the international community and the charter of the UNO lays down certain aims and objectives which its member states must follow.It helps in maintaining peace and order in the whole world and also for the conduct of international relations in a peaceful manner.The UNO works for preserving peace and peaceful settlement of disputes among the member states as well as it also limits the ambitions of the superpowers as it acts as a check on the unlimited use of power by the states.

- **Collective Security:** It is a method of maintenance of peace and security in the world by collective action of all states against violation by any state or states. Power management is the main idea of collective security. Its principle ismaintenance of international peace and security via common objective to be secured by all states in the world. It is a device through which misuse of power by any state or states against other state or states is limited by collective power of all other states. It is a deterrent effect on the ambitions of the states in the world. The theory of collective security was incorporated in the Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
- **Disarmament and Arms Control:** Like other devices mentioned above, arms control and disarmaments are also considered to be important devices of limiting national power. Arms control means control of the arms race or reduction of the arms race. It refers to measures for regulating the use of arms. Disarmament implies elimination or reduction of armaments for the purpose of prevention of wars in international relations. It is the reduction of war material and personnel in complete accordance with international agreements. After the World War I and World War II there has emerged a mad race for arms amongst all nations. Therefore, in order to eliminate or reduce the chances of war as a result of armaments, the concepts of disarmament and arms control have been introduced. Arms control and disarmament are essential efforts which restrict the national power of the states through eliminating or reducing the possession and production of weapons. Greater significance has been gained by these two concepts in the contemporary times.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Mention any two methods of maintaining balance of power.

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Q.4: Write briefly about any two limitations on national power.

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6.6 LET US SUM UP

- Power is one of the core elements which determines the behavior of nation in relation to other nations. It occupies a very significant position in international politics.
- There are some elements of national power, such as- geography, size, topography, climate, location, natural resources, population, economic development, technology, military strength, political structure and leadership, national character and national morale, ideology, intelligence and diplomacy.
- There are certain limitations on national power, such as- balance of power, world public opinion, international law, international morality, international organisations, collective security, disarmament and arms control.



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (2012). *International Politics.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

2) Chandra, Prakash. (1979). *International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

3) Chatterjee, Aneek. (2010).*International Relations Today: Concepts and Application.* New Delhi: Pearson Publications.



6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Hans J. Morgenthau

Ans. to Q. No. 2: i) Topography: It also plays a great role in the defence of nations and also affects foreign policy decisions. Topographical features are mountains, rivers, valleys, deserts which helps in communication and also in security matters. For example, the Himalaya and Alps and the rivers like the Rhine, the Rio Grande, Yale, etc. serve as natural boundaries. These elements also determines the limit of natural expulsion of states. Topography determines the density of population and also the climate of the land and the position of the land influences the wind, rainfall, temperature and soil conditions.

ii) Climate: Climate is another element of geography which plays a very crucial role in determining the power potential of a nation. It determines the culture and economy of a nation. Climate considerably affects the health status and energy level of the inhabitants of the nation. Moreover, agricultural production of a nation is also influenced by its climate. When the climate is favourable, it leads to greater work culture and ultimately it leads to more productivity. Modern industrialised nations are greatly dependent on its climate as extremes of climate make

development of industries difficult. In fact, climate has its impact on foreign policy as when there is uncertain rainfall and drought, there emerges limit in the power of the state as more dependence on food import restricts the nation in taking independent foreign policy.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Alliances and counter alliances and buffer state formation.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: i) International Law: Another major device as a limitation on national power of nations is International Law. It is nothing but a set of rules which regulates the behaviour of nations in international relations and it is accepted by nations-states as binding upon them. International law is like a code of conduct which is essential to maintain peace and stability world wide and to avoid a state of war. It is very useful in establishing diplomatic relations. Moreover violation of international law invokes sanctions against the violating states.

ii) International morality:International morality implies a set of moral norms or rules and values which the nation-states and international organizations should observe in their relations with each other.The behaviour of states in the international environment is limited by this international morality. It is like moral code of conduct which is followed by nations in international relations. This international morality also plays a key role in strengthening human consciousness against war.



6.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Explain the meaning of power.

Q.2: Discuss the elements of national power.

Q.3: Examine the limitations on national power.

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UNIT 7: BALANCE OF POWER AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Balance of Power

7.4 Collective Security

7.5 Let Us Sum Up

7.6 Further Reading

7.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

7.8 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning, characteristics, various forms and techniques of balance of power
- critically examine the relevance of balance of power in the present time
- discuss the concept of collective security
- analyse the evolution of collective security in international politics, more particularly under the UN system.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Balance of power and collective security are two important issues which occupy important position in the study of international relations. These two are basically devices of maintaining peace and order in the world. In this unit we shall discuss these two concepts in detail.

7.3 BALANCE OF POWER

In the following sections we shall discuss various dimensions of the concept of balance of power.

- **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.In a situation where a large number of nations with varying amount of power exist, each nation tries to maximise its power. Therefore, various nations form groups so that no single nation or other group of nations become strong enough to dominate others. The power of one group is balanced by the other opposing group. And as long as this type of balance exist, peace and independence of the nations are secured.
- **Implications of Balance of Power:** Following are the implications of balance of power:
  i) Balance of power as a description or condition indicates the character of the situation in which the power relationship is roughly equalised or in a balance.
  ii) Balance of power when identified as a policy means that an imbalanced power is dangerous and as a safeguard to policy in a multi-state system the undesirable behaviour could be prevented only by confronting power or counter acting power.
  iii) When viewed as a system of international politics, balance of power is a kind of arrangement for conduct of international relations in a multi-state world.
  iv) The term balance of power used as a symbol of realism is based on the view that any disregard of balance of power reflects disregard of power faced in international politics.
- **Assumptions:** Quincy Wright (1972) has enumerated five basic assumptions of balance of power. These are:
  i) The first assumption is that states are committed to protect their vital interests by all possible means including war,it is upto each nation to decide for the priority of its rights and interest and the ways of protecting them.
  ii) The second assumption of balance of power is that if the vital interest of the states are or may be threatened because of this interest,then there should be a need for a state to protect them.

iii) The third assumption is that balance of power helps to protect the vital interest threatening other states from committing aggression or by enabling the victim to achieve victory in case of aggression.

iv) The fourth assumption is that the relative power position of various states can be measured to a great degree of accuracy and that this measurement can be utilised in balancing the world's force in one's own favour.

v) The fifth assumption is that the statesmen formulate their foreign policy decision on the basis of an intelligent understanding of power consideration.

- **Characteristics:** The main characteristics of Balance of Power can be enumerated as under:

  i) Balance of power as the term itself suggests is an equilibrium which is concerned among other things with internal disequilibrium as well as with equilibrium.It is subject to constant ceaseless change to shifting political pattern and power relationship.

  ii) It requires a balance for successful operation of the system to keep the balance.

  iii) In practice,balance of power system has proved to be temporary and unstable. In fact,no balance of power system has lasted longer than a few centuries.

  iv) Balance of power is not a gift of god but it is achieved by the actual intervention of man. No state can effort for long to allow the balance of power to establish itself automatically but they must be ready to go to war to preserve it.

  v) The balance of power has generally tended to favour the status quo, but to be effective the policy must be changing and dynamic.

  vi) Balance of power game is meant for the great states. Although small ones are vitally concerned with the outcome and are more often victims or at best spectators rather than players.

- **Forms of Balance of Power:** There are two main forms of balance of power. These can be enumerated as under:

  i) Simple Balance

  ii) Multiple Balance or Complex Balance

i) **Simple Balance:** If power is concentrated in two states or in two opposing camps, the balance or distribution of power is said to be simple. The important feature of the simple balance is that state or group of states are also divided in two camps. In simple balance, the power distribution between two opposing camps is almost equal. The USA and the Soviet Union individually and the Communist bloc and the Western bloc collectively were the examples of simple balance. Such pattern of balance is called bi-polarisation which has resulted in the Cold War between the Communist and the Western bloc.

ii) **Multiple or Complex Balance:** When there is a wide dispersal of power among states and a number of states or group of states, the balance is said to be multiple or complex. In the multiple system,there need not be a single system.Instead there may be many systems or local balances of power. A complex balance need not have a balance. A simple balance may turn into a multiple or complex balance. For example, bipolarism of the Cold War period was turned into multipolarism. Accordingly, in complex balance,a number of development may take place.

It is interesting to note that complex balance may turn into simple balance. In peace time, there may be separate balances in different parts of the world. But in times of crisis, there may be simple balance.

- **Forms of Balance in Terms of Geographical Coverage:** In terms of geographical coverage,the forms of balance may be explained as local,regional or world wide.

The balance of power is local if it operates between two neighbouring states. The balance of power between India and Pakistan is an example of local balance of power.

The balance of power is regional if it involves a number of states within a particular geographical area. The balance of power in West Asia and South East Asia provides the example of regional balance of power.

The balance of power is world wide if most of the countries of the world participate in the balance of power system. The Cold War in the post World War II period, involving the US led NATO and the Soviet Union led Warsaw Pact countries is an example of world wide balance.

- **Patterns of Balance of Power:** Prof. Morgenthau in his great work '*Politics Among Nations'* mentioned two main patterns of the balance of power:

  i) Pattern of Direct Opposition

  ii) Pattern of Competition

  In the Pattern of Direct Opposition, the balance of power results directly from the desire of either nations to see its policies prevail over the policies of the other. This balance of opposing forces goes on the increase in the power of one nation, calling for at least proportionate increase in the other till the nations concerned give up their imperialistic policy, until one nation gains (or believed to have gained) a decisive advantage over the other.

  The Pattern of Competition exists when one or the other nations tries to establish its domination over the third power and neither of the two powers allow each other to disturb the status quo.

- **Techniques of maintaining Balance of Power:** In due course of time the balance of power has developed certain means and methods, techniques and devices through which it can be achieved at the same time maintained. The various techniques are briefly discussed below:

  i) Divide and Rule: This method has been resorted to by nations trying to make or keep their competition weak by dividing them or keeping them divided and thereby maintain a balance of power. It is a time honoured policy and also a technique. To keep control over scattered peoples, this method was adopted by the Romans. Britain also practiced this policy to keep control over her large empire and also its a cardinal policy of her towards Europe. The French also used this policy to towards Germany ever since the 17th century.

  ii) Compensations: This is a common device which usually involves the annexation or division of territory. Compensation of a territorial nature were a common device in the 18th and 19th centuries to maintain balance of power. This method involves redistribution of territory in such a manner that international balance of power is not affected at all. Territorial compensations are used frequently by the

powerful nations at the expense of smaller and weaker ones and by victorious powers at the end of a war.

iii) **Armaments and Disarmaments:** A nation strives for power to maintain or re-establish the balance of power through the use of armaments. The arms race in which a nation tries to keep up with and then out do the armaments of another nation and vice versa is the instrument of an unstable dynamic balance of power.It is said that the main device of achieving balance is to arm itself. If a nation has strength, then its rival has no other option but to enter to arm's race. When the opponent consolidates its power by arming itself, then the balance of power is preserved, otherwise it would have been upset.

Similarly, disarmament also has the capacity to restore balance of power or it can destroy also. To stabilise the balance of power among the concerned states, they may even agree on proportionate reduction in their arms. For example, after end of cold war, Russia and USA adopted certain disarmament measures. However, the overall role of disarmament is not very encouraging though at times it is resorted by victor powers to maintain a balance of power.

iv) **Intervention and Non-intervention:** The method of intervention is a common device to maintain the balance. Nations always choose new friends and allies in self-interest. Often a major power tries to regain a lost ally or pick up a new one by intervening in the domestic affairs of a smaller country and establishing government there. There are several examples where interventions have taken place. Like Germany intervened in the Spanish Civil War in favour of General Franco, USA in Cuba, Lebanon, Laos and in the post Cold War in Iraq, Kuwait and Afghanistan, Britain in Greece and Soviet Union in North Korea, Hungary, Afghanistan.

Likewise non-intervention also a kind of policy followed by both powerful and small states to maintain political order and preserve the balance. Non-intervention suggest neutrality. For example, in the Spanish Civil War, unlike Germany France and Britain followed the policy of non-intervention.

v) **Buffer states:** Buffer States are states set up between two large, powerful and unfriendly nations, the function of which is to keep large and unfriendly nations apart to minimise the chances of conflict between them. Buffer States are generally weak states but with considerable strategic importance for two or more major powers.The are many examples of buffer state like Afghanistan had been a buffer state between Imperial Russia and British India, Belgium and Holland was buffer state between France and Germany, then Tibet was a buffer state between Imperial China and British India.

vi) **Alliances and Counter Alliances:** The countries could go for alliances and counter alliances in order to maintain balance of power. Alliances have been the most convenient device to increase one's sufficient power position. Due to this fact nations always endeavour to make, remake and abandon alliances depending upon their interests. According to Morgenthau, A and B competing with each have three colonies in order to maintain and improve their relative power position. These are:

a) They can increase their own power.

b) Then can add to their own power through the power of other nations.

c) They can withhold the power of other nations from the adversary.

Thus, these are the major methods or devices of Balance of Power which have traditionally used by nations pursuing the policy of a balance of power.

- **Critical Estimate of the Theory of Balance of Power:** Although the theory of balance of power was a great attempt by some international scholars to develop a kind of law for international politics, it is very difficult to accept the idea of balance of power theory in contemporary times just because it is an old theory and a respectable theory too. In fact, the theory of Balance of Power has been criticised on a number of grounds. These are discussed below:

i) The balance of power theory proceeds on the assumption that all nations are keen to maximise power. But in actual practice, every

nation is not motivated by that single consideration alone. At the same time, it is also true that every nation is committed to protect its vital interest by all means. Every nation has a number of national goals and power is one of them. A nation may emphasise more on economic and cultural interest rather than on power. Power is therefore not the sole objective which a nation seeks to achieve.

ii) The concept of balance of power is said to be dynamic. But yet, the units involved in the balancing process are static. The nations are not fundamentally static units. They do not increase their power only by armaments, conquest or alliances. The nations may also increase their power through industrialisation, improvement in national character and other means. These means may prove more effective than the traditional methods of balance of power., The balance of power emphasises that nations can also develop internally. The balance of power theory takes number of modern forces like nationalism and industrialism that have transformed the nature of international politics. A theory which assumes that a major role to national power lies in waging war has ignored the most important developments of the modern times. This is another ground on the basis of which the theory of balance of power has been criticised.

iii) The critics are of the view that the nations are motivated primarily by a desire to pursue their national interest and not to maintain balance of power. In fact, if there is a balance of power, it is only an exception. After the Industrial revolution, the power distribution in the world has never been equal. Previously, Great Britain led the group having power and now it is the United States. The theory of balance of power assumes that the balance of power is an exception only. Thus, power disequilibrium and not power equilibrium is the normal condition. It was said that there was balance of power between the USA and the USSR. But this belief seem to be quite misleading. The power advantage of the USA over USSR was great. That is why, in ultimate analysis, Soviet Union disintegrated, USA became the supreme power on earth.

iv) The term balance of power is indicative of equilibrium. But in actual practice, the nations which play balance of power game seek not a balance but imbalance in their favour. The American view of balance of power is not a balance as such. In practice, the nations have greatly preferred power over the others and not equilibrium of power.

v) The critics have stated that the theory of balance of power is wrong because it regards that nations have freedom of movement and can switch sides whenever necessary. This applies mainly to the balance because such nation must be free to join the weaker side in order to redress the balance. But even in the case of balancer, such assumption is wrong. With a change in the distribution of power, balancer is not always free to change its sides. Every nation chooses its allies from the point of view of national interest. Britain acted as a balancer but sides with France for most of the time. In fact, Britain and France were firmly tied together. Thus, the realities of international politics indicates that theory of balance of power is basically wrong.

vi) The theory of balance of power is also criticised on the ground of the existence of the balancer in the system. The concept of balancer is the keystone of the entire theory of the balance of power. The role of the balancer is to join the weaker side so that the balance could be maintained. But in the actual field of international politics there is hardly any such thing as the balancer. That is why, it has been stated that the concept of the balancer has made the theory defective.

vii) It has been stated that balance of power serves the purpose of independence of smaller states. The independence of small nations would be threatened if any of the nation or group of nations is allowed to achieve power advantage. If the security of small nations is threatened, peace is disturbed. Therefore, it would be wrong to state that the concept of balance of power would be of great help for the smaller nations.

viii) The critics have also questioned as to whether balance of power could be effective peace preserver. In fact, the periods of balance were the periods of war. The World War I came as a result of

miscalculation of Germany that her power was almost equal to her enemies. It shows that balance may not contribute to peace in the international field.

ix) The critics have also stated that the relative power positions of nations cannot be measured accurately. No nation is sure about the calculation of distribution of power at any given moment in history. It is therefore, very difficult for a nation to say when a balance of power have been achieved. Therefore, the actual trends in international politics do not justify the theory of balance of power.

- **Relevance of Balance of Power:** The relevance of balance of power could be still found although the concept has lost much of its earlier relevance. Inspite of the conditions of the modern world and the changes in the international society, the concept is a central theoretical concept and operational principle in international politics. The following factors testify the relevance and existence of the balance of power system:

1) Reality of power in international relations is a major pragmatic dimension. The change in international society has not eliminated the reality of power. Balance of power is a technique of management of power. It can be declared obsolete only if an alternative method is found. Its relevance will depend on how far its mechanism is modified to suit the changed environment. There is no alternatives to balance of power.

2) With the decline of bipolarism, multipolarism has been on the rise. France, Germany, Japan, China are major powers on the rise today. It has created a favourable environment for balance of power to operate.

3) Earlier there was an increase of offensive war over the defensive. With the implications of total war, the end of Cold War, collapse of Soviet Union, reduction in armaments are new factors that have changed the international society today. In the process, it has created ground for continued presence of balance of power.

4) Ideology has lost its relevance as an element in international politics. The Communist bloc has collapsed and consequently ideological

struggle has been lost. In this changing dimensions of international politics, balance of power has become relevant.

5) It may be stated here that after the collapse of Soviet Union, there exist only one super power in the world today that is the United States. Both in military and economic terms it is the most powerful nation. It can therefore, assume the role of a balancer if the need arises.

The above factors and development in international relations prove the relevance and validity of balance of power. The balance of power forces may be operating not in the traditional sense but differently. The most favourable point that can be made for the balance of power is that it sets rational limits to expansionism. At the same time, it is a guarantee for short term peace and discouragement to war. It helps in containing hegemony and universal imperialism and preserve the independence of small states.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention any two assumptions of balance of power as identified by Quincy Wright.

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Q.2: Write briefly about simple balance of power.

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Q.3: Write briefly about any two devices of maintaining balance of power.

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7.4 COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Now we shall discuss another very important issue of world politics, i.e. the concept of collective security in details.

- **Meaning of Collective Security:** Collective security is a modern device which demands collective action by the international community to manage crisis. It is a more viable option than balance of power and it is a device that seeks to confront the would be aggressors and also aggressors with the collective power of the states, determined to keep peace. The concept of collective security is based on the principle that aggression against any one member on the international community is an aggression against whole international peace and security. Therefore, to tackle this collective efforts of all the nations are necessary. It implies "one for all and all for one".

  The term 'collective security' is a conjunction of two words, i.e., collective and security. Security implies a goal and collective indicates

the nature of means employed or refers to the method to achieve the goal of 'security'. It implies a joint action to prevent or counter any attack or threat against any state or an established order. Collective security can be considered to be a mutual insurance contract. It is like a deterrent against aggression. Organski gave certain basic principles of collective security system like: (i) there must be agreement about the aggressor, (ii) all nations must equally feel and must have interest to stop the aggressor, (iii) agreement for joint action among the nations against the aggressor is a must and (iv) combined power of all the nations, must be enough to defeat any aggressor. Morgenthau also highlighted certain important points regarding collective security. He said that collective security system in order to be successful in its operation must be able to gather strength against any aggressor or group of aggressors at all times and as a result the latter would not dare to challenge the order which the collective system defended. Moreover, Morgenthau also stated that the nations which are collectively working to defeat aggressor or aggressors under the collective security system, must be willing to subordinate their conflicting political interests to the common good. Palmer and Perkins defined collective security as " collective measures for dealing with threats to peace".

In simple terms, collective security is an insurance system which stands for meeting a threat or war or aggression by creating a global preponderance of power of all nations against the aggression.

- **Evolution of Collective Security System in International Politics:** The process of evolution of the collective security system may be discussed in reference to the followings:

  Attempts at Collective Security before the World War I: The Quadruple Alliance was the first attempt at the collective security arrangement. This system was known as the Concert of Europe. It lasted from 1814-1914. It was successful in dealing with the Balkan wars. But in the late 19th century, the system gradually became weak. However, the actual idea of collective security on an international scale came only in the beginning of the 20th century.

Attempts at Collective Security after the World War I: The American President Wilson was a key figure behind the movement for collective security. President Wilson formulated his famous 14 Points that was the basis of the collective security in the subsequent years. The idea of collective security was given concrete shape in the League of Nations constituted after the World War I.

Collective Security measures under the League of Nations: The League of Nations was established as part of the provision incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. Articles 10-16 of the League Covenant deal with the collective security system under the League of Nations. But right from the very beginning the League remained very weak to deal with collective security problems. The US did not join the League, the Soviet Union joined it at a very late state and Britain and France were not interested in the system. The system also suffered heavily because of the behaviour of Japan and Italy. The League Council supported the move of about 51 countries who stated that the League was violated. Accordingly, in a hostile environment, the collective security arrangements were to be made under the League. But the League ultimately failed and one of the main reasons for the failure of the League was the collapse of the collective security system.

Collective Security System under the UN: The collective security system was provided high emphasis in the Charter of the UN. Article 1 of the UN Charter calls for collective security measures for the prevention of aggression. Moreover, Articles starting from 39-51 of the UN Charter deal with the collective security provisions. Article 39 determines the existence of threat or breach of peace. Article 41 deals with economic sanctions. In case Article 41 fails to be adequate, Articles 42-49 provide for military actions. Moreover, in the UN Charter, the collective security system is further supported by regional arrangements for defence. The system was further strengthened by the Uniting of Peace Resolution that was passed in 1950. Thus, the UN has secured a more effective machinery for the operation of the collective security system.

The UN on a number of cases had to deal with the provisions relating to the collective security. For example, the first test of the collective security system provided under the UN took place in June 1950 when North Korea attacked South Korea. The UN in that case decided to take military action against North Korea and an attack was launched on June 25, 1950. But in actual practice only 16 out of 60 members supporting the UN action sent armed forces. It shows that although the member countries commit themselves to collective security, there are doubts as to what extent they are keen to resort to it in practical terms. It was under the American Command, the countries like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Poland took part in military action. Others including India sent only medical aid, ambulance units and medical reams. The Chinese intervention on behalf of North Korea and the indirect support of the Soviet Union transformed the character of the Korean war. The Soviet Union a permanent member of the Security Council was siding with North Korea along with China. The action therefore, cannot be regarded as collective security as provided in the Charter. In view of the reluctance on the part of the member countries, it could be stated that the collective security system was almost a failure under the UN.

The second test of the security system came on the occasion of the Congo crisis in 1960. The crisis occurred when Katanga, a Congo province revolted against the central authority and declared independence. Ultimately, it was resolved by the then UN Secretary General.

The third action against an aggression arose when Iraq invaded Kuwait in August, 1990. A resolution was passed by the UN's Security Council on November 30, 1990. The resolution authorised to use all necessary means to uphold and implement all the resolutions passed against Iraq. Accordingly, 15 January, 1991 was fixed as deadline for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. In this connection, about 30 countries contributed military or financial support against Iraq.

Another example, where collective security measures were employed by the UN was the Suez crisis of 1956. In this crisis, the withdrawal of the French and British forces was facilitated by the establishment of the

UN emergency force at Gaza strip. The creation of this force and dependence on the American support came in favour of Israel. In fact, in the true sense of the term it cannot be considered as a success of collective security system as such. The UN forces were also deployed in Lebanon and Jordan crisis of 1958. Ultimately, it was the Secretary General's intervention which paved the way for the withdrawal of the American and British forces.

On the whole it can be said that the collective security system has just managed to succeed under the UN. The failure of collective security both under the League and UN points to certain requirements for the success of the system depends upon the existence of certain conditions which have not been available. These are:

i) All for one attitude
ii) Mutual confidence and collaboration
iii) Favourable distribution of power
iv) Identical concept of security among members, etc.

In the ultimate analysis, it must be admitted that the collective security system will never work unless all the nations that take part in it are ready to face any kind of sanctions to fight. It also requires international control of military forces which is certainly not possible without a restriction on national sovereignty. It is primarily because of certain difficult conditions associated with collective security system that it has not been able to attain success to the desired level.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Write briefly about the meaning of collective security.

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Q.5: Write briefly about the failure of collective security measures under the League of Nations.

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Q.6: Which Article of the UN charter deals with economic sanctions regarding collective security measures?

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7.5 LET US SUM UP

- Balance of Power implies that there is at least a rough equilibrium of power between various nations. There are certain basic assumptions and characteristics of balance of power.
- There are two main forms of balance of power, such as- Simple Balance and Multiple Balance or Complex Balance. In terms of geographical coverage,the forms of balance may be explained as local,regional or world wide.
- There are certain devices of maintaining balance of power, such as- divide and rule, compensations, armaments and disarmaments, intervention and non-intervention, buffer state, alliances and counter-alliances etc.
- Critics have criticised the theory of balance of power on a number of grounds. Relevance of this theory is also subject of discussion among the scholars.

- Collective security is a modern device which demands collective action by the international community to manage crisis. It is a more viable option than balance of power and it is a device that seeks to confront the would be aggressors and also aggressors with the collective power of the states, determined to keep peace.
- Attempts to establish a system of collective security were made before and after World War I.
- With the establishment of the League of Nations after the World War I serious efforts were made to establish a system of collective security. But with the failure of the League of Nations these efforts also failed.
- The collective security system was provided high emphasis in the Charter of the UN. Article 1 of the UN Charter calls for collective security measures for the prevention of aggression. The UN has secured a more effective machinery for the operation of the collective security system.The UN on a number of cases had to deal with the provisions relating to the collective security.



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: i) One important assumption of balance of power is that states are committed to protect their vital interests by all possible means including war,it is upto each nation to decide for the priority of its rights and interest and the ways of protecting them.

ii) Another assumption of balance of power is that if the vital interest of the states are or may be threatened because of this interest, then there should be a need for a state to protect them.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: If power is concentrated in two states or in two opposing camps, the balance or distribution of power is said to be simple. The important feature of the simple balance is that state or group of states are also divided in two camps. In simple balance, the power distribution between two opposing camps is almost equal.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: i) Divide and Rule:This method has been resorted to by nations trying to make or keep their competition weak by dividing them or keeping them divided and thereby maintain a balance of power. It is a time honoured policy and also a technique. To keep control over scattered peoples, this method was adopted by the Romans. Britain also practiced this policy to keep control over her large empire and also its a cardinal policy of her towards Europe. The French also used this policy to towards Germany ever since the 17th century.

ii) Compensations: This is a common device which usually involves the annexation or division of territory. Compensation of a territorial nature were a common device in the 18th and 19th centuries to maintain balance of power. This method involves redistribution of territory in such a manner that international balance of power is not affected at all. Territorial compensations are used frequently by the powerful nations at the expense of smaller and weaker ones and by victorious powers at the end of a war.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Collective security is a modern device which demands collective action by the international community to manage crisis. It is a more viable option than balance of power and it is a device that seeks to confront the would be aggressors and also aggressors with the collective power of the states, determined to keep peace. The concept of collective security is based on the principle that aggression against any one member on the international community is an aggression against whole international peace and security.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Articles 10-16 of the League Covenant deal with the collective security system under the League of Nations. But right from the very beginning the League remained very weak to deal with collective security problems. The US did not join the League, the Soviet Union joined it at a very late state and Britain and France were not interested in the system. The system also suffered heavily because of the behaviour of Japan and Italy. The League Council supported the move of about 51 countries who stated that the League was violated. Accordingly, in a hostile environment, the collective security arrangements were to be made under the League. But the League ultimately failed and one of the main reasons for the failure of the League was the collapse of the collective security system.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Article 41.



7.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Write briefly about the meaning and characteristics of balance of power.

Q.2: Explain the assumptions of balance of power.

Q.3: Examine the various devices of maintaining balance of power.

Q.4: Critically examine the relevance of balance of power in the present context.

Q.5: Write about the meaning of collective security.

Q.6: Discuss the evaluation of collective security system in international relations.

Q.7: Critically examine the collective security measures under the United Nations.

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UNIT 8: FOREIGN POLICY

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy

8.4 Objectives of Foreign Policy

8.5 Determinants of Foreign Policy

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answers To Check Your Progress

8.9 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of foreign policy
- describe the objectives of foreign policy in general
- examine the determinants of foreign policy.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

One of the important aspects of the study of International Relations and International Politics is foreign policy. It is the basis of all international relations. It is not possible to understand inter-state relations without understanding their foreign policies.Every nation has the right and responsibility to secure the aims, objectives and aspirations of its national interests in international relations. As no nation is completely self-sufficient and self-reliant, no nation can live without maintaining inter-state relations. Interdependence has been an indispensable fact of international relations. It is a fact that the behaviour of each nation has an effect on the behaviour of other nations. Every nation, keeping in view of its national interest, makes an effort to take utmost advantage of the actions of other nations. Therefore, every nation has to formulate and adopt a foreign policy to secure and

serve the interest of its people and also to achieve the goals of her national interest in international relations and international politics. In this unit we shall discuss various dimensions associated with foreign policy in general.

8.3 MEANING OF FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy is one of the important aspects in the field of international relations. In this globalised world it is not possible for any state to live in isolation and without maintaining inter-state relations. Therefore, to maintain such relations with other states of the world, a state has to formulate a foreign policy. In fact, inter-state relations can be understood by understanding their foreign policies. A nation's power also gets enhanced by foreign policy in the international community. In simple words, foreign policy is a course of action and inputs that a nation makes in order to influence behaviour of other states and to pursue its goals of national interest. It is a set of principles, decisions and means which a nation adopts to secure its goals in international relations. According to C. C. Rodee, Anderson and Christol, foreign policy implies "formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its own interests".

Foreign policy gives a kind of direction to a state and also suggests adequate means to adopt for the easy journey of the direction. Padelford and Lincoln pointed out that foreign policy is the way through which a state decides "what course of actions it will generally pursue in world affairs within its limits of strength and realities of international environment". Foreign policy consists of two words 'foreign' which implies territorially sovereign units which exist beyond the legal boundaries of a particular state and 'policy' means guide to an action or a set of actions intended for the realisation the goals of an organisation. Foreign policy involves the strategies and tactics and commitments too which are taken for the fulfillment of a state's goals and interests.

On the basis of various definitions put forward by eminent scholars, it could be stated that foreign policy is a strategy devised by government to

its actions in the international field. It involves the process of creating, making and implementing decisions and it is relational. Relational because foreign policy has the intention to influence the behaviour of other states in the international system. The foreign policy of nation includes– (i) a set of principle, policies and decisions adopted and followed by a nation globally, (ii) objectives and goals of national interest which are to be achieved, (iii) for conducting international relations broad principles and decisions, (iv) assessment of achievements and losses of the nation in terms of its goals of national interest, (v) means or nature of action to be taken to achieve the goals or objectives of national interest and (vi) policies, decisions and action-programmes for maintaining continuity or change in international relations.

8.4 OBJECTIVES OF FOREIGN POLICY

The most important objective of foreign policy of a nation is 'national interest'. In fact, for the attainment of national interest a nation conducts its foreign relations. Foreign policy objectives are the product of the national interest only. However, it must be stated here that all interests are not objectives, a national interest becomes an objective when it is loved by the political community and for the realisation of those objectives, a nation must be ready to make some sacrifice and also must take some risk. National interest dictates the policy makers during the time of formulation of foreign policy. Padelford and Lincoln identified the following four main objectives of foreign policy of a state– (a) national security, (b) economic advancement. (c) augmentation of national power in relation to other states and (d) international prestige.

Foreign policy, as already cited earlier, is a throughout course of action for the achievement of specific objectives in foreign relations and it is dictated by the ideology of national interest. Objectives of foreign policy can be classified into various categories like– (i) core value objectives, (ii) middle range objectives and (iii) universal long range objectives.

i) Core value objectives are the most desired kind of goals for the attainment of which people becomes ready for ultimate sacrifices

as those goals are very much related to the existence of the state. These goals are like– (a) self-preservation, defence of vital areas, ethnic, religious and linguistic unity, the protection of cultural and political institutions, (b) economic development. These are the core values which no nation in the world ignores while dealing with other foreign states. Survival of a nation is not possible if these goals are ignored by a state.

ii) The second category that is middle range objectives implies goals like trade, foreign aid, access to foreign markets and sources of supplies, access to communication facilities, expansion of military capability, distribution of foreign aid and investment, space explorations, creating colonies, launching of satellites, ideological expansion for the promotion of socio-economic and political values abroad.

iii) Third type of objectives that is universal long range objectives means those plans, dreams and visions which are designed in a very grand way which concern the whole international community. Thistype of objective aims at restructuring the world order. For example, USA's dream of making the 'world a safe place for democracy', Japan's dream of a greater 'South-East Asia', the Soviet Union's idea of 'World Soviet Federation', George Bush's 'New World Order', 'War on Terror'.These objectives are meant for distant future which do not require immediate pursuit like first and second category.

Again in more simple words, common objectives of foreign policy of all nations can be enumerated as– (i) protection of sovereignty and integrity of the state, (ii) promotion of economic interest and advancement, (iii) national security maintenance, (iv) protection and development of national power and national prestige, (v) maintenance of world order or can be said as international prestige.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of foreign policy.

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Q.2: Write briefly about core value objectives of foreign policy.

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Q.3: What are the four main objectives of foreign policy of a state as identified by Padelford and Lincoln.

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8.5 DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

A particular nation's foreign policy is influenced by various factors. Foreign policy is the product of number of factors. But according to circumstances the determinants vary in terms of its importance. Therefore,

to lay down any general rule regarding the relative importance of each factor or determinant or a scale of priorities which the policy-makers take into account during the time of policy formulation is very difficult or it is impossible. In general, the basic determinants of foreign policy can be broadly classified into three categories: (i) Internal factors, (ii) External factors and (iii) policy making factors. All these factors and its sub-divided factors are discussed in detail below:

- **Internal Determinants:** The significant internal or domestic determinants of foreign policy are discussed below:

  Geography: It is considered to be the most stable determinant which influences foreign policy of a nation. Geography includes the location, size, topography, state boundaries, climate, hydrography, population, natural resources, etc. of a nation. Geography has very significant contribution while formulating foreign policy. Size is the total landmass that a state has. It influences the psychological and operational environment within which policy makers and the public respond. Again large size of a state cannot be considered independent determinant, as state's power is increased by large area if it has the capacity to accommodate a large population and contains varied supply of natural resources. Then geostrategic location of the state i.e. position of a state in relation to other land bodies, and to other states is more important than the size of the state during foreign policy formulation. Climatic conditions of a state is another geographical feature that plays a crucial role in the determination of the state's foreign policy. Topography includes wind, rainfall, temperature, soil, mountains, rivers, valleys, etc. which also influences foreign policy decisions. Natural resources of a state also greatly affects foreign policy decisions. Possession of natural resources increases bargaining capacity of a state internationally and helps in foreign policy choices. But it must be stated that effect of geography is of intricate nature and has lost much of its importance due to the recent development of science and technology.

  History and Culture: History of a nation also has its influence on foreign policy making. In fact, political tradition of a nation is rooted in its history

and culture. The basic foreign policy objectives is guided considerably by the historical and cultural traditions of the state. In the realm of external relations, a nation follows a course of action which is greatly influenced by the style and culture which the nation adopts from history. For example, many developing countries including India have strongly taken stance for anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racism due to the bitter experiences of colonialism, imperialism and racialism. Then based on Buddhist past, India adopted the non-alignment policy and the principles of Panchsheel.

National Capacity: This is another strong determinant of foreign policy of a nation. It includes military strength, economic development and technological progress of the nation. The economic position of a nation in terms of GNP which enables a nation to understand its ability to utilise its natural and human resources, also helps a nation in foreign policy choices in turn. The highly developed countries in terms of economy and technology and military have the advantage in gaining desired objectives in their relations with economically and technologically weaker countries. Developing countries due to their dependence on the developed countries for capital, technology and military research and development loses the power to formulate an independent foreign policy. For example, economic power of USA has brought positive leverage while economic decline has brought negative factor in case former Soviet Union. Moreover, it is necessary for a foreign policy to compromise with its national capacity in order to succeed.

Public Opinion: It is another important internal factor which is not possible for the government of a state to ignore or go against it for long. In a democratic state specially, the government cannot dare to ignore the importance of public opinion in both domestic and foreign policies. Due to the great achievements like information technology, mass media, internet, telecommunications, public opinion has gained more importance in the world at present. Public opinion in case of foreign policy sets limitations on choices of policies and constraints in policy executions

too. For example, American government was compelled to withdraw from Vietnam after 1968 under the pressure of public opinion. But in totalitarian or authoritarian states, public opinion hardly plays a role in policy making.

Ideology: Ideology means a set of beliefs or interrelated ideas of a group of people about power distribution in the society, history, proper functioning of government,economies and particular way of life. While conducting foreign policy of states, ideology often plays a crucial role. To achieve national interest and justification of policies, many times ideological principles are used by states or groups of states. Sometimes ideology plays the role of a source of international conflict too. For example, Cold War between USA and Soviet Union occurred due to ideological difference.

Social and Political Structures: The formulation of foreign policy of a state is influenced to a great extent by the nature of political system and the ruling elite. For example, foreign policy of a democratic state would be different from the foreign policy of a authoritarian state. Again when there is a sudden change in the government of a state, it leads to changes in the course of foreign policy of the state too. For instance, in India with the changes of government from Congress led UPA to BJP led NDA government there have been changes in foreign policy stances.

Like political structure, social factors are equally important factors for the formulation of foreign policy. A peaceful strong society provides for a strong foreign policy than a society with tensions and with unequal distribution of wealth. Cooperation is also essential for a foreign policy of a state.

National interest: It is the key determining factor of foreign policy of any state. It is of supreme importance while formulating foreign policy. Behaviour of states in the international field is guided by national interest to a great extent.

- **External Factors:** External environment is also very necessary while formulating foreign policy of a state. International laws, treaties,

agreements, pacts, international and regional organisations considerably influences and also constraints the making of foreign policies of states. The external factors includes three elements– (a) world organisation, (b) world public opinion, and (c) foreign policies of other states.

a) World organisations like UNO and other international institutions aim at maintaining world peace and order and International Law. UNO's activities and its agencies, IMF, World Bank and also regional organisations like SAARC, ASEAN, APEC, etc. also have profound influence on the foreign policy formulation of states.

b) Like domestic public opinion, world public opinion has a strong influence on foreign policy making. No nation can dare to go against the world public opinion or challenge it. World public opinion has profound impact on various issues such as human rights, environment, war, peace, etc. and this is mainly due to increasing consciousness among people.

c) While formulating a foreign policy, the policy makers must take into consideration the behaviour of other states of the international system and also their foreign policies. Foreign policy of a state undoubtedly has the main objective of fulfilling its national interest, but it must also give importance to the reaction of other states which matters a lot particularly of friendly states. It should be kept in mind by the policy makers while formulating foreign policy that the foreign policy objectives should not create hostility with other states.

- **Role of Policy-makers:** Another major determining factor of foreign policy is the attitude of the decision and policy makers. Foreign policy is based significantly on the leadership qualities as it determines the strength and direction of foreign policy of a state. Foreign policy is very strongly related to the psychological traits, the personality and predisposition of the leaders. In the formulation of foreign policy, there is a major role played by the ruling elite and the decision makers act in accordance with their perception of reality. The policy makers take due note of the relevant values and relevant sector of the environment, they determine the objectives of the foreign policy. The decision makers

interpret the national interest and also perceive the external environment while formulating foreign policy. The impact of the views and personalities of the ruling elites on foreign policy formulation is quite natural. Foreign policy is however not the result of the role played by a few leaders only, it also involves the interplay of other various determinants and pressures of bureaucracy.

Thus, on the basis of the above discussion on the determinants of foreign policy it can be concluded that it is the product of a complex interplay of various factors. All the factors are interrelated and interdependent which influence the making and implementation of foreign policy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Mention any four internal determinants of foreign policy.

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Q.5: Write briefly about any one external determinant of foreign policy.

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Q.6: Write about geography as a determinant of foreign policy.

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8.6 LET US SUM UP

- Foreign policy is the basis of all international relations.Foreign policy is a course of action and inputs that a nation makes in order to influence behaviour of other states and to pursue its goals of national interest. It is a set of principles, decisions and means which a nation adopts to secure its goals in international relations.
- The most important objective of foreign policy of a nation is the fulfillment of national interest. Common objectives of foreign policy of all nations can be enumerated as– protection of sovereignty and integrity of the state, promotion of economic interest and advancement, national security maintenance, protection and development of national power and national prestige, maintenance of world order or can be said as international prestige.
- Foreign policy of a particular nation's is influenced by various factors. In general, the basic determinants of foreign policy can be broadly classified into three categories: (i) Internal factors, (ii) External factors and (iii) policy making factors.
- Internal determinants of foreign policy include factors like geography, history and culture of the nation, national capacity, public opinion, ideology, social and political structure of the nation etc. External determinants of foreign policy include world organization, world public opinion, behavior of other states etc. Role of policy-makers also influence foreign policy formulation.



8.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

2) Chandra, Prakash. (2009). *Theories of International Relations*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Foreign policy is a strategy devised by government to its actions in the international field. Foreign policy of nation includes– (i) a set of principle, policies and decisions adopted and followed by a nation globally, (ii) objectives and goals of national interest which are to be achieved, (iii) for conducting international relations broad principles and decisions, (iv) assessment of achievements and losses of the nation in terms of its goals of national interest, (v) means or nature of action to be taken to achieve the goals or objectives of national interest and (vi) policies, decisions and action-programmes for maintaining continuity or change in international relations.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Core value objectives are the most desired kind of goals for the attainment of which people becomes ready for ultimate sacrifices as those goals are very much related to the existence of the state. These goals are like– (a) self-preservation, defence of vital areas, ethnic, religious and linguistic unity, the protection of cultural and political institutions, (b) economic development. These are the core values which no nation in the world ignores while dealing with other foreign states. Survival of a nation is not possible if these goals are ignored by a state.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: (a) National security, (b) economic advancement. (c) augmentation of national power in relation to other states and (d) international prestige.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Geography, national capacity, public opinion, ideology.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: World public opinion is one of the important external determinants of foreign policy formulation.World public opinion has a strong influence on foreign policy making. No nation can dare to go against the world public opinion or challenge it. World public

opinion has profound impact on various issues such as human rights, environment, war, peace, etc. and this is mainly due to increasing consciousness among people.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Geography is considered to be the most stable determinant which influences foreign policy of a nation. Geography includes the location, size, topography, state boundaries, climate, hydrography, population, natural resources, etc. of a nation. Size is the total landmass that a state has. It influences the psychological and operational environment within which policy makers and the public respond. Then geostrategic location of the state i.e. position of a state in relation to other land bodies, and to other states is more important than the size of the state during foreign policy formulation. Climatic conditions of a state is another geographical feature that plays a crucial role in the determination of the state's foreign policy. Topography includes wind, rainfall, temperature, soil, mountains, rivers, valleys, etc. which also influences foreign policy decisions. Natural resources of a state also greatly affects foreign policy decisions. Possession of natural resources increases bargaining capacity of a state internationally and helps in foreign policy choices. But it must be stated that effect of geography is of intricate nature and has lost much of its importance due to the recent development of science and technology.



8.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Write about the meaning of foreign policy.

Q.2: Explain the objectives of foreign policy.

Q.3: Write about the role of the policy-makers in the formulation of foreign policy.

Q.4: Discuss the determinants of foreign policy.

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UNIT 9: NATIONAL INTEREST

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Meaning of National Interest

9.4 Hans.J. Morgenthau and Paul Sarbi's views on National Interest

9.5 Components of National Interest

9.6 Types of National Interest

9.7 Instruments and Methods for Promotion of National Interest

9.8 National Interest and Foreign Policy

9.9 Core or basis of National Interest

9.10 Let Us Sum Up

9.11 Further Reading

9.12 Answers To Check Your Progress

9.13 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning, components and types of national interest
- describe the instruments which are used to promote national interest
- analyse the relationship between national interest and foreign policy.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Another important topic of study in international relation is national interest. National interest is the core element which determines every action of the state. Each and every state aims to achieve its national interest to the fullest extent. Infact we can say that national interest constitutes the basis of relations among nations. In this unit we shall discuss the concept of national interest in details.

9.3 MEANING OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The concept of National Interest is the most crucial concept in International Politics, but at the same time it is also a very vague and ambiguous term. Therefore, it is not very easy to provide a universally acceptable interpretation of the concept of national interest. It is used in varied ways and it carries varied meanings. The evolution of the modern system led to the development of the concept of National Interest. National Interest came to be known as the wide interest of the people of a nation. It may also be explained as a state's aspiration. In fact, power defined in terms of national interest gives meaning to international politics. According to Clinton, "national interest is the general regulative principle of diplomacy, which represents the common good of the society, in its relations with other national units, as end of diplomatic action". Robert O. Good defined national interest as "a state of affairs valued solely for its benefit to the nation". Hans J. Morgenthau said "national interest to be a political tradition and the total culture context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy". Then Rostow stated that "national interest is the concept which the nation apply trying to influence the world environment to their advantage". The inherent meaning of national interest is the minimum requirement of states in order to protect their physical identity i.e, maintenance of territorial integrity, political identity which implies preservation of political and economic regimes and cultural identity i.e, conservation of ethnic, religious, historical and historical norms found in a state against the aggression and attack by other states. In short, 'survival' is the main meaning of national interest. National interest gives direction to long-term objectives of foreign policy of a state and also gives meaning to its actions in a short term context.

9.4 HANS. J. MORGENTHAU AND PAUL SARBI'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL INTEREST

Hans J. Morgenthau believed that national interest implies protection of a nation state's physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by other nation states. According to Morgenthau the following

are the major components of national interest–

a) Preservation of physical identity, that is, protection of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a nation state.
b) Preservation of political identity, that is, preservation of existing politico-economic regimes.
c) Preservation of cultural identity, that is, maintenance of existing ethnic, religious, linguistic, historical traditions of nation states.

Paul Sarbi has explained the concept of national interest in three perspectives–

a) The normative civic concept of national interest consist of those future objectives that a nation tries to achieve through its foreign policy.
b) Descriptive concept of national interest refers to goals that a state continuously wants to achieve under its leadership.
c) Those goals which are accepted by the political elite of the country as their objectives.

9.5 COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The components of national interest may be classified into two major categories. These are– (i) Vital components and (ii) Non-vital components.

- **Vital or Necessary Components:** The vital component of National Interest implies protection of a nation's physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by often nation states. Physical identity includes territorial and sovereign identity of states. Political identity implies protection of politico-economic system i.e, the kind of government structure and political process. Cultural identity means protection of cultural environment relating to customs, traditions and perception of societies.

  These vital components are very essential for the survival of a nation-state and for protection of these vital components a nation even go to war. These are considered as goals.

- **Non-Vital or Variable Components:** These components are determined

by the necessity or by circumstances. The factors like decision-makers, public opinion, political and moral folkways, party politics, group or sectional interests plays key role in the determination of these non-vital components. These components are not so strongly desired interests and so a nation do not go to war for its fulfillment. These components are taken as objectives.

Thus, the components of national interest can be generally categorised into these two parts.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write briefly about vital components of national interest.

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Q.2: Mention any two major components of national interest as provided by Morgenthau.

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Q.3: Write briefly about Paul Sarbi's views on national interest.

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9.6 TYPES OF NATIONAL INTEREST

To have a more clear understanding of the concept of national interest, a study of its various kinds will of great help. According to Thomas W. Robinson can be classified into six categories. These are briefly discussed under the following heads–

i) **Primary Interest:** The primary interest is considered to be the vital or core interest of a nation. A country's foreign policy revolves around such vital interest which relate to security and survival. These include reservation of physical and political identity of a state against foreign powers. These interests are so primary that the country is ready to go to war for the preservation of these vital interests.

ii) **Secondary Interest:** These interests are vital to existence of a nation but are not so crucial as the primary ones. They relate basically to protection of citizens abroad and ensuring diplomatic immunity to the diplomatic stuff. It indicates that in comparison to the primary interest, they are secondary in nature.

iii) **Permanent Interest:** This interest includes the long term and constant interest which rarely change. If there is a change, it is rather steady. For example, before the World War II Britain's long term interest was to protect its colonies in different parts of the world. In order to maintain her permanent interest Great Britain tried to maintain superiority as a naval power during the past two centuries. At the same time, we may also refer to India's policy to peacefully develop as an economically self-reliant and powerful nation over a period of time.

iv) **Variable Interest:** The variable interests are those that are considered vital and important for a nation in a given set of circumstances. They are basically for national good at a particular period of time and place. These interests are often defined by factors like personalities, public opinion, sectional interest, partisan politics and political parties. For example, we may refer to Afghanistan where the US had to fight against terror after the WTC was struck by Islamic

fundamentalist.

v) **General Interest:** The general interest comprises conditions which apply to a large number of nations in such areas as trade and commerce, economics, diplomatic inter-course, etc. For example, we may refer to the general interest of India to maintain good and friendly relations with her neighbours. Similarly, we may also refer to the general American interest to expand trade in Southeast Asia.

vi) **Specific Interest:** It is the logical outcome of general interest. It is defined in terms of time and space. The specific interests of a nation are distinct and it is in priority of the national agenda. For example, we may refer to the specific interest of Pakistan in securing the Indian portion of Kashmir and at the same time Pakistan has also developed a specific interest in promoting Nuclear capability in order to become a major power in Asia.

Robinson's Additional Classification: Besides the above categories, Robinson has also identified three kinds of additional interests. These are discussed below:

a) **Identical Interest:** When one national interest is held in common by many countries it is called identical interest. For example, many countries like U.S.A., Great Britain and countries of Western Europe did not want expansion of Soviet power and its ideology in the region. Similarly, most of the countries of the developing world had a common interest in joining the Non-aligned movement when it was formed.

b) **Complementary Interest:** These interests are not identical but form same kind of a basis for agreement and compromise. For example, Britain wanted independence of Portugal against Spain for the control of Atlantic Ocean. And Portugal accepted hegemony of Britain as a safe means of defence against Spain. Similarly, the U.S.A. and Pakistan served complementary interest of each other at the time of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

c) **Conflicting Interest:** Such interests fall in the category of opposed interest. They are not permanent and often change due to force of

events and diplomacy. For example, the case of Kashmir is one of the conflicting interest between India and Pakistan. In spite, of the repeated attempts of both sides, there is no decline of conflict.

Thus, these are the various types of national interest in international politics.

9.7 INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS FOR PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST

For the successful fulfillment of national interest,states use certain instruments. According to Palmer and Perkins methods for the promotion of national interest are as follows:

a) Diplomacy
b) Alliances
c) Propaganda
d) Political Warfare
e) Economic Instruments
f) Imperialism and Colonialism
g) Coercive Methods

These methods can be briefly discussed as follows:

- **Diplomacy:** The diplomatic negotiations are used to reconcile divergent interests of states through the mutual process of give and take. It consists of techniques and procedures which helps in conducting relations among states. The diplomatic network functions through a network of foreign embassies, special missions and the department of foreign affairs all over the world. The purpose of diplomacy is to implement and protect the policy and interest of one's own country. Moreover, the success of diplomacy depends on the kind of interest pursued by the states. In case of conflicting interest like Israel and Palestine or India and Pakistan, diplomatic negotiations are not fully successful.
- **Alliances:** Alliances are concluded between two or more states for fulfilling, protecting and promoting certain communal interests of the states. According to Robinson, "the advantage of pursuing national

interests through alliances lies in the translation of inchoate, common or complementary interests into common policy and in bringing the nation's power directly to bear on questions of national interests". The conclusion of an alliance imposed a legal obligation on states to honour its clauses. Morgenthau has stated that for the pursuit of national interest through alliances, the nation states conclude the following:

i) General alliances which are of common interest.
ii) Alliances for fulfilling primary and secondary interest.
iii) The weak and dependent nations enter into agreements with strong nations.

Accordingly, it is through alliances that the nation states try to promote national interest.

- **Propaganda:** In the 20th century propaganda was considered as a major instrument for promotion of national interest. Permanent agencies were set up for propaganda purposes. References could be made to India and Pakistan that has resorted to propaganda for promotion of national interest.

  According, to Palmer and Perkins, propaganda is used to induce either domestic groups or foreign states to accept favourable policies. Lasswell stated that "Propaganda is the manipulation of symbols (and of other means) to transmit accepted attitudes (and skills)". During the period of Cold War, the United States and former Soviet Union used it as a major component of their foreign policy.

- **Political Warfare:** It is another instrument used by the states for achieving national interest. Political Warfare includes such means directly operating against a state. For example, boycotts, severance of diplomatic relations, suspension of treaties, etc. Political warfare also depends on the state purpose of action whether it wants to give the idea of war or not.

- **Economic Instruments:** The economic instruments are also used to promote national interests. Economic policies designed to fulfill national interests whether or not intended to harm other state or states, they are considered as economic instruments of national policy. For example,

we may refer to tariff and trade, blockade, boycott, exchange control, loans and grants which are regularly employed by the states for such purposes. In this context, we may refer to America's policy of economic blockade against Iraq for promotion of its national interest. Economic methods are usually employed to fulfill national interests both in peace time and war time.

- **Imperialism and Colonialism:** These are long term instruments to promote national interest. These policies were devised long time back in the 16th century and it continued till the middle of the 20th century. At that point of time, it was mainly employed by the European nations. The World War II saw the collapse of imperialist power as Western imperialism was threatened by Communist imperialism. But colonialism took a new form namely neo-colonialism and became active in many parts of the world.
- **Coercive Methods:** The coercive method is like war which is also used to promote national interests. The use of physical forces, military operations and military occupations are instruments to weaken the enemy state. We have seen wars in almost all stages of human civilization for promotion of national interests. Reference could be made to that of India-China War of 1962, Indo-Pak War of 1965 to 1975 which were intended to promote the national interests of the respective countries. However, it is a fact that this method is mostly used by states as a last resort when other methods become ineffective.

Thus, these are varied instruments of national interests which are used by the nation states to promote their interests.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who classified national interest into six categories?

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Q.5: Write a short note on general interest.

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Q.6: Mention any four instruments used for achieving national interest.

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Q.7: Write briefly about alliances as a method of achieving national interest.

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9.8 NATIONAL INTEREST AND FOREIGN POLICY

The concept of national interest is the key concept in the formulation of foreign policy. In fact, it is the key note of international politics. According to Norman Hill, "the starting point in foreign policy making is the national interest". Morgenthau is also of the opinion that "as long as the world is politically organised into nations, national interest is the final word in world politics". In the context of international relations each and every states conducts its relation with other states with the aim of achieving its national interest.

In so far as the relation between national interest and foreign policy is concerned, we could identify two different points of views. These are: (i) traditional view and (ii) contemporary view.

i) **Traditional view:** All nations formulate their foreign policy on the

basis of their national interest determined by the needs and circumstances in which a state is placed. While all sovereign states struggle for power in international politics, the foreign policy of all nations refers to their survival and self-preservation as their minimum requirement. It means that every nation should protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Protection refers to preservation of its sovereign identity and physical, political, cultural and social identity. Survival is identified with national interest. Accordingly, the traditional view believes that national interest is the most important component of foreign policy.

ii) **Contemporary view:** However, it is to be noted that there are some writers and thinkers who deny the role of national interest in the making of foreign policy. These contemporary writers believed that foreign policy must be based on well considered principles. These are the principles that must determine the objective and the direction of foreign policy. Reference could also be made to Woodrow Wilson who also stated that it would be perilous to determine foreign policy of a nation in terms of national interest. But if too much emphasis is given on principles, some of the national interests may have to be sacrificed. The ultimate emphasis of this school is that foreign policy must begin with the need for human survival.

In view of the two contrary opinions of the traditional and contemporary school, we would try to understand the implication of national interest. In fact, national interest assumes a variety of meanings in the various contexts in which it is used. In fact, no agreement can be reached about its ultimate meaning. As a matter of fact, concept of national interest has never been scientifically defined. Reference could be made to Joseph Frank who rejected all the definitions regarding national interest and identified the following meanings of the term–

i) National interest is the vision of good life.

ii) National interest refers to the sum total of its interest and policies actually pursued.

iii) The concept is used to explain, evaluate, rationalise or criticise

foreign policy.

However, despite all these differences of definition, foreign policy is concerned to be based upon the concept of national interest.

9.9 CORE OR BASIS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The concept of national interest, though it differs from country to country, the core or basis of national interest is same for all countries. There are three basic dimensions of national interest– security, economic development and a stable world order. It is a fact that all nations desire and continuously search for national security, political independence and territorial integrity. Security, survival and stability are the three basic components of national interest. It may be stated that next to security comes the question of promotion of economic interest. It includes the preservation or acquisition of favourable conditions in terms of trade. Again while security and economic prosperity are core components, the national interest of a country may includes other elements too. For example, the maintenance of international peace and order, the promotion of international law and establishment of global organisations may also be one of the objectives of some states' foreign policy. According to Karl Deutsch, "the larger and more powerful a nation is, the more its leaders, elites and population increase their levels of aspiration in international affairs".Some countries believe it to be their national interest to serve some kind of world mission such as world revolution,containment of communism and defence of freedom, etc.

Accordingly, we could identify what is known as the core of national interest. It is true that national interest is reflected in the foreign policies of the respective countries. But it would be dangerous to regard it as the only component in the formulation of foreign policy. A nation's claim of primacy of its national interest may jeopardise the interest of other nations. But in the present day interdependent world, each nation has to accommodate its interests with other nations. Again in contemporary period, national interest is being challenged by certain competing interests such as global, regional and sub-national interests also. The contemporary generation will have to decide whether to give precedence to nations whose strategic, economic

and cultural needs are better satisfied or to the states in its existing boundaries. The foreign policy makers of this contemporary time are compelled to define their objectives in such a manner which is acceptable to others. The present day problems like pollution, environmental degradation, human rights and developments are some of the issues that go beyond the narrow national interest of the countries. Therefore, it is widely believed today that a sovereign nation can pursue its self-interest to subordinate them to the system of common interests of the nations. Thus, the core of national interest could be promoted by wider accommodation of the interest of the other nations as well.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Mention three basic dimensions of national interest.

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Q.9: Write briefly about the traditional view regarding the relationship between national interest and foreign policy.

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9.10 LET US SUM UP

- National interest is the core element which determines every action of the state. Each and every state aims to achieve its national interest to

the fullest extent.National interest gives direction to long-term objectives of foreign policy of a state and also gives meaning to its actions in a short term context.

- Components of national interest may be classified into two major categories– vital components and non-vital components. The vital component of National Interest implies protection of a nation's physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by often nation states. Non-vital components are determined by the necessity or by circumstances. The factors like decision-makers, public opinion, political and moral folkways, party politics, group or sectional interests plays key role in the determination of these non-vital components.
- Thomas W. Robinson classified national interest into six categories. These are– primary interest, secondary interest, permanent interest, variable interest, general interest, specific interest. Besides these categories, Robinson has also identified three kinds of additional interests. These are- identical interest, complementary interest, conflicting interest.
- There are certain methods for the promotion of national interest, such as– diplomacy, alliances, propaganda, political warfare, economic instruments, imperialism and colonialism, coercive methods.
- There are two view points regarding the relationship between national interest and foreign policy, such as– traditional view and contemporary view. The traditional view believes that national interest is the most important component of foreign policy.The contemporary view point argues that national interest is not the only consideration for foreign policy formulation. The ultimate emphasis of this school is that foreign policy must begin with the need for human survival.



9.11 FURTHER READING

1) Chandra, Prakash. (2009). *Theories of International Relations*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

2) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. (2000). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.



9.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: The vital component of National Interest implies protection of a nation's physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by often nation states. Physical identity includes territorial and sovereign identity of states. Political identity implies protection of politico-economic system i.e., the kind of government structure and political process. Cultural identity means protection of cultural environment relating to customs, traditions and perception of societies. These vital components are very essential for the survival of a nation-state and for protection of these vital components a nation even go to war.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: i) Preservation of physical identity, that is, protection of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a nation state.

ii) Preservation of political identity, that is, preservation of existing politico-economic regimes.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Paul Sarbi has explained the concept of national interest in three perspectives–

i) The normative civic concept of national interest consist of those future objectives that a nation tries to achieve through its foreign policy.

ii) Descriptive concept of national interest refers to goals that a state continuously wants to achieve under its leadership.

iii) Those goals which are accepted by the political elite of the country as their objectives.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Thomas W. Robinson

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The general interest comprises conditions which apply

to a large number of nations in such areas as trade and commerce, economics, diplomatic inter-course, etc. For example, we may refer to the general interest of India to maintain good and friendly relations with her neighbours. Similarly, we may also refer to the general American interest to expand trade in Southeast Asia.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Diplomacy, alliances, propaganda, economic instruments

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Alliances are concluded between two or more states for fulfilling, protecting and promoting certain communal interests of the states. According to Robinson, "the advantage of pursuing national interests through alliances lies in the translation of inchoate, common or complementary interests into common policy and in bringing the nation's power directly to bear on questions of national interests". The conclusion of an alliance imposed a legal obligation on states to honour its clauses. Accordingly, it is through alliances that the nation states try to promote national interest.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: security, economic development and a stable world order

Ans. to Q. No. 9: All nations formulate their foreign policy on the basis of their national interest determined by the needs and circumstances in which a state is placed. While all sovereign states struggle for power in international politics, the foreign policy of all nations refers to their survival and self-preservation as their minimum requirement. It means that every nation should protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Protection refers to preservation of its sovereign identity and physical, political, cultural and social identity. Survival is identified with national interest. Accordingly, the traditional view believes that national interest is the most important component of foreign policy.



9.13 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: State the meaning of national interest. Explain various components of national interest.

Q.2: Explain various types of national interest.

Q.3: Discuss the various methods used by the states to fulfill national interest.

Q.4: Make a note on the relationship between national interest and foreign policy.

Q.5: Write about basis of national interest.

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UNIT 10: NATIONAL INTEREST AND IDEOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Ideology and National Interest

10.4 Some Major Ideologies of the World

10.5 Role of Ideology in International Politics

10.6 End of Ideology Debate

10.7 Let Us Sum Up

10.8 Further Reading

10.9 Answers To Check Your Progress

10.10 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the relationship between ideology and national interest
- discuss some major ideologies of the world
- examine the role of ideology in international politics
- analyse the debate regarding end of impact of Ideology in international politics.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

One of the important features of the contemporary world politics is the impact of ideologies in the affairs of the states. There is a close relationship between interest and ideology. Interest may shape ideology and vice-versa. History is rampant with such examples where the national interest was served by shaping ideology according to the goals.However, in recent times, the ideological debates of the past decades are seen to be fading away and there has emerged an increasing consensus, especially in the advanced western democracies on the ideological front. Accordingly, a new theory has emerged in the form of the “end of ideology” theory

propounded by many prominent scholars from the United States and subsequently from Europe. In this unit, we shall therefore discuss the relationship between national interest and ideology and end of ideology debate.

10.3 IDEOLOGY AND NATIONAL INTEREST

In simple terms, an ideology represents a set of ideas based on a definite standpoint. An ideology builds up a theory seeking to give a moral code of conduct, a sense of mission and a programme for action. Ideological considerations and their effective implementation have often constituted the backbone of the foreign policy of a state. Originally, the term ideology was devised to describe the science of ideas. A French scholar, Antionine Destutt de Tracy first used the term ideology in his works on the Enlightenment in the period 1801-15. According to him ideology is the study of the process of forming ideas i.e., science of ideas. In simple meaning, ideology implies a set of ideas which are accepted by a particular group of people to be true and without any further verification. It can be stated here that these ideas are invoked mainly to justify or denounce a particular way of social, economic or political organization.

In international politics ideology plays a crucial role. Ideology is a component of national power and all policies formulated by a nation in the true sense is concealed under ideological justifications. In fact, ideology influences considerably the choices of the goals and objectives of national interest and also provides the means for securing the goals. The nations in fact, uses various ideologies and its principles to explain and justify its actions and policies. The important role played by ideology in international relations too in terms of national interest and ultimately in formulation of foreign policies, demands significantly the study and an evaluation of ideology and its role during the time of study of the behaviour of nations in international relations. Ideology involves a set of action programmes for the attainment of defined ends. According to Padelford and Lincoln, “ideology is a body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals which

posit action programmes for attaining these goals." Karl Marx said "ideology is a manifestation of false consciousness". Richard W. Sterling defined ideology as a " set of ideas that purports to give meaning to the past, to explain the present and to prognosticate the future".

Thus, ideology can be defined as a set of ideas or principles to explain a phenomenon in a particular way and also to support or reject a particular social, economic, political and cultural order.

10.4 SOME MAJOR IDEOLOGIES OF THE WORLD

Some of the major ideologies are discussed below:

- **Liberalism:** The ideology of liberalism may be defined as an idea which is based on the freedom of the individual. Individual dignity is permanent and any attempt to subjugate individual liberty by an authority is considered as unjustifiable interferences. Under this ideology the individual is considered to be supreme and emphasis is laid on developing his or her talent to the maximum. It emphasizes on free competition and welfare of the individual is the prime concern. Liberalism is thus identified with internationalism which believes in peaceful resolution of conflict, world brotherhood, non-aggression, peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of another states.
- **Totalitarianism:** Totalitarianism is just the opposite of liberalism. Here more importance is attached to the state than the individual. A distinction is made between the ruler and the ruled. This ideology does not attach much importance to the freedom of speech and association as instruments of popular welfare and believes that the state alone can promote the welfare of the people. The individual is considered to be subordinate to the state. This ideology believes in one-party government, expansionism, supreme power of the state, and in war as an instrument for settlement of disputes, etc. Some examples of totalitarian ideologies are Fascism and Nazism. The Fascists in Italy under Benito Mussolini glorified the state. For them power was to be in the hands of a select group of people to be led by a person having super-human qualities.

Territorial expansion and war as an instrument of settlement of international disputes were considered to be acceptable. Similarly, Nazism under Adolf Hitler, over and above accepting the above mentioned principles, also put emphasis on the principle of racial superiority.

- **Marxism:** The philosophy of Marxism was originally expounded by Karl Marx. It has witnessed modification and reinterpretation in the present century. Leading figures like Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Tito had contributed towards development of Marxism. These leaders were associated with the great revolutions in their respective countries.

  The basic dimensions of the ideology of Marxism may be identified as below:

  a) There are two main classes in different phases of human civilization. While one is the exploiter, the other is the exploited class.
  b) At the stage of capitalism, there would be two main classes, namely, the capitalist and the proletariat.
  c) There would be revolution at the highest stage of capitalism. In the revolution, the capitalist class would be defeated and crushed by the proletariat.
  d) Immediately after the revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat would be established. From dictatorship of the proletariat communism will be finally established.

- **Ideology of Peace:** There is another relevant ideology which has developed in the wake of World War II. This is ideology of peace. It is believed that in view of the incalculable destructiveness of the modern world, the nation would pursue their objectives by peaceful means. In this way the ideology of peace performs two independent functions. It helps the world's statesmen to promote peaceful purpose and it also helps in attracting goodwill and support from different parts of the world.

The above references to the ideologies shows that in contemporary times there is profound relevance of ideologies in international politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of ideology.

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Q.2: Mention any two basic dimensions of the ideology of Marxism.

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Q.3: Write briefly about the ideology of liberalism.

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10.5 ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

After the collapse of Soviet Union there was a popular belief that relevance of ideology in international politics has gradually declined. However, contrary to the popular belief,ideology has continued to be relevant in International politics. Reference could also be cited regarding Daniel Bell's theory of end of ideology. This theory believes that pragmatism is the

only ideology left in International politics. We will discuss here the role of ideology in International politics in contemporary times.

- **Background Reference:** While discussing the role of ideology in international politics in contemporary times, we would like to make a brief background reference to the post World War II period. This period showed the rise of two major ideologies in the world namely the socialist and the capitalist. While the socialist bloc was led by USSR, USA was the leader of the capitalist bloc. These two systems consolidated themselves as rival blocs with clear ideological differences between the two. This was the period of Cold War, an ideology remained the most important proposition of international politics of that period. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union the world was virtually left with one ideological bloc namely capitalism. It is in this context that we would like to discuss the role and relevance of ideology in international politics.
- **Contemporary Role of Ideology:** In contemporary times we could identify the role of ideology in the following fields–
  - **Role of Ideology of Peace:** In contemporary times priority has been accorded to the ideology of peace. It may be mentioned here that since the Cold War, there has been the problem of armament almost all over the world. The nations were procuring arms for safeguarding their respective countries. But in the process, they have involved themselves in a massive struggle for procuring arms, at the same time, many countries have also developed nuclear capability. That is why,to counter the process of arms race,emphasis has been given to the ideology of peace. It clearly shows the relevance of ideology in international politics.
  - **Role of Ideology of Pragmatism:** The 21st century has not recognised the concept of the ideological rigidity. On the other hand, it believes in flexibility of ideology so that the necessary modification could be made to suit a particular condition. In fact, flexibility of ideology can be considered as a new ideological proposition. Lenin made substantial modification to the marxist theory. In the 21st century, we may refer to China which has clearly adopted the ideology

of pragmatism. Although China is a communist country, it has accepted various capitalist proposition in order to make communism more practicable in contemporary times. Similarly, a number of countries of Asia and Africa have also adopted the ideology of pragmatism.

- **Role of Ideology of Anti-Terrorism:** In contemporary times and more particularly after the terrorist attack in World Trade Centre as well as in Pentagon in the US, a new phase of the ideology of anti-terrorism has started in international politics. It may be noted here that USA has emerged as the leader of the international anti-terror alliance fighting against terrorism all over the world. The ideology of anti-terrorism was adopted as a number of strategies to counter terrorism at different levels and scales.
- **Role of the Ideology of Human Rights:** In contemporary times, we have also seen the emergence of the ideology of human rights with a profound focus on it. It may be mentioned here that in the light of the developments like anti-terror strategies, the ideology of human rights has secured a new focus and limelight in international politics.

Accordingly, we could identify certain new developments that show the role and relevance of ideology in contemporary times.

10.6 END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE

Ideology is currently the most influencing factor in International Politics in terms of achieving desired goals and objectives but this status was reviewed in the mid-1950s and in 1960s. Western liberal-democratic countries declared that ideology has no role and place in open societies and it is just an instrument of totalitarianism and authoritarianism. In fact, these countries declared that the age of ideology had come to an end. It was believed that at the stage of industrial and technological growth and development, political ideology has no role to determine a country's social-economic organisation, rather it is determined by the level of its development. Even countries with different ideologies are also found to evolve similar characteristics at their advanced stage of industrial development. The end

of ideology view may be found in the report of Edward Shills' on the conference on 'The Future of Freedom' in Milan, 1955. The report was published in 'Encounter' (1955) under the title 'The End of Ideology'. Then this view of end of ideology was further elaborated by many western writers like Ralph Dahrendorf. He stated in his work "Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society" (1957) that western societies were no longer capitalist societies as they entered a stage of development and they became post-capitalist societies. His view completely opposed Marx's theory as Dahrendorf said in post-capitalist society the economic and political conflict cease to exist and industry and industrial conflicts are institutionally isolated and they do not influence politics and other spheres of social life. According to Dahrendorf, for the analysis of Western societies, Marxian ideology was no more suitable.

Then on the view on the end of ideology was developed by Daniel Bell also in his noted work 'The End of Ideology'(1960). According to him, in the post-industrial societies there are similar development and characteristics irrespective of their ideological differences. Service sector expands faster than manufacturing sector at the advanced stage of industrial development of the countries and there has been increasing dominance of technical elites. Moreover, it has been stated by Bell that this change is not affected by political ideology.

Then Seymour M. Lipset also talked about the end of ideology in his work "Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics" (1960). He observed that triumph of democracy in the western countries compelled the intellectuals to accept that ideologies are not needed to motivate any political action. He further said that in Western democracies more important issues before politics are the issues concerned with marginal increase in wages, rise in prices, old-age pensions, etc.rather than the differences between the left and the right which is no longer profound issues. Lipset even stated that democracy is a good society in itself, not mere a means to attain ends or seek good society by different groups.

W. W. Rostow also stated in his work "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto" (1960) that political ideologies has

no role to play in determining the course of economic development in different countries. He believed that all societies irrespective of ideological differences pass through same stages of growth and development whether it is in Asia, Latin America, Africa or in the western societies. J. K. Galbraith too believed in the end of ideology theory. He very clearly stated in his work "The New Industrial State" in 1967 that irrespective of different ideologies adopted by all industrialized countries follows similar development process and have similar characteristics like centralization, technological development, professionalism, etc. Political ideology has no role in shaping a country's techno-economic structure. For example, America and Russia despite its different ideologies i.e, capitalism and communism respectively, have similar characteristics.

Then Francis Fukuyama in his paper "The End of History" which was published in *The National Interest* in 1989 declared that the failure of socialism in the 1991 (Soviet Union collapse) and also in 1989 (collapse of communist systems in East European countries) led to victory of economic and political liberalism and also it resulted in the end of Western liberal democracies ideological evolution and universalization. It has stated that nations should focus on just industrial development instead of running after ideology. Ideology should not be treated as a remedy of all ills.

But writers like Richard Titmuss, C. Wright Mills, C. B. Macpherson have not supported the end of ideology debate and they strongly criticised the theory. They do not find any relevance of the end of ideology theory so far as human and political ideas are concerned. According to Mills, ideology is the only way through which many social scientists justify the established social structure. He said the exponents of end of ideology theory just have the motive of maintaining status quo. Titmuss said upholders of end of ideology theory overlooked the problems of capitalist system that is social disorganization, deprivation, monopolistic concentration of economic power and so on. Macpherson also observed that advocates of end of ideology made futile attempt to solve the problems of market economy like equal distribution.

Thus, end of ideology thesis is subjected to criticisms too. In fact, it

has been said that end of ideology theory is to prove the supremacy of liberal-democratic system in both theory and practice. Moreover, collapse of socialism in 1989 and 1991 do not imply the end of ideology as it could be the result of human faults. Again to solve many human problems, relevant ideas from different ideologies may be taken. In this connection, it could be cited that ideologies like liberalism, marxism, socialism, gandhism, fascism are some of the most important ideologies which even today plays great role in determining national interest and policies of nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who is the author of the paper "The End of History"?

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Q.5: Write briefly about the views of W. W. Rostow regarding end of history thesis.

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Q.6: Mention names of any two scholars who have criticised the end of ideology thesis.

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10.7 LET US SUM UP

- An ideology represents a set of ideas based on a definite standpoint. An ideology builds up a theory seeking to give a moral code of conduct, a sense of mission and a programme for action. Ideological considerations and their effective implementation have often constituted the backbone of the foreign policy of a state.
- Ideology influences considerably the choices of the goals and objectives of national interest and also provides the means for securing the goals. The nations in fact, uses various ideologies and its principles to explain and justify its actions and policies.
- Some of the important ideologies of the world are – liberalism, totalitarianism, Marxism, ideology of peace etc.
- Ideology is one significant element of a state's behaviour in international relations and international politics. Ideologies also largely influence the process of foreign policy making and its implementation. The role of ideology in international politics is very profound.
- Regarding the relevance of ideology, western liberal-democratic countries declared that ideology has no role and place in open societies and it is just an instrument of totalitarianism and authoritarianism. In fact, these countries declared that the age of ideology had come to an end.
- However end of ideology thesis is subjected to criticisms too. In fact, it has been said that end of ideology theory is to prove the supremacy of liberal-democratic system in both theory and practice. Again to solve many human problems, relevant ideas from different ideologies may be taken. In this connection, it could be cited that ideologies like liberalism, socialism, gandhism, are some of the most important ideologies which even today plays great role in determining national interest and policies of nations.It is also argued that international politics will always have different ideological approaches to foreign and military policies.

Accordingly, nations will continue to adjust and align their relationships with one another in ideological terms.



10.8 FURTHER READING

1) Asirvatham, Eddy and Misra, K. K. (2003). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
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3) Ghosh, Peu. (2013). *International Relations*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd.
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5) Johari, J. C. (1982). *Comparative Politics*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
6) Malhotra,Vinay Kumar. (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.
7) Singhal, S. C. (2006). *International Politics*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Publication.



10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: An ideology represents a set of ideas based on a definite standpoint. An ideology builds up a theory seeking to give a moral code of conduct, a sense of mission and a programme for action. Ideological considerations and their effective implementation have often constituted the backbone of the foreign policy of a state.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: a) There are two main classes in different phases of human civilization. While one is the exploiter, the other is the exploited class.

b) At the stage of capitalism, there would be two main classes,

namely, the capitalist and the proletariat.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The ideology of liberalism may be defined as an idea which is based on the freedom of the individual. Individual dignity is permanent and any attempt to subjugate individual liberty by an authority is considered as unjustifiable interferences. Under this ideology the individual is considered to be supreme and emphasis is laid on developing his or her talent to the maximum. It emphasizes on free competition and welfare of the individual is the prime concern. Liberalism is thus identified with internationalism which believes in peaceful resolution of conflict, world brotherhood, non-aggression, peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of another states.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Francis Fukuyama

Ans. to Q. No. 5: W. W. Rostow in his work "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto" (1960) stated that political ideologies has no role to play in determining the course of economic development in different countries. He believed that all societies irrespective of ideological differences pass through same stages of growth and development whether it is in Asia, Latin America, Africa or in the western societies. J. K. Galbraith too believed in the end of ideology theory. He very clearly stated in his work "The New Industrial State" in 1967 that irrespective of different ideologies adopted by all industrialized countries follows similar development process and have similar characteristics like centralization, technological development, professionalism, etc. Political ideology has no role in shaping a country's techno-economic structure. For example, America and Russia despite its different ideologies i.e, capitalism and communism respectively, have similar characteristics.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: C. Wright Mills, C. B. Macpherson.



10.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Define ideology.

Q.2: Write a short note on the ideology of totalitarianism.

Q.3: Examine the impact of ideology in international politics.

Q.4: Explain the relationship between ideology and national interest.

Q.5: Discuss the “end of ideology” debate.

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UNIT 11: DIPLOMACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Meaning of Diplomacy

11.4 Development of Diplomacy

11.5 Functions of Diplomacy

11.6 Types of Diplomacy

11.7 Old vs. New Diplomacy

11.8 Decline of Diplomacy

11.8.1 Future of Diplomacy

11.9 Let Us Sum Up

11.10 Further Reading

11.11 Answers To Check Your Progress

11.12 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning and types of diplomacy
- elaborate the development of diplomacy
- discuss the relevance of diplomacy.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

International Politics essentially involves the establishment of relations among different countries in the world. The medium through which these relationships among countries are established and acknowledged is diplomacy. One country maintains diplomatic relations with other countries through its diplomatic staff. In other words diplomacy is the means whereby international relations are conducted and managed. In this unit we shall discuss various aspects of diplomacy.

11.3 MEANING OF DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is an important subject in the study of international relation. Diplomacy is the means through which nations develop their relations with other nations. Diplomacy is a basic means by which a nation seeks to secure the goals of its national interest. The foreign policy of a nation always depends on diplomacy for its effective operationalisation. Foreign policy decisions are implemented and communicated with the help of diplomacy. In the struggle for power among nations, diplomacy acts as an important device of power management and as an instrument for securing international peace through accommodation.

The term diplomacy is, sometimes explained in a negative meaning like “the art of telling lies on behalf of the nation”, or “as instrument for employing deceit and duplicity in international relations’’. But these explanations of the term diplomacy don’t hold truth. Diplomacy is in fact, the art of negotiations and conduct of foreign relations. Some popular definitions of diplomacy are as follows:

According to Padelford and Lincoln, “Diplomacy is the process of representation and negotiation by which states customarily deal with one another in times of peace.”

According to Sir Ernest Satow, “Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states.”

According to K. M. Panikar, “Diplomacy is the art of forwarding one’s interests in relation to other countries.”

According to Harold Nicholson, “Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys: the business or art of the diplomats.”

According to Hans J. Morgenthau, “Diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by peaceful means.”

From the above definitions we can say that diplomacy means promotion of national interest in international relations by means of

negotiations and conduct of relations with other nations. From the understandings of all the definitions of diplomacy we can find out the following features of diplomacy–

- Diplomacy is neither the art of deceit nor mere lies or propaganda, and nor even something immoral.
- Diplomacy is a normal means of conducting relations. It consists of techniques and procedures for conducting relations among nations.
- The very purpose of diplomacy is to secure the goals of national interest as defined and specified by the foreign policy of the nation. Success of diplomacy is measured in terms of the success achieved towards the fulfillment of national interest in international relations.
- Diplomacy functions through a network of foreign offices, embassies, consulates and special missions all over the world. It always works according to definite and settled procedures and protocol.
- Diplomacy is basically bilateral in character. However, in contemporary international relations, due to the development of international conferences, international organizations and regional negotiations it has become plural in nature.
- Diplomacy is a continuous process. It continues in both war and peace situations. However, co-operations among the states is a necessary precondition for the existence of diplomacy.

The interdependence among the nations is the basic feature of contemporary international relations. Each nation depends upon others not only for their peace and security but also to fulfill economic, commercial and industrial needs. Diplomacy helps the nations to establish security as well as economic, trade, commercial and industrial relations among states. Effective diplomacy greatly contributed towards the success of foreign policy of a nation.

11.4 DEVELOPMENT OF DIPLOMACY

The origin of organized diplomacy can be traced back to the time of the city states of ancient Greece when the special missions between the Greek City States were so frequent. After that the Romans, who had

contributed significantly towards the development of the international law, also contributed a lot to the development of diplomacy. Especially in the Eastern Roman Empire, the diplomatic methods were employed with great zeal. The representatives of the Eastern Empire became skilled diplomats and trained observers and thus extended the practice of diplomacy to include accurate observation and reporting as well as representation. During the middle ages, from the sixth century A.D. to late eighteenth century, diplomacy simply meant the study and the preservation of archives rather than the act of international negotiation.

Modern diplomacy as an organized profession arose in Italy in the late middle ages. The first known permanent mission was established at Geneva in 1455 by Duke of Milan. During the next century Italian City states established permanent embassies in London, Paris and at Court of Holy Roman Empire. But for about three hundred years it was still the diplomacy of the court.

By the 17th century diplomacy became the permanent missions, an established profession and a generally accepted method of mutual relations. After the peace of Westphalia (1648, when the nation-state system was established), such machinery was considered essential. Diplomats from all countries represented in the Court of Louis XIV. The diplomacy of the Court entered its golden age in the 18th century.

By the 18th century the industrial revolution, American and French revolutions ushered in a new era of diplomacy. The public opinion gained importance in the process of diplomacy. This was due to the growth of democratic rules in the states. Despite, the diplomatic profession was carried out by the aristocrats only. With this democratization of diplomatic processes diplomacy became more standardized and acceptable. The Congress of Vienna made important contribution in this direction. The Vienna Congress laid down certain rules of procedure which are still commonly observed.

In the 19th century, the diplomacy was better known as modern diplomacy or new diplomacy demanded new methods because of change in the nature of diplomacy. In this phase the methods of diplomacy are defined by many international agreements and became a generally observed

code. Harold Nicholson has called attention to three developments of the 19th and 20th centuries which greatly affected the theory and practice of diplomacy. These are: (i) the growing sense of community of nations, (ii) the increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion and (iii) the rapid increase in communications. The new diplomacy differs from the traditional practices of diplomacy in many fronts. In new diplomacy the status of the ambassadors has been reduced to that of a glorified clerk. The diplomats do not enjoy any freedom or personal discretion. In modern or new diplomacy, the diplomacy by conference is becoming more and more popular. In the present age the main factors which are responsible for the changes in the diplomatic practices are: (1) the improved means of transport and communications due to the technological advancement, (2) the development of alliance system which functions like a coalition cabinet of several nations, (3) the increasing importance of public opinion in foreign affairs, (4) role played by the superpowers in the field of international politics.

In short diplomatic practices in the present era has undergone many changes. Diplomacy in the present age is more open and democratic in nature as compared to the earlier ages. In international relations the diplomatic negotiations are the main driving force. It has grown up since time immemorial and will continue to grow in future also.

11.5 FUNCTIONS OF DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy plays a key role in international relations. It is mostly through diplomatic negotiations that nations try to resolve their disputes or arrive at consensus on various international issues and problems. A foreign policy can become successful through an efficient, committed and sound diplomacy. In this way diplomacy perform a number of functions in international relations which are as follows:

- Representative functions: The basic function of the diplomacy is to represent the country officially in the international relation. The diplomats represent the concerned State and Government in all official functions and ceremonies at the international forum as well as in relation with

other state. He is the official agent of communication between his home State and that of the State to which he is accredited. His all representations are official and legal in nature.

- Negotiations: Diplomacy is the legal and formal channel of negotiations in international relation. The diplomats are the channels of communication which handle the transmission of messages between the foreign ministries of the parent state and the host state. Along with the nature of the message, the manner and style of delivering the message greatly influences the course of negotiations. It is mainly through negotiations that a diplomat seeks to secure agreements and compromise over various conflictual issues and problems among states.
- Reporting: Reporting involves the observation of the political, economic, military and social conditions of the host country and the accurate transmission of the findings of the diplomat to his home country. The political reporting involves a report about the assessment of the roles of various political parties in the politics of the host country. Economic reporting involves sending of reports to the home state containing information about the economic and trade potential etc. of the host country. Military reporting involves information about military strength, intentions and capabilities, strategic importance of the host country etc. Thus, diplomacy is the most important tool in formulating the foreign policy decisions of a country. The diplomatic inputs give valuable insights to the policy makers in formulating foreign policies.
- Protection of national interest: Diplomacy always works for the protection and promotion of national interests of the country. It works to secure compatibility out of incompatibility through accommodation, reconciliation and goodwill. Moreover, it is the duty of the diplomats to protect the persons, property and interests of the citizens of his country who are living in the territory of the state to which he stands posted.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention three factors as identified by Harold Nicholson had which greatly affected the theory and practice of diplomacy.

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Q.2: Mention any two features of diplomacy.

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Q.3: Write briefly about any two functions of diplomacy.

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11.6 TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is not a recent practice in international relations. Its origin can be traced back to the emergence of states in various parts of the world. Ever since its origin till the contemporary times, the nature of diplomacy has undergone a big change. The scholars in international relation have divided

diplomacy into mainly two parts– the old diplomacy and the modern or new diplomacy.

- **Old Diplomacy:** Diplomacy in its traditional form is known as old diplomacy. The main features of the old diplomacy are:
  i) European Diplomacy: Old diplomacy was primarily confined to Europe. Being an imperial continent, Europe was the centre of all international activities. The international relation was mostly controlled by the European countries. Therefore, the practice of diplomacy was confined among the European countries only.
  ii) Aristocratic: In old diplomacy, the conduct of foreign relation was considered as the prerogative of the King or rulers and their trusted ambassadors. The diplomats were selected by the rulers. The functions of diplomacy were conducted by a class of professional diplomats characterized by an aristocracy, nobility and class consciousness. Thus it was elitist in nature.
  iii) Secrecy: Secrecy was considered as the hallmark of old diplomacy. Secrecy in respect of the negotiations as well as about the outcome of these negotiations was considered to be a vitally important feature of diplomacy. Diplomats communicate only with their counterparts in other countries. Secret negotiations leading to secret undertakings, agreements or treaties or alliances were considered to be the ideal ways of conducting relations for the preservation of peace.
  iv) Freedom of action for Ambassadors: In old diplomacy, diplomats enjoyed considerable freedom in negotiations within the agreed policy. The lack of continuous means of communication made it essential for the states to give wide range of freedom and powers to the diplomats. The inability to maintain continuous communications with diplomats residing in other countries made it essential for the rulers to give freedom of action to the diplomats. The diplomats can exercise their functions freely while negotiating with the other states.
- **New Diplomacy:**The old diplomacy continued to remain in operation till the middle of the 20th century. Thereafter, it had to change due to changes in the international systems as well as because of the

development of fast and comprehensive means of communication. These new developments in diplomatic practices came to be known as new or open diplomacy.

Why Changes in Diplomacy?

As mentioned above, in the early 20th century, the traditional diplomacy was replaced by new type of diplomacy. The diplomacy is greatly influenced by the political system under which it operates. The traditional diplomacy prevailed when political systems were mostly monarchical and aristocratic. Here people had no say in the foreign affairs. Diplomatic negotiations were carried out by the sovereign or his professional diplomats in strict secrecy. However in the early part of the 20th century, the political systems in most of the European countries underwent a change. Absolute monarchy was replaced by the constitutional monarchy and democracy. With the greater participation in the affairs of the Government, people felt concern with the foreign policy of their country. As a result diplomacy also ceased to be dynastic and assumed democratic character. Scholars have attributed growth of democratic diplomacy to three main factors i.e. growing sense of internationalism, increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion and rapid increase in communication. With the growth of the sense of internationalism, the states have started to give importance to international interests along with their national interests. Moreover, due to emergence of democratic regimes it was felt desirable to take the public into confidence on all vital diplomatic issues. The developments of modern means of communications made the diplomats more and more dependent on the office of the foreign affairs of the Government. In the context of these changes, the role of the diplomats had changed significantly.

While discussing new diplomacy, reference can be made to various tracks of diplomacy. For example we can mention about Track I and Track II diplomacy. Track I diplomacy is also known as official diplomacy. These type of diplomacy operates through formal means, like state to state level. This type of diplomacy is carried out by diplomats, high level government official, head of the state and government.Track I diplomacy is considered as a primary peace-making tool of a state's foreign policy. Track II diplomacy

involves unofficial and informal interaction between individuals and groups of individuals from different countries. Track II diplomacy included various aspects like cultural exchange, sport etc. This type of diplomacy can provide sufficient assistance to the government to resolve and manage conflict by exploring possible solutions derives from public view.

Types and Features of New or Open Diplomacy: The new diplomacy has the following features:

1) **Greater Openness:** The new diplomacy is open in character. Diplomatic negotiations are made public soon after reaching of agreements or treaties or alliances or settlements. The principle of open diplomacy was greatly emphasized by the American President Wilson in his address to the Congress on 8th January 1891 while advocating the fourteen points as basis for peace settlement. In course of time this principle came to be universally accepted. The Article 102 of the UN charter provided that "every treaty and international agreements entered into by any member of the UNO after the present charter comes into force shall, as soon as possible, be registered with the Secretariat and published by it." This provision of the UN Charter sought to check the conclusion of the secret treaties.

   The merit of open diplomacy is that in this type of diplomacy the Government and the diplomatic officials remain more responsible to the public since everybody came to know about their stand. Secondly, the people can resist the anti-people diplomatic decisions of the government in proper time.

   The critics have pointed out some disadvantages of the open or democratic diplomacy also. Firstly, according to them, in open diplomacy it is difficult to take crucial and critical diplomatic decisions since the public are not enlightened enough to understand the importance of the decision in a particular situation. Palmar & Parkins argued that open diplomacy can be considered as 'market diplomacy'. Secondly, it is seen that people are not so interested in the international issues though they show keen interest in national

issues. Moreover, ordinary people cannot understand properly the critical diplomatic issues in international relations. Therefore it is not advantageous to make open diplomatic negotiations to all. Thirdly, for the security interest of the nation some issues should be kept as confidential while maintaining relationship with other nations.

2) **Multilateral or Conference Diplomacy:** Another outstanding feature of new diplomacy is that greater importance has been attached to multilateral or conference diplomacy. When diplomatic negotiations are held through holding the multilateral conferences such type of diplomatic negotiations are called as the conference or multilateral diplomacy. In this type of diplomatic conferences mostly the Heads of the States or Heads of the Government, or top level Diplomatic Officers participate. The Westphalia Conference 1648, Vienna Conference 1815, Berlin Conference 1884, Hague Convention 1899 and 1907 etc. are some examples of conference or multilateral diplomacy. This new change became necessary because in the present times the problems have assumed international character and tend to leave a worldwide impact. It is therefore imperative that these problems should be tackled through the cooperation of all the states. As there is no international legislative body where these states may send their representatives, naturally they have to hold multilateral diplomatic conferences. These conferences are held to conclude treaties and agreements of general nature as well as to hold formal conclusions. No doubt, multilateral diplomacy was known in the past centuries too and there are numerous instances of international conferences in which a number of state participated, but by and large multilateral diplomacy gained currency in the present century only. It was only after the First World War that conference diplomacy or multilateral diplomacy gained more popularity. In the conduct of multilateral diplomacy the UNO plays a more effective role. A special division has been created within the Secretariat of the UNO for the conduct of various conferences. Today conferences are held at both regional as well as global levels covering all the

areas of human life where the diplomats, ministers or heads of the states negotiates to reach the agreements on contentious issues.

3) **Personal or Summit Diplomacy:** The term summit diplomacy was for the first time coined by British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill in 1953 when he proposed a conference of the heads of governments of Western countries and Soviet Union. It implies direct participation of the foreign ministers, Prime Minister and head of States in diplomatic negotiations. The Vienna Congress held in 1815, Paris Peace Conference of 1919 are the notable example of summit diplomacy. Over the years the popularity of the Summit diplomacy has grown up and the number of summit meetings increased.

The main feature of summit diplomacy are– (A) Generally in summit diplomacy the heads of the states try to establish direct contact with their counterparts in other countries. (B) Quite often the heads of the states engaged their personal agents to establish contact with the leaders of the other countries. For example President Wilson relied on Colonel House and President Roosevelt on Hopkins for the conduct of this type of diplomacy.

The supporters of the summit diplomacy have lauded this type of diplomacy by arguing that the top-level statesmen are participating in the negotiations thus they will not have to wait for the instructions from any authority, hence it is easy to come to some sort of understanding. On the other hand the critics have argued that the main function of the top level leaders of a state is to formulate but not to negotiate. The function of negotiation should be left to the professional diplomats. Moreover in personal diplomacy, the delicate personal considerations are also bound to affect the outcome. Further, there is a risk for the Government if the negotiations led by the head of the Government fail to bring the positive some outcome. Such failure of the diplomatic relations may affect the public opinion of the Government. Another point raised by the critics of the summit diplomacy is that the top level political leaders are not properly trained or may lack the required knowledge about foreign relations. In that

case, this job can be better looked after by the professional diplomats. Realizing these shortcomings of summit diplomacy the admirers of this diplomacy have favoured extensive preparation before holding the meetings at the summit level. The meeting at the summit level should be held only if the earlier negotiations indicate that there is a possibility of an agreement.

11.7 OLD VS NEW DIPLOMACY

From the above discussion about the old and new diplomacy we can find some points of differences between these two types of diplomacy. These are–

1) The old diplomacy was essentially European in character, concerned with European politics alone. Africa and Asia were either isolated or dominated by European nations, and did not figure in the then diplomacy. On the other hand modern diplomacy is concerned with both big and small powers; even though small powers do not play any significant role.
2) Under old diplomacy only great powers were responsible for the maintenance of world peace. While today peace is the concern of big as well as small powers.
3) Traditional diplomacy was the monopoly of the aristocratic class. On the other hand, the new diplomacy is under the control of civil servants and possesses a democratic rather than aristocratic outlook.
4) Traditional diplomacy was secret. All negotiations were carried out secretly. New diplomacy is conducted in the open through various conferences, where decisions are taken openly.
5) In old diplomacy the diplomats enjoyed a lot of discretion. New diplomacy has virtually reduced the diplomats to the status of dignified clerks, who are expected to faithfully carry out the instructions from the foreign office.

11.8 DECLINE OF DIPLOMACY

Scholars of international relation argued that after the Second World War diplomacy has been losing its vitality. It no longer performs that spectacular role which it used to perform in the past. The factors which account for the decline of diplomacy are:

1) **Development of Communications:** In the contemporary world the entire world is now interconnected through the development of transport and communications. No part of this world is being isolated today. Due to these fast communication facilities the role of the diplomacy have been changed. There is continuous communications between the States. At present the technological developments has made it possible for the governments to maintain direct and continuous contacts with their diplomats as well as among themselves. Now discussions, reactions can be received immediately by the Governments on any issues. This communication development has brought about a great deal of change in the field of international negotiations. These changes in the foreign relations have led to the decline of the role of diplomats in the modern era of international relation. The dependence of the government upon diplomats has sharply decreased.
2) **Emergence of New Diplomacy:** The emergence of new diplomacy, more particularly the conference diplomacy, personal diplomacy etc. has led to the decline of diplomacy. The popularity of democracy and choice of open negotiations has led to the transformation of Old Diplomacy. The use of open conferences, summits in international relations have adversely affected the role of diplomacy in international relations. The institutionalization of relation among the states has further reduced the role of diplomatic missions and diplomats. The new diplomacy offers a middle way between secrecy and openness, formality with informality, deliberations with leisure and business with increased personal contacts, and hence, it has made traditional diplomacy unpopular.

3) **Emergence of the Super powers on the World Scene:** After the World War-II the power politics between the two super powers i.e. USA and USSR had engulfed the entire world politics. The two super powers soon got involved in cold war. This resulted in a great set back to the diplomacy. The diplomats were not given any discretion in negotiations during this period. They were expected to work simply according to the dictation of the government. Thus during the cold war, the diplomacy fell victim of bipolarity.

4) **The Nature of Contemporary International System:** The nature ofinternational relations in the contemporary period acted as a hindering factor for diplomacy. The presence of cold war, two superpowers, nuclear weapons, end of balance of power, birth of new states, alliances and counter alliances, rise of the United Nations and other international agencies etc. have changed the very nature of international relation in the post World War-II period. These dynamics of international relations have reduced the use of diplomacy as a means of conducting relationship among the states.

Thus, it is clear that in contemporary international relations, several factors have affected the role of diplomacy which in turn has led to the decline of as the decline of diplomacy in international relation. In fact, in the post World War-II period, diplomacy is found in a changed role. Its popularity as a means of conflict resolution through negotiations suffered a decline.

11.8.1 Future of Diplomacy

From the above we have seen that, in the World War-II period, the role of diplomacy has changed leading to its decline. But it is wrong to assume that diplomacy stands rejected as an instrument of international relations. In the changing scenario its role has been changed. This change does not imply that it is irrelevant now. It has taken a new form which is now called as New Diplomacy. The New Diplomacy is regarded as valuable means to secure national interest by the States as well as to maintain international peace. In the present

international relation, summit diplomacy or personal diplomacy are widely used by the States to serve their national interest. It can be said that, so long as the need to eliminate or at least to reduce the chances of war remains, the dependence on diplomacy as a means for the conduct of relations is bound to be accepted by all the nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Mention any two features of old diplomacy.

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Q.5: Mention two differences between old diplomacy and new diplomacy.

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Q.6: Write briefly about Track I diplomacy.

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11.9 LET US SUM UP

- Diplomacy is the means through which nations develop their relations with other nations. Diplomacy is a basic means by which a nation seeks to secure the goals of its national interest. The foreign policy of a nation always depends on diplomacy for its effective operationalisation.
- Diplomacy has certain features, such as-diplomacy is neither the art of deceit nor mere lies or propaganda, and nor even something immoral; diplomacy is a normal means of conducting relations; the very purpose of diplomacy is to secure the goals of national interest as defined and specified by the foreign policy of the nation; diplomacy functions through a network of foreign offices, embassies, consulates and special missions all over the world; diplomacy is basically bilateral in character; diplomacy is a continuous process.
- Diplomacy has acquired its present character by passing through various stages and a number of factors have contributed in this process.
- The main functions of the diplomats are– representation of the country officially in the international relation, negotiations, reporting, protection of national interest.
- Scholars in international relation have divided diplomacy into mainly two parts– the old diplomacy and the modern or new diplomacy.
- Diplomacy in its traditional form is known as old diplomacy. The main features of the old diplomacy are– old diplomacy was primarily confined to Europe, old diplomacy wasaristocratic in nature, secrecy was considered as the hallmark of old diplomacy, in old diplomacy diplomats enjoyed considerable freedom in negotiations within the agreed policy.
- The old diplomacy continued to remain in operation till the middle of the 20th century. Thereafter, it had to change due to changes in the international systems as well as because of the development of fast and comprehensive means of communication. These new developments in diplomatic practices came to be known as new or open diplomacy.

- The new diplomacy is open in character. Another outstanding feature of new diplomacy is that greater importance has been attached to multilateral or conference diplomacy.
- There are certain differences between old diplomacy and new diplomacy.
- Scholars of international relations argued that after the Second World War diplomacy has been losing its vitality. The factors which account for the decline of diplomacy are: development of communications, emergence of new diplomacy, emergence of the Super powers on the world scene, changing nature of contemporary international system.



11.10 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*. NewDelhi : Kalyani Publishers.
3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar, (2006). *International Relations*. NewDelhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.



11.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: i) Growing sense of community of nations.
ii) Increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion.
iii) Rapid increase in communications.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: i) Diplomacy is neither the art of deceit nor mere lies or propaganda, and nor even something immoral.
ii) Diplomacy is a normal means of conducting relations. It consists of techniques and procedures for conducting relations among nations.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: i) Representative functions: The basic function of the diplomacy is to represent the country officially in the international relation. The diplomats represent the concerned State and

Government in all official functions and ceremonies at the international forum as well as in relation with other state.

ii) Negotiations: Diplomacy is the legal and formal channel of negotiations in international relation. The diplomats are the channels of communication which handle the transmission of messages between the foreign ministries of the parent state and the host state. Along with the nature of the message, the manner and style of delivering the message greatly influences the course of negotiations. It is mainly through negotiations that a diplomat seeks to secure agreements and compromise over various conflictual issues and problems among states.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: i) Secrecy: Secrecy was considered as the hallmark of old diplomacy. Secrecy in respect of the negotiations as well as about the outcome of these negotiations was considered to be a vitally important feature of diplomacy.

ii) Freedom of action for Ambassadors: In old diplomacy, diplomats enjoyed considerable freedom in negotiations within the agreed policy.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: i) The old diplomacy was essentially European in character, concerned with European politics alone. Africa and Asia were either isolated or dominated by European nations, and did not figure in the then diplomacy. On the other hand modern diplomacy is concerned with both big and small powers; even though small powers do not play any significant role.

ii) Under old diplomacy only great powers were responsible for the maintenance of world peace. While today peace is the concern of big as well as small powers.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Track I diplomacy is also known as official diplomacy. These type of diplomacy operates through formal means, like state to state level. This type of diplomacy is carries out by diplomats, high level government official, head of the state and government. Track I diplomacy is considered as a primary peace-making tool of a state's foreign policy.



11.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Write briefly about the meaning of diplomacy. Do you think that diplomacy is a part of foreign policy?

Q.2: Explain the growth of diplomacy.

Q.3: Discuss the various functions of Diplomacy.

Q.4: What are the types of diplomacy? Discuss.

Q.5: Discuss the main features of New Diplomacy. Explain its advantages and disadvantages.

Q.6: Discuss the differences between Old Diplomacy and New Diplomacy.

Q.7: Do you think that there is decline of Diplomacy? Explain reasons for your answer.

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UNIT 12: INTERNATIONAL CONFILCT

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning of Conflict and War

12.4 Historical Trends in War

12.5 Nature and functions of Conflict

12.6 Concept of Cyber Warfare and Strategic Bombing

12.7 Justification of War

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.11 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of conflict and war
- describe the historical trends in war
- explain the nature and functions of conflict
- describe the concept of Cyber warfare and strategic bombing.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In international politics, the struggle for power among the nations is characterised by both conflict, war and co-operation. The national interests of all the nations are neither fully compatible nor can be made so. It is the purpose of conflict management and conflict settlement to ensure that cooperation continues despite existence of conflict in international politics. War may be generally regarded as a state of armed conflict which generally arises between different countries or different groups within a country. It may also be defined as a sustained campaign against an undesirable activity. Warfare nonetheless has a special importance for human beings, particularly

since the invention of nuclear weapons in 1945, which increased the very real possibility that war could extinguish human civilization and possibly , life on earth.

12.3 MEANING OF CONFLICT AND WAR

The word conflict drives from the Latin word "Confligere" which means to strike together. The term conflict has a variety of meanings. It is often used as a synonym for incompatible or irreconcilable. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In other words, a conflict is a state of affairs characterised by the existence of incompatible aspects of relationships.

In any case, the concept of conflict applies almost all its forms, economic, national or international. ***Kenneth Boulding*** has applied his theory of economic conflict to international conflict and he states a few peculiar characteristics of international conflicts. One such characteristic is that there takes place a dramatic alternation of peace and war in the process of competition of states. This alternation can be also called an alternation between latent conflict and overt conflict. In case of latent conflict, the means used are threats, promises and pressure while the means used in case of overt conflict is war.



Kenneth Ewart Boulding (January 18, 1910 – March 18, 1993)**:** He was an English-born American economist, peace activist, philosopher and educator. He was the cofounder of General Systems Theory.

Conflict is important in international politics because conflicts cannot be eliminated from international society and it is the existence of conflict which constitutes the essence of international politics. Today a number of new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have some boundary problems, which is a great cause of conflict in international politics. Here conflict arises from the fact that war always represents a threat in diplomatic relations.

Conflicts are always in the process of creation and re-creation. It should be remembered that the resolution of conflict is only one way of ending conflicts. There are also other methods of resolving conflict like avoidance, conquest, award, reconciliation, negotiation, bargaining and resolution through international organisations. All these methods of resolution of conflict come within the scope of study of international politics.

The webster's third new International Dictionary state that the term

war ultimately derives from the old high English noun “werra” which means ‘confusion’. Further this term is derived from a complex Greek verb meaning ‘to go ruin’ Throughout history, many people have tried to compile data on wars in order to help identifying the issue and to test various empirical hypotheses about the causes of war.

Quincy Wright concluded that a war to have taken place either when it was formally declared or when a certain number of troops were involved and he considered 50,000 as a baseline. Lews Richardson sought to define war by the number of deaths incurred. While J. D. Linger and M. Small have focussed on a minimum of 1000 combat-related fatalities.

However, the essence of war is found in the intensity hostile attitudes among two or more contending groups. War involves the forceful discussion of major resource from civilian to military pursuits.

12.4 HISTORICAL TRENDS IN WAR

Some ideas with regard to the evaluation of the concept of war can be considered as below:

i) An Increases in the environmental, human and economic costs of war; an increases in the number of civilian casualties and a decreases in the casualty rate among combatants: It is seen that partly because of modern technology, a larger proportion of “combatants” are engaged in support of war, rather then getting involved in actual war. Due to better medical condition for the wounded, the proportion of combat injuries leading to death have decreased considerably. The civilian population in the number and duration of battle has increased as well, the national population dying in war have also gone up.

ii) An increase in the speed at which wars spread to additional belligerents, in the number of belligerents involved in a given war, and in the area covered. In earlier days, battles were named on the basis of their places of origin such as in cities or maintain passes; for instance, the battles of then mopac, waterloo, gettysburg. In 15th

and 16th countries, each and every war had on average slighting more than two collective participants. But by the end of 20th century, the numbers of states have increased upto five.

iii) Since World War II, an increase in the frequency of so called low-intensity conflicts (LICs), in which the United States and the former Soviet Union, especially, become indirectly involved in third world conflicts, revolutions and counter revolutions.

Infact, even 'small' conventional wars can be very devastating. For instance, the Six-Day war between Israel and its Arab opponents in 1967, have created 21,000 battle raised deaths. Again in the war during 1980 and 1988, the war that took place between Iran and Iraq, have claimed more than a million lives. Vast number of civilian casualties have taken place on account of 'ethnic cleansing' in the year 1991 and 2000 in Rwanda, Iraq and Yugoslavia.

iv) The continuous increase in 'asymmetrical' conflicts between nations and guerrillas on one hand, freedom fighters and 'terrorists' on the other hand has also contributed historically to the evolution the concept of war. The phenomenon of 'anti-imperialist' guerilla warfare was initiated in the 18th and the 19th century, in the Napoleonic era.

v) An increase in religiously inspired armed conflicts since the Israeli occupation of Arab lands in 1967, also has contributed to the historical background of wars. The phenomenon of resistance to Imperial decimation by fighters in small groups has taken an increasingly religious cast since the Euro-American and Soviet occupation of Middle East.

vi) Lastly, though no prediction cannot be anticipated about the future of conflicting issue, recent trends such as the use of Child soldiers, especially in impoverished regions like Sub-Saharan Africa; increased dependence on aerobically controlled munitions and use of space-based weapons especially by the wealthy countries of the world.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of war.

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Q.2: What is the minimum count of combat-related fatalities according to J. D. Linger and M. Small?

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Q.3: Write briefly about the meaning of conflict.

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12.5 NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF CONFLICT

Within the realm of human beings, the main cause for the occurrence of conflicts is basically when social groups are rivals and in competition with each other. Conflicts even have many outcomes; it may change one side, eliminate one side change both the sides, change either side or eliminate both sides, which is a rare case. Infact conflict may be resolved in many ways by violence, by the issues changing over time, by the deaths of one or more of the conflicting parties or by the way of mutual agreement.

But, in today's world, armed conflicts, rarely involve any formal declaration of war because diplomatic formalities are less prominent and war is now considered to be an illegitimate way of settling grievances. The History of wars in the 20th and early 21st centuries shows that human life certainly is not considered priceless. Powerful people and decision makers choose to perform military 'operations' on other people.

12.6 CONCEPT OF CYBER WARFARE AND STRATEGIC BOMBING

Cyber warfare basically refers to politically and criminally motivated computer hacking. It is sometimes seen as analogous to conventional warfare and is merely a form of information warfare. Richard A. Clarke, defines 'cyber warfare' as "actions by a nation state to penetrate another nations computers or networks for the purpose of causing damage or disruption." William J. Lyan, defines that "as a doctrinal matter, the pentagon has formally recognized cyberspace as a new domain in warfare. Which has become just as critical to military operations as land, sea, air and space."

In the year 2009, American President Barack Obama declared America's digital infrastructure to be a 'strategic national asset,' and in 2010, the pentagon set up its new U.S. cyber command (USCYBERCOM) to defined American military networks and in order to attack other countries' systems. In a similar way, the European Union has set up the European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA). Infact, Numerous Key sectors of national economics are at risk at present. This includes, cyber threats to public and private facilities, banking and finance, transportation, education etc. which are dependent on computers for daily operations. It is important to note that Iran has been the subject of more cyber attacks than any other country, which reflects efforts of Israel and United States to interrupt Iranian Nuclear programs.

It is also important to disclose about the prospect of cyber terrorism. Many infrastructures and services mainly rely on the internet for their day-to-day function and so from theoretical point of view, it can be controlled or manipulated from the internet. Highly sophisticated attack like the one against Google in 2009 have succeeded despite security effort's and arrangements.

It is usually observed that a highly sophisticated targeted attack mainly involves three steps:

a) detection or recognizing the attack.
b) situational awareness or determining the context of the situation.
c) Intelligence or finding the solution to the problem.

In fact, the most successful targeted attacks are designed to take advantage or benefit of vulnerabilities in software or programs. There are also many disadvantages for the use of cyber weapon. The cyber weapon consumes more time in their development as well as in their transfer to the physical site of the target. Stuxnet was developed by a team, who had to transfer it through thumb drives into the Natanz facility and the operation was both risky as well as time consuming.

The cyber weapons have also shown the capability to jump from one computer system to another and for this reason their use should be extremely limited to their intended targets.

Strategic Bombing: It is with the introduction and invention of airplanes that strategic bombing opened up yet another phase in the march of total War. It is on the basis of the fact that the future wars would be short and less destructive, some military analysts, after the trench warfare in World War I, welcomed the possibility of attacking an enemy's homeland. In pursuit of total war during the 1930s and continuing throughout World War II, numerous civilian targets were attacked. The U.S. bombers attacked in the far east, the Japanese Civilian targets, culminating in the fine bombing of Tokyo and the use of atomic bombs against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

With the exceptions of these two cases, there is no evidence that the national will to resist was ever seriously shaken by total war, on the contrary national will was typically hardened by such attacks even as the civilian casualty toll mounted. It is observed that today many decision makers and Others take civilian casualties for granted, as "collateral damage", even as they ostensibly attempt to minimize them.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What is the full form of ENISA?

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Q.5: What is Cyber Warfare?

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12.7 JUSTIFICATIONS OF WAR

Biological Justifications for Wars: It has been witnessed that War is not only an ultimate decider of human disputes and it is also a way of achieving glory for individuals and the nations.

Social Darwinism attempted to make use of the evolutionary concept of natural selection of the political and social activities of humans by providing a biological rationale for national conquests, for the purpose of Military dictatorship and the subtraction made by the stronger upon the weaker section of people. But, it is to be assumed that Social Darwinism is not scientifically valid. In fact, there is no objective basis for believing that just because something had happened in the biological world, it would be socially acceptable, ethically and morally defensible or even characteristic of the human world.

Social and Political Justifications for Wars: Some Western Philosophers like Hobbes, Hegel, have at times expressed views that deem war not merely natural but beneficial to mankind. But, the fact is that Wars have frequently shaken up the socio-political order that existed and have contributed towards changing the existing structure. It is through or with the help of revolutionary wars and wars of national liberation, that many peoples have won their independence from the imperial power by overthrowing despotic Governments and by repulsing the efforts of other powers to force them back into subjugation.

Thus, wars, especially these who fought to throw off the shackles of despotic indigenous regimes, may at times serve the enticing ends of enhancing national self-determination and political liberty.



ACTIVITY 12.1

Write briefly about the conflict situation in BTAD, Assam.

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12.8 LET US SUM UP

- War is generally regarded as a state of armed conflict, Which generally arises between different countries. It may also be defined as a sustained campaign against an undesirable activity.
- Wars are generally infrequent.
- Middle-East is the most violent region in present context, with violent conflicts in Syria and Iraq, mainly responsible for driving up the death toll.
- Cyber warfare basically refers to politically and criminally motivated computer hacking.
- Cyber warfare is sometimes seen as analogous to conventional warfare and is mainly a form of information warfare.
- The cyber terrorism is a new concept, which has major influence upon international politics.



12.9 FURTHER READING

1) Angell, Norman. (1913). *The Great Illusion*. London: Heiremann.
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12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: War is defined as an act of violence intended to compel the opponent to fulfill one's will.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: The minimum count of combat related fatalities according to J. D. Linger and M. Small is 1000.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The word conflict drives from the Latin word "Confligere"

which means to strike together. The term conflict has a variety of meanings. It is often used as a synonym for incompatible or irreconcilable. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In other words, a conflict is a state of affairs characterised by the existence of incompatible aspects of relationships.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: European Network and Information Security Agency.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Cyber warfare basically refers to politically and criminally motivated computer hacking.



12.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: State the meaning of war.

Q.2: Write briefly about the meaning of conflict.

Q.3: Write briefly about Cyber warfare and strategic bombing.

Q.4: Give a detailed account of the historical trends in War.

Q.5: Examine various justification of war.

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UNIT 13: DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of Disarmament

13.3.1 Dimensions of Disarmament

13.4 Meaning of Arms Control

13.5 Difference between Disarmament and Arms Control

13.6 Steps Towards Disarmament and Arms Control

13.7 Significance of Disarmament

13.8 Let Us Sum Up

13.9 Further Reading

13.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.11 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of disarmament and arms control
- examine the differences between disarmament and arms control
- discuss the various measures adopted for disarmament and arms control
- analyse the hindrances in the way of disarmament
- examine the significance of disarmament.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Arms race is a universal phenomenon in international relations. It has existed ever since the past. But at that time it was not as consistent feature as at present. It was resorted to only at the time of acute tension among the nations. In modern times the arms race can be traced back to the late 60's of the 19th century when Bismark tried to make Germany a world power. Since then the states have resorted to expansion of fire powers

to establish themselves as a powerful state in the world. In modern period, the arms race is not only quantitative, it is qualitative also. With the development of science and technology, more sophisticated weapons were developed with more fire powers. The states were resorted to acquire more and more destructive weapons. The nuclear arms race is the result of this mad race of arms between the states. During the cold war period, the arms race has reached its peak. There was a mad race for acquisition of sophisticated arms which was not confined between the USA and USSR only. It was further spread to other states in the world.

As a result of arms race, the world is today living with a danger of nuclear war. Due to the massive destructive capabilities of the modern sophisticated weapons (including nuclear weapons), there was a growing realization amongst the world statesmen to put a halt to this mad race and to evolve some mechanism so that the peace of the world is not threatened. This was sought to be achieved through the disarmament and arms control.

13.3 MEANING OF DISARMAMENT

Disarmament stands for elimination, reduction and control of armaments. The armament race, particularly nuclear armament race and the existence of a very huge stockpile of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and nuclear weapons has assumed such an alarming proportion that a Mutually Assured Destruction Situation (MAD) has come to develop. Disarmament is an effort to take out the human society from this MAD situation. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armament race." Schleicher explains, Disarmament means reducing or eliminating the material and human instrumentalities for the exercise of physical violence. It also means anything having to do with the limitation, reduction, abolition or control of such instrumentalities through the voluntary agreement of two or more states. V. V. Dyke explains, any regulation or limitation having to do with armed power is treated as a measure of disarmament. In simple word, it can be said that disarmament means elimination or reduction of armaments for preventing wars in international relations. In its absolute sense, it stands

for global destruction of weapons and the disestablishment of all armed forces. Since arms race constitutes most dangerous development for the entire world, disarmament stands for ending this dangerous development. It stands for creating stable and harmonious condition of peace by freeing the world from the dangers of an all embracing war through the elimination of armaments.

13.3.1 Dimensions of Disarmament

The concept of disarmaments has several dimensions. These are– general disarmament, local disarmament, quantitative disarmament, qualitative disarmament, conventional disarmament, nuclear disarmament, comprehensive and general disarmament and total disarmament.

General disarmament means a kind of disarmament in which all the nations participated. Local disarmament is an effort where only a limited number of states participated. Quantitative disarmament stands for a overall reduction of armaments of most or all types of weapons. Qualitative disarmament envisages the reduction or abolition of only special types of armaments. Conventional disarmament refers to the elimination or reduction of conventional weapons. Nuclear disarmament advocates the liquidation of nuclear weapons. Comprehensive and General disarmament means destruction or reduction of armaments of all types by all the nations. Total disarmament implies the ultimate achievement of a world order free from all human and material instrumentalities of warfare.

13.4 MEANING OF ARMS CONTROL

Arms Control includes any kind of cooperation with respect to armaments which would curtail the arms race, reduce the probability of war. Even it includes unilateral decisions of states, informal understanding among them and formally negotiated and institutionalized agreements. In Arms Control, the stress is on reducing the incentives rather than the capacity

for war. It entails the limitation of certain types of weaponry or reduction of armaments.

Arms Control stands divided into two categories: arms reduction and arms limitations. Arms reduction implies a mutually agreed-upon set of arms levels for the nation-states involved. The arms reduction formula can apply either to all states or to small number of states. Arms limitation embraces the wide variety of international accords designed to limit the impact of war and to prevent its accidental outbreak. Under arms limitations we can mention the installation of devices designed to destroy nuclear missiles in mid-air should they be fired accidentally, hotlines to keep up main decision-makers in constant contact during crisis, restrictions on specified types of nuclear testing and agreements between two or more countries restricting the sale of arms and the transfer of military technology to some countries.

13.5 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

The differences between disarmament and arms control are discussed below:

- Disarmament refers to the reduction of war material and personnel in accordance with international agreements. Arms Control refers to all international agreements and measures for regulating the use of arms which may be permitted.
- Disarmament seeks to liquidate or destroy the existing weapons. Arms control refers to an agreed and desired regulation of future production or use of armaments.
- Disarmament means a plan or a system for limitation, reduction or abolition of armed forces, including their arms, equipment, bases and budgets. On the other hand, Arms Control refers to a multilateral cooperative approach to armament policy which includes reduction or limitation of all or some kind of weapons and forces. Arms Control aims at improving national security by adjustment of armament capabilities.

Although there are differences between disarmament and arms control yet both are complementary and supplementary to each other. Without Arms

Control, Disarmament can serve no enduringly useful purpose. Any scheme for reducing or abolishing the existing armaments is bound to remain incomplete without providing for a scheme for future control and regulation of armament race or production of weapons. Likewise, Arms Control in itself can serve no meaningful purpose without first providing for reducing or eliminating the existing stockpiles of weapons. Arms Control is a condition of Disarmament just as Disarmament is a necessity of Arms Control. Moreover, the basic objectives of Arms Control and Disarmament are identical i.e. to prevent, limit or reduce the probability of the illegitimate use of force and violence in international relations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of quantitative disarmament.

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Q.2: Write briefly about the meaning of arms control.

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Q.3: Mention any two differences arms control and disarmament.

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13.6 STEPS TOWARDS DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

The history of disarmament can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The treaty stipulated that all existing fortifications be demolished and no new fortifications be created. However, the first systematic proposal for the reduction of armaments was mooted by Czar of Russia in 1816 when he proposed to the British Government the reduction of all types of armed forces. However, these proposals were not seriously received and failed to produce any impact.

The most systematic effort to reduce the armament was made by Czar of Russia in 1898 when he addressed a note to the various powers of Europe to meet at Hague and to work out a scheme for reduction of arms. These proposals received warm response and resulted in the First Hague Peace Conference. The Conference appointed a Committee of military and naval experts to study the problem of arms control. However, the Committee expressed the opinion that the time was not mature for an agreement on arms limitation. The next Conference held in 1907 also initiated proposals for the reduction of arms and expenditure on military forces, but this also did not find favour with the powers. Thus both the Hague Conference failed to solve the problem of arms race.

- **Disarmament after the World War I:** The devastation caused by the First World War had shaken the conscience of mankind and the statesmen of the world started giving serious thought to the need of abolition of arms and ammunition. President Wilson in his Fourteen Points insisted that armament should be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. Moreover the Treaty of Versailles, which established peace after World War-I specifically provided that the maintenance of peace required the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The League of Nations which was formed after the World War-I was also charged with the responsibility of securing an agreement on general disarmament. To facilitate the task of the League it was provided in the Covenant that the membership of the

League shall be available only to those countries who were willing to accept arms regulation proposed by the League.

Temporary Mixed Commission: In 1920, the Assembly of the League urged the Council to appoint a new commission for the purpose of disarmament. Accordingly in 1921 the Temporary Mixed Commission was formed for a period of four years containing majority of the civilians as its members. During its period the commission made efforts to secure disarmament through fixation of land forces of the various countries and limited the naval armaments of the great naval powers.

Preparatory Commission and Geneva Conference: In 1925, the League of Nation set up the Preparatory Commission and entrusted the responsibility of preparing a provisional draft treaty concerning various questions of disarmament. The commission prepared a draft treaty which was considered by the Geneva Conference in 1932. The States discussed the "Draft Convention on Reduction and Limitation of Armaments" submitted by the Preparatory Commission. Despite serious differences the members, agreed to the need of arms limitation, international supervision of arms business and publicity of arms budget. However, these efforts were greatly jeopardized by the changed international situation. Japanese attack on Manchuria and reluctance of Germany to follow the restrictions regarding disarmament imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, made disarmament impossible.

Efforts Outside the League: Outside the League also efforts were made to control arms and secure disarmament. In 1921-22 at the Washington Conference the five major powers (Britain, U.S.A., France, Japan and Italy) agreed to fix their respective naval strength. They made an effort to come to some understanding regarding cruisers, submarines, destroyers and aircrafts but could not succeed. Again in 1927 a Conference was held at Geneva which ended in failure because two major powers France and Italy did not participate in it, and certain differences cropped up between Britain and U.S.A. In 1930 the representatives of the five major powers (Britain, U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy) met at London to effect naval disarmament. But this conference also ended in failure. Thus, the

efforts at disarmament in the interwar period both through the League of Nations and outside the League failed to achieve anything substantial. In fact, almost all the states were interested in strengthening their respective positions rather than reducing the weapons.

- **Disarmament after the World War II:** The massive devastation of the World War-II had raised the conscience of the world leaders to think seriously about the disarmament in the world. The newly formed U.N. Charter in the post war period also laid great emphasis on the regulation of the armaments. Considering the ardent need of disarmament and arms control, the world leaders had incorporated following provisions in the UN Charter under the Articles 11, 25 and 47.

  Article 11 of the UN Charter while mentioning the functions of the General Assembly declares "The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament, and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the members or to the Security Council or to both."

  Article 25 defines the functions of the Security Council in respect of disarmament that "In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating plans to be submitted to the members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.''

  Article 47 while providing for creation of a Military Staff Committee for advising and assisting the Security Council, declares that it shall advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security. The employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmaments.'

  Atomic Energy Commission 1946: On January 26 1946, the U.N. General Assembly had decided to set up an Atomic Energy Commission consisting of all permanent members of the Security Council and Canada

to make recommendations on the areas– (a) extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends, (b) control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes, (c) the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adoptable to mass destruction, and (d) effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions. But the Commission fails to achieve the desired objectives due difference of opinion between the Soviet Union and U.S.A over the issue of regulation of use of atomic energy.

Commission on Conventional Armaments (CCA) 1947: Acting under the General Assembly resolution of December 1946, the Security Council set up a Commission on Conventional Armaments (1947). The Commission was expected to prepare and submit to the Security Council, within three months, proposals for the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. After deliberations, the Commission adopted a resolution recommending: (a) a system for the regulation and reduction of armaments of all states; (b) measures for encouraging further reduction and regulation; (c) establishment of an adequate system of international control of atomic energy and conclusion of peace settlements with Japan and Germany; (d) regulation and reduction of armament to make possible the least diversion for armament of the world human and economic resources and maintenance of armaments and armed forces considered essential for the maintenance of international peace and security; and (e) adequate method of safeguards and provision for effective enforcement action in case of violation. However the resolution came up for discussion before the General Assembly, the USSR strongly opposed it and came forward with a proposal for disarmament to the extent of 1/3rd of their military power by the members of the Security Council. This proposal was rejected by the Western powers. Finally USSR decided to withdraw both from the Atomic Energy Commission and Commission on Conventional Armaments which led to the failure of both the Commission.

Disarmament Commission 1952: In 1952 the U.N. General Assembly created a Disarmament Commission by merging both the Atomic Energy Commission and Commission on Conventional Armaments. Initially its membership was confined within the members of the Security Council and Canada. But later on it extended its membership to all the member states of the UNO. The Commission was given the responsibility to prepare a draft treaty for the regulation of both conventional and atomic armaments. However, its deliberations were plagued by prevailing differences between the two superpowers.

Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) 1963: The PTBT was signed in 1963 between US, USSR and U.K. Though initially it was signed by the three big powers later on it was made open to all for ratification. The main provision of the treaty were: (a) no signatory state should carry out any nuclear test in atmosphere, outer space and under water; (b) no signatory state should undertake any nuclear test in territorial waters and high seas; (c) each signatory state should refrain from encouraging either directly or indirectly the non-signatory states from carrying out nuclear tests. After 1966, this treaty was signed by a large number of states except China and France (China conducted its first nuclear test in 1964 and France did the same in 1966). Both the China and France continued to conduct nuclear test in the atmosphere. This treaty constituted an important breakthrough in arms control efforts as it highlighted the possibility of some more agreements between the two superpowers. The establishment of a hotline between them in the post-Cuban missile crisis period further gave hope to such thinking. However in actual practice, and in the long run this treaty proved to be just a minor incremental agreement as the signatory states, the nuclear powers and potential nuclear powers had already developed the ability to conduct underground nuclear tests.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) 1968: In 1965, the super powers submitted to the UN General Assembly a draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. After about three years of deliberations Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was voted by the General Assembly in June 1968. On 1st July, 1968, NPT was signed simultaneously at London,

Moscow and Washington. This treaty came into force on 5th March 1970. The main provisions of the NPT are–

i) NPT obliged all nuclear powers not to disseminate nuclear knowledge and transfer nuclear weapons to the non-nuclear states.

ii) Nuclear powers agreed to give all information and material to all such non-nuclear nations as agreed to sign NPT and thereby committed themselves to peaceful use of nuclear energy.

iii) Nuclear countries agreed to give protection to non-nuclear states in case the latter were subjected to any nuclear attack, actual or threatened.

iv) Non-nuclear nations were to accept inspection and supervision of their nuclear establishments.This function was to be entrusted to the International Atomic Energy Agency and was intended to prevent the transfer of nuclear technology from peaceful to military purposes.

After signing of this treaty by the USA, the USSR and the UK, a large number of non-nuclear powers came forward to sign it. However, countries like India, France, China, Brazil, Argentina and Pakistan refused to sign it. India, Argentina and Brazil decided against NPT because they held it to be a discriminatory treaty which was designed to perpetuate the gap between the nuclear and non-nuclear nations; to make the non-nuclear nations dependent upon the nuclear nations; and which did not provide either for disarmament (nuclear disarmament) or for preventing the nuclear programmes of France and China. Pakistan refused to sign it because of India's rejection of NPT. France and China decided not sign this treaty because they had decided to go ahead with their nuclear weapon programmes.

NPT failed to check the armament race among the nuclear powers. It failed to lead to a full and general nuclear disarmament. It also failed to prevent the extension of Nuclear Club. France and China signed the NPT only after becoming nuclear weapon states. In May, 1998, India and Pakistan also emerged as nuclear weapon states.

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-I): The two superpowers namely USA and the USSR paid the attention to limit the strategic arms with a

view to achieve disarmament. After prolonged negotiations the two countries formally signed Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) in May 1972 with a view to curb the race in nuclear arms. The agreement broadly consisted of two treaties: i) Treaty of the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile System (ABMS); and ii) the Interim Agreement on certain measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. While the former was concluded for an unlimited period, the latter was of five-year duration.

The ABMS Treaty permitted the two superpowers to have only two sites for ballistic missile defences, one for the protection of their national capital area and the other for the protection of the field of Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM). The treaty also prohibited the testing and development of automatic, semi-automatic or other similar systems for rapid reloading of ABM launchers. The two powers were permitted to modernize their ABM systems through replacement, but this was to be done strictly within the quantitative ceiling provided under the treaty.

The Interim Agreement with regard to the Limitation of the Strategic Offensive Arms was a very complex agreement. It covered both land based ICBMs and submarine launched ballistic missiles. The two powers undertook not to convert their land based launches into light ICBMs. The two powers were permitted to undertake modernization and replace their strategic Offensive Arms, but they had to scrupulously follow the numerical limits prescribed by the treaty. An agreement regarding the procedure of agreement was also reached between the two powers.

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty-II (SALT-II): Strategic Arms Limitation talks were resumed in 1974 and after about five years of negotiations, the SALT II agreement was signed by the two superpowers in 1979 at Vienna. The main features of the SALT II were:

1) The Treaty was to remain in force for 5 years.
2) The strategic arms of each were to be limited for 5 years to a combined total of 2250. These included the ICBM launchers. Long Range Bombers and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs).
3) Under the overall ceiling of 2250 a sub-ceiling of 1320 was to be placed on multiple warheads and for slowing down the introduction

of new strategic weapons, each super power was to be permitted to test and deploy only one new ICBM.

SALT II agreement was designed as a measure to check nuclear weapons/weapons of mass destruction race. At the time of conclusion of the treaty, both the sides agreed to take further measures for further limitation and reduction of strategic arms with a view to achieve general and complete disarmament. However, in actual practice SALT-II virtually failed to become operational due to outbreak of a new cold war in 1980s.

START- I (1991): On 31 July, 1991 the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and US President George Bush signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty under which the two superpowers agreed to effect reduction to equal levels in defined strategic offensive arms over a period of seven years from the date the treaty came into force. Whereas Soviet Union agreed to 35 per cent cut on its strategic warheads, the United States agreed to 25 per cent cut. The Treaty provided for complex verification procedure, including on site inspections, short notice inspections and suspect site inspection. The two powers agreed to set up a joint commission on verification and inspection. The treaty was to be valid for 15 years unless superseded earlier by a subsequent agreement. Thereafter the treaty could be extended for successive 5 years period if both the sides agreed.

START-II, 1993: On 3rd January 1993, the USA and Russia signed the START-II Treaty. It sought to bring down the American nuclear stockpile to 1960s levels and the Russian stockpile to mid 1970s levels. In this agreement both the USA and Russia agreed for a major reduction in their nuclear stockpiles:

1) By 1st January, 2003, the total quantity of nuclear warheads or strategic offensive armaments of the USA and the Russian (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, Submarine-based ballistic missiles and heavy bombers) were to be of the level of 3000 to 3500 units. It involved almost a 2/3rd reduction in such missiles.
2) All Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads were to be eliminated.

3) Each side was to reduce the number of nuclear warheads and their submarine based ballistic missiles to a level of 1700 to 1750 units.
4) Limits were to be put on nuclear warheads with which heavy bombers of the two sides can be equipped. The limit was to vary from 750 to 1250 units of nuclear warheads of any type.
5) At the first stage, during seven years after the START comes into force, each of the two sides was to reduce its strategic offensive armaments so that:
   a) Its overall level of strategic offensive armaments warheads does not exceed 3800 to 4250 units;
   b) The quantity of warheads on Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads does not exceed 1200 units;
   c) The quantity of warheads on submarine based ballistic missiles does not exceed 2160 units.

The START-II also contained provisions for the regulation of the order of re-equipment of reduced or limited components of strategic offensive armaments.

START-II was designed as a major attempt at arms reduction and regulation. It was estimated that it would lead to elimination of all land based missiles with multiple warheads, thus considered as a major boost towards arms control, arms reduction, arms limitation.

Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) 1996: Another important step towards nuclear disarmament was signing of CTBT in September 1996. The treaty sought to ban all nuclear tests in future. However, it permitted the nuclear weapon states to maintain their nuclear stockpiles as well as to undertake further research and improvement through laboratory testing and computer simulations. It further called upon the non-nuclear weapon states, particularly the nuclear threshold states to open their nuclear power reactors and other installations for international inspections. Under the treaty any country would be able to request for inspection to see whether an explosion had been carried out. Such requests can be based on information collected by the international

monitoring system or through surveillance, but not through spying activities. The seat of the CTBT organization would be in Vienna (Austria). All decisions on behalf of the organization would be made by a 51 member Executive Council to be constituted on the basis of regional representation. The Treaty would enter into force 180 days after it is ratified by 44 countries that have nuclear power or nuclear research reactors on their soil.

Countries like India described this treaty as unequal, discriminatory and inadequate because it did not provide for a nuclear disarmament programme. It was designed to perpetuate the Nuclear power status of the nuclear powers and gave rise to a chance for them to practice nuclear hegemony and nuclear neo-colonialism in international relations. India refused to sign it. Following the decision of India, Pakistan also in 1997, declared that it would not sign it. In 199 even the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the US signature on CTBT. Currently this treaty is in a cold storage.

13.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF DISARMAMENT

The significance of disarmament is well explained by a United Nations report which explains that the arms race represents a waste of resources, a diversion of the economy away from humanitarian purposes, a hindrance to national development effort and threat to democratic process. It involves the constant risk of war engaging the larger powers including nuclear war and is accompanied by an endless series of wars at lower levels.

In the international spheres the arms race has threefold consequence. In the military sphere it increases the possibility of war, rather even the possibility of a nuclear conflagration. In the economic spheres, it has far reaching effects. Lot of money is spent not only on arms race and military preparations, but vast resources are also diverted away from production and growth, which contributes to assume serious dimensions.

In 1976, a Committee of Experts was appointed by the U.N. Secretary General under the direction of the General Assembly to look into the social and economic consequences of arms race, explained the need of disarmament and arms control in the way that " the most important goal of the international community are disarmament and development, which the

members of the UN are committed to pursue vigorously.'' In fact both these goals are intimately linked. Development at an acceptable rate would be hard, if not impossible, to reach with a continuation of the arms race. Research and development is one area where the misdirection of efforts is glaring. In this, as in other respect, vast resources, badly needed for development are being consumed as countries make even greater sacrifices for military purposes. The Committee argued that progress towards disarmament would release internal material, financial and human resources, both in developed and in developing countries and would permit their deployment to purposes of development.

The above mentioned committee made certain suggestions to achieve the objective of complete disarmament. It proposed that a comprehensive disarmament scheme should be prepared in which partial measures would no doubt find a place. With a view to impart new momentum to disarmament efforts, it insisted on the need of involving all countries on the basis of equality; simultaneous curtailment of the qualitative arms race and reduction of military budgets. It emphasized that nuclear disarmament must be given highest priority partly because of the intolerable threat posed by the nuclear weapons and partly because of the possibility of their proliferation of new states which would enhance the threat and make disarmament more difficult in future. To achieve this objective, improvement of the machinery of the U.N.O. in this direction appears to be necessary.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Mention any two provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) 1968.

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Q.5: In which year was the Atomic Energy Commission set up?

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Q.6: Which countries were the signatories of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) signed in 1963?

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13.8 LET US SUM UP

- Disarmament stands for elimination, reduction and control of armaments. The armament race, particularly nuclear armament race and the existence of a very huge stockpile of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and nuclear weapons has assumed such an alarming proportion that a Mutually Assured Destruction Situation (MAD) has come to develop. Disarmament is an effort to take out the human society from this MAD situation.
- The concept of disarmaments has several dimensions. These are- general disarmament, local disarmament, quantitative disarmament, qualitative disarmament, conventional disarmament, nuclear disarmament, comprehensive and general disarmament and total disarmament.
- Arms Control includes any kind of cooperation with respect to armaments which would curtail the arms race, reduce the probability of war. Even it includes unilateral decisions of states, informal understanding among them and formally negotiated and institutionalized agreements. In Arms Control, the stress is on reducing the incentives rather than the capacity for war. It entails the limitation of certain types of weaponry or reduction of armaments.
- There are some differences between arms control and disarmament.
- Efforts towards arms control and disarmament had been made by the world community even before the World War I. After the establishment of League of Nations serious efforts were made towards this direction.
- After the World War II with the establishment of the United Nations, world community made more serious and concrete efforts towards disarmament and arms control. A number of commissions were established and a

number of treaties were concluded in this regard. Some of these are- Atomic Energy Commission 1946, Commission on Conventional Armaments (CCA) 1947, Disarmament Commission 1952, Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) 1963, Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) 1968, Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-I), Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty-II (SALT-II), START- I (1991), START-II, 1993, Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) 1996.



13.9 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.



13.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Quantitative disarmament stands for a overall reduction of armaments of most or all types of weapons.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Arms Control includes any kind of cooperation with respect to armaments which would curtail the arms race, reduce the probability of war. Even it includes unilateral decisions of states, informal understanding among them and formally negotiated and institutionalized agreements. In Arms Control, the stress is on reducing the incentives rather than the capacity for war. It entails the limitation of certain types of weaponry or reduction of armaments.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: i) Disarmament refers to the reduction of war material and personnel in accordance with international agreements. Arms Control refers to all international agreements and measures for regulating the use of arms which may be permitted.

ii) Disarmament seeks to liquidate or destroy the existing weapons. Arms control refers to an agreed and desired regulation of future production or use of armaments.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: i) NPT obliged all nuclear powers not to disseminate nuclear knowledge and transfer nuclear weapons to the non-nuclear states.

ii) Nuclear powers agreed to give all information and material to all such non-nuclear nations as agreed to sign NPT and thereby committed themselves to peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: 1946

Ans. to Q. No. 6: US, USSR and U.K.



13.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Write briefly about the meaning of disarmament and arms control.

Q.2: Explain the differences between disarmament and arms control.

Q.3: Discuss the attempts of disarmament under the League of Nations in the post World War-I period.

Q.4: Examine the efforts towards disarmament and arms control under the United Nations.

Q.5: Discuss the significance of disarmament in international relations.

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UNIT 14: ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS ON SECURITY

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Alternative Concepts on Security

- 14.3.1 Co-operative Security
- 14.3.2 Human Security
- 14.3.3 Difference between the Traditional Concept of Security and Human Security
- 14.3.4 Human Security and Development

14.4 Let Us Sum Up

14.5 Further Reading

14.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.7 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the concept of co-operative security
- discuss the concept of human security
- point out the differences between traditional concept of security and human security
- elaborate the relationship between human security and development.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Security has been the main focus and concern of all nations, individually, collectively and in groups. To secure security has been a cardinal objective of the foreign policy of each nation and security of international peace has been the key objective of the United Nations and all other international organizations.There is absence of a common standard definition of the term Security. It is been defined in different ways by different scholars and statesmen. In common understandings it is meant to signify absence

of threats and dangers to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the state, military capability, absence of dangers and the like. Many scholars have explained it as absence of threats to primary values or goals of a nation. But now the concept of security has changed drastically. In this unit we shall discuss alternative concepts of security in detail.

14.3 ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS ON SECURITY

Security is one of the main concerns of all human beings in all types of societies in the world. At the same time, the concept of security has been evolving with the passing of time and its meaning has undergone various transformations. Considering its changing dimensions the concept has been categorized as traditional and non-traditional. The non-traditional concept is comprehensive and encompassing new areas and issues in the ambit of security concerns. Today, the concept of security has been explained as human security. This new development in the concept of security is discussed as an alternative concept on security. The alternative concept on security goes much beyond the concept of security. It is not confined to the territorial boundary of a state. The alternative concepts on security are global in character as different issues of international concern are incorporated under the concept of security.

The security debate has changed dramatically after the end of the cold war. In the classical terms security is mainly concerned with the military threats from other states. In fact, it is concerned with the security of territory from external aggression or as protection of national interest in confrontation with other state. In the post old war period, thinking on security turns towards some other issues affecting the human society directly or indirectly. At present individual or human security is the central concern of security and traditional state-centric threat perception related security takes a back seat. The two main new or alternative concepts on security are discussed below.

14.3.1 Co-operative Security

Co-operative security is categorized as a new security approach adopted to ensure the security of the states and its citizens

against the new security challenges. In general sense, it means security by way of cooperation among the states. It requires cooperation rather than confrontation. Cooperation is very important for the existence and progress of mankind. It is very essential in the maintenance of national security and also for global security. States or international organizations exist on the basis of the co-operation of the people. Threats to traditional security and new threats under non-traditional security both can be tackled in a better way if the states fully cooperate with each other.

The security challenges arising during recent years cannot be overcome by a state in its own efforts. For example, in India or North-East India the human security challenge emerging out due to the illegal migration from neighboring Bangladesh cannot be solved by India without cooperation of Bangladesh. Similarly the problem of terrorism in North-East India cannot be solved by India without cooperation of its neighbouring countries like Myanmar, China etc. At the global level the new human security challenges like epidemics, environmental degradation, pollution, poverty, global warming etc. needs the cooperation of the states to face it. Thus co-operative security is a strategy to fight unitedly by the states against the new human security challenges.

In co-operative security, the co-operation may be at the global or international level or regional level. It can even be between the two states. Again co-operative security may involve a variety of other players apart from states, both international and national. The international organizations such as U.N.O., the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) etc., the Non- governmental Organisations (NGO) such as Amnesty International, the Red Cross, Private Foundations, Charities, Churches and other religious organizations, Trade Unions and other social organizations and Forums, great personalities like Mother Teresa, Nelson Mandela etc. all these play their part in ensuring co-operative security in the world.

At the international level various steps have been taken to ensure co-operative security. Especially the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) plays a pivotal role. The strategies adopted in the UNDP to achieve the human security goals represent the co-operative security approach. Even to achieve the Millennium Development Goals formulated in the year 2000 by the U.N. Millennium Conference, utmost priority was given to co-operation among the states. In the Rio Earth summit 1992, emphasis was given on integrated approach of all the states to solve the environmental problem faced by the world.

It is noteworthy that co-operative security never denounces the use of force as a last resort. The international community sanctions governments to use force to deal with those factions that are killing people or to liberate the people from poverty, disease and catastrophe. The international community agrees to use violence against international terrorists and those who harbor them.

Thus, from the above it can be assumed that the concept of co-operative security refers to a cooperative approach to deal with the threats of the changing world in the present era.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of co-operative security.

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Q.2: Mention the names of any two NGOs which are actively involved in ensuring co-operative security.

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14.3.2 Human Security

In political science, the notion of security was traditionally centered on the question of national security i.e. security of territory against the external aggression. It was more concerned with the security of the state than the peoples. In the post cold war period the emphasis had changed. In the changing global socio-economic and political environment the main center of emphasis was changed from the state to the well being of the people. This change of emphasis from the state to the people in the analysis of the concept of security led to the formulation of the concept of Human Security. Thus, the concept of human security is a new formulation against the traditional notion of national security where the main emphasis is on the individual rather than the state.

Mahbub Ul Haq an economist and international development theorist from Pakistan for the first time drew the global attention to the concept of Human Security in the Human Development Report (HDR) 1994 of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). According to the UNDP report of 1994, the human security requires attention on mainly two core issues namely “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” for all persons.”Freedom from fear” refers to protect individuals from violent conflicts while recognizing that these violent conflicts are closely associated with the problems of poverty, inequality and lack of capacity of the state to address the basic problems of the people etc. “Freedom from want” refers to the holistic approach to address issues like hunger, diseases and natural disasters. These threats kill far more people than war. “Freedom from fear” expands the focus beyond violence with emphasis on development and security goals.

The Human Development Report of the UNDP, 1994 mentions seven essential dimensions of human security namely- Economic Security, Food Security, Health Security, Environmental Security, Personal Security, Community Security and Political

Security.

- **Economic Security:** Economic Security refers to assured basic income for individuals against the problem of unemployment and joblessness. The challenge of economic security is more acute in the developing and underdeveloped society than the developed world.
- **Food Security:** Food security requires that all people should have physical and economic access to basic food in all times. A large section of people in the global level don't have access to healthy food. People are dying because of food scarcity, nutrition related problems mostly in the underdeveloped countries.
- **Health Security:**Health Security refers to minimum protection from curable diseases and ensuring a healthy living. Today, throughout the world, people are dying due to lifestyle related chronic diseases.Those from low and middle income families are more vulnerable to such diseases. According to the United Nations Organisation (UNO), in both developing and developed countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly children. This is due to malnutrition and insufficient access to health services, clean water and other basic necessities.
- **Environmental Security:** Environmental security refers to protection of people from the deterioration (man induced and natural) of natural environment and ensuring healthy environment for living. Today, air pollution, global warming, emission of greenhouse gases, lack of access to clean water etc. are some of the major challenges before the human race in the world.
- **Personal Security:** Personal security refers to protection of people from the physical violence whether from the state or non-state actors or domestic abuses. Violent crimes are always a major source of insecurity for peoples in the world.
- **Community Security:** Community security means protection to people from the loss of traditional relationship and values and

from sectarian and ethnic violence. Loss of ethnic identity of the minority ethnic groups is a major issue in all most all the countries in the world. There are inter-ethnic clashes mostly centering the issue of ethnic identity protection and preservation which have influenced the national politics of the countries. The United Nations declared 1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of aboriginal peoples in the world.

- **Political Security:** Political security concerned with the basic human rights of the people in the world. According to a survey conducted by the renowned NGO Amnesty International, political repression, physical torture, brutal killings, disappearance were still practiced in almost 110 countries in the world even in this world of democracy and responsible Government. Human Rights violation, by the government as well as by other organizations during the political unrest is a common issue in almost all the countries in the world.

Thus the human security concept is a paradigm shift in the meaning and concept of security. It is an individual centric concept and not a state centric concept. Human security is not concerned with weapons; it is concerned with human life and dignity. The idea of human security puts emphasis on safety and well-being of all people everywhere. Human security values include an acceptable quality of life and a guarantee of fundamental human rights. The key to human security is to protect people, their basic rights and freedom.

There are two set of threats of human security values. Some threats are local and some threats are global in nature. The local threats are like economic threats i.e. low income, poverty, unemployment etc, threats of food security i.e. insufficient food, problem of pure drinking water etc, health threats like diseases, malnutrition etc, environmental threats like global water, land water and air pollutions etc., personal threats like personal rights, liberty, freedom even right to life etc. The other threat is global threats are

like population growth, North-South division, drug trafficking, global terrorism etc.

Earlier the security was understood from the point of military security only. But the human security approach has kept the human beings at its centre. At present human security is described as the condition of existence where basic natural needs are met and in which human dignity can be realized. The U.N.O. played a significant role in popularizing the human security concept.

Thus from the above, it can be said that the human security concept has broadened the dimension of the security concept. It is an inclusive concept encompassing all the aspects of human life. Today people are facing some threats which are global in nature. The threats like AIDS and other diseases, Global Warming, problem of global terrorism, drug trafficking, migration etc are global threats. These problems are spreading to all parts of the world. The concept of human security is encompassing all these issues within its ambit.

14.3.3 Difference between the Traditional Concept of Security and Human Security

There are certain differences between traditional concept of security and human security. Some of these are discussed below–

- The traditional discourse on human security emphasizes state security only where the state is the main referent. But the human security puts maximum emphasis on individual's safety and freedom.
- In traditional notion of security, the main concern was the threats that comes from other states. Thus in traditional security, territorial security is very important. On the other hand, human security emphasizing dangers emerging within the boundaries of the state, some of which are global in character. It concerns with the threats like terrorism, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, civil violence, AIDS etc. which are global in nature.

- Traditional security emphasizes the enhancement of military power for security. But human security does not consider military force as an instrument of security. It treats all round development as a means to bring security to all members of the society.
- In traditional concept of security state is the sole actor to ensure security. But in human security, along with the state various non-state actors, NGOs also play a significant role in ensuring security.
- The scope of human security concept is much broader than the traditional notion of security. The contemporary human security approach emphasizes on guaranteeing comprehensive security to all people in the world.

14.3.4 Human Security and Development

The United Nation through its various agencies has popularized the idea of human security as an indicator of human development. Therefore, human security is considered as an important component of human development. Human security assumes greater significance with the intervention of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The UNDP had pioneered the notion of human security through the publication of its Annual Human Development Report since 1990 and had published a special volume on human security in 1994.

The Annual Development Report of UNDP (1994) has defined human security as protection from threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards. Thus it is a paradigmatic shift from security through armaments to the security through sustainable human development. Further, the UNDP has examined human security from two perspectives– 'Freedom from Fear' and 'Freedom from Want'. The main focus of freedom from fear is on conflict prevention and resolution and peace-building. On the other hand, freedom from want concerned with eradication of poverty and starvation etc. Thus

the main focus of human security is on the achievement of all round development as the security goal. By linking human security with development the UNDP has developed different indicators of human development. They are: life expectancy, maternal and infant mortality rates, access to safe source of drinking water, access to health and educational facilities etc.

From the above we can understand the relationship of human security with the human development in the following ways:

- Human security forms an important part of people's well-being, and is therefore an objective of development. Human Security insists on eradication of poverty and removal of inequality in the society which are the primary goal of human development.
- Human development widens the range of people's choices and human security deals with the free exercise of these choices by people.
- Human security and human development both are people-centered. They challenge the orthodox approach to security and development i.e. state security and liberal economic growth respectively. Both emphasize people as the ultimate end and thus should be empowered to participate in the process of development.
- Both the concepts human security and human development are multi-dimensional. Both addresses people's dignity as well as their material and physical concerns.
- Both the concept of human security and human development consider poverty and inequality as the root causes of individual vulnerability.

It seems that both the concepts of human security and human development are interlinked but it is wrong to assume that both are identical. Human development is a broader concept. It aims at enlarging people's choices and freedoms. Human security is about ensuring those choices and freedoms to human beings.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Who was the main advocate of the concept of human security?

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Q.4: What is the full form of UNDP?

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Q.5: What does freedom from want refer?

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Q.6: Mention any two differences between traditional concept of security and human security.

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14.4 LET US SUM UP

- Security is one of the main concerns of all human beings in all types of societies in the world. At the same time, the concept of security has been evolving with the passing of time and its meaning has undergone various transformations. The non-traditional concept is comprehensive and encompassing new areas and issues in the ambit of security concerns. The alternative concept on security goes much beyond the concept of security. It is not confined to the territorial boundary of a

state. The alternative concepts on security are global in character as different issues of international concern are incorporated under the concept of security.

- Co-operative security is categorized as a new security approach adopted to ensure the security of the states and its citizens against the new security challenges. In general sense, it means security by way of cooperation among the states. It requires cooperation rather than confrontation.
- The adoption of the concept of Human Security has led to the replacement of the traditional state-centric security. Human security is a comprehensive concept. It covers internal as well as external peace and order, control over all social, economic, political and environmental problems being faced by people living in every part of the globe.
- The human security approach demands greater levels of global cooperation among the states. Some of the human security related issues cannot be addressed by an individual state alone. Therefore, human security is interrelated with the global security.
- There are some differences between traditional concept of security and human security.
- The main security threats in the Human Security system are civil in nature rather than the military. Therefore the Human Security is related with Human Development.



14.5 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, Prem. (1984). *International Politics*. Gurgaon: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Berrige, G. R. (1995). *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice (Online).* USA: Palgrave Macmillan.
3) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
4) Deka, Parag. (2015). *Contemporary Political Issues and Ideologies*. New

Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.

5) Ghai, K. K. (2005). *International Relations– Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.



14.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Co-operative security is categorized as a new security approach adopted to ensure the security of the states and its citizens against the new security challenges. In general sense, it means security by way of cooperation among the states. It requires cooperation rather than confrontation.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Amnesty International, the Red Cross

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Mahbub Ul Haq

Ans. to Q. No. 4: United Nations Development Programme

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Freedom from want refers to the holistic approach to address issues like hunger, diseases and natural disasters. These threats kill far more people than war.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: i) The traditional discourse on human security emphasizes state security only where the state is the main referent. But the human security puts maximum emphasis on individual's safety and freedom.

ii) In traditional notion of security, the main concern was the threats that comes from other states. Thus in traditional security, territorial security is very important. On the other hand, human security emphasizing dangers emerging within the boundaries of the state, some of which are global in character. It concerns with the threats like terrorism, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, civil violence, AIDS etc. which are global in nature.



14.7 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: What is meant by alternative/ non-traditional concept of Security?

Q.2: Who for the first time introduced the concept of Human Security?

Q.3: What are the two basic issues of Human Security emphasized by the Human Development Report of UNDP, 1994?

Q.4: What do you understand by the alternative concept of security? Discuss different types of alternative concepts of security.

Q.5: What is co-operative security? Is it useful to maintain peace in the world? Give reasons in support of your answer.

Q.6: Discuss the meaning and nature of the concept of Human Security.

Q.7: Differentiate the traditional concept of security and Human Security.

Q.8: How is Human Security related to the concept of Human Development? Discuss.

*** ***** ***



REFERENCES

1) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2) Dhar, S. N. *International Relations and World Politics since 1919*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Ghai, K. K. (2005). *International Relations– Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
4) Goldstein, Joshua S. (2007). *International Relations*. (6th edition). New Delhi: Pearson Education.
5) Kumar, Mahendra. (1998). *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*. New Delhi: Shiva Lal Agarwal & Company.
6) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.
7) Pruthi, R. K. (2006). *International Relations– Since 1919*, New Delhi: Mohit Publications.
8) Srivastava, Dr. L. S. & Joshi, Dr. V. P. *International Relations*. Goel Publishing House.

Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
Resham Nagar, Khanapara, Guwahati-781022
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

.....

.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

.....

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.