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International Politics: Theory

SEMESTER II

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The third course of Second Semester of M A 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. Certain important emerging trends of contemporary international politics, such as feminism, environmentalism have been discussed in the fifteenth unit.

The course “International Politics: Theory” is divided into two blocks– Block 1 and Block 2. Block 1 contains eight units (Unit 1-8) and Block 2 contains seven units (Unit 9-15).

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the first block of the third course or paper of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's M.A. Second Semester Programme in Political Science. The third course or paper of the MA Second Semester Programme in Political Science is titled "International Politics: Theory". The first block of this course contains eight units (Units 1-8).

The First Unit introduces the learners to the basic knowledge regarding the meaning, nature and scope of International Politics.

The Second Unit discusses the evolution of International Politics as an academic discipline.

Third Unit focuses on important theories to the study of International Politics, i.e. the Realist theory and Idealist theory.

The Fourth Unit deals with the Game theory and Bargaining theory regarding the study of International Politics.

The Fifth Unit focuses on the Decision-making theory and Communication theory regarding the study of International Politics.

The Sixth Unit discusses another important issue of International Politics, i.e. power.

The Seventh Unit deals with the concepts of Balance of Power and Collective Security.

The Eight Unit discusses various aspects associated with Foreign Policy.

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

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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.

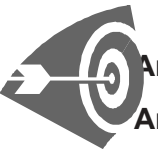
- The nature of international politics in the contemporary time has changed to a large extent and a number of factors are responsible for this changing dimension of international politics.



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?

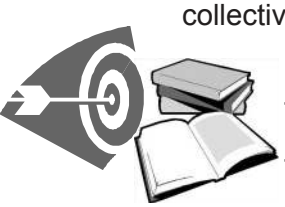
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7.5 LET US SUM UP

- 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.



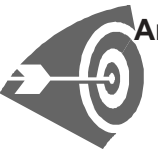
8.7 FURTHER READING

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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Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

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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
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(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?

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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.