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POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK : 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Subject Experts

Prof. Jayanta Krishna Sarmah, Gauhati University

Dr. Shantanu Chakravorty, Cotton University

Dr. Dhruba Pratim Sharma, Gauhati University

Course Co-ordinator: Jahnabi Devi, KKHSOU

SLM Preparation Team

UNITS	CONTRIBUTORS
9 & 10	Nandita Das, Research Scholar, KKHSOU
11, 13 & 14	Dr. Dadul Deori, Pub-Kamrup College, Kamrup
12 & 15	Moonsoon Barkakati, Research Scholar, KKHSOU

Editorial Team

Content : Prof. Jayanta Krishna Sarmah, Gauhati University

Language : Dr. Arpana Nath, Cotton University

Structure, Format & Graphics : Jahnabi Devi, KKHSOU

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City Office : Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781 006; Website: www.kkhsou.in

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the second 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 second block of this course contains seven units (Units 9-15).

The Ninth Unit discusses one of the most important concepts of international politics, i.e. National Interest.

The Tenth Unit introduces the learners to the concept of ideology and its relationship with national interest. This Unit also discusses end of ideology debate.

The Eleventh Unit focuses on the concept of Diplomacy.

The Twelfth Unit discusses one of the most important issues of international politics, i.e. International Conflict.

The Thirteenth Unit deals with the issues of Disarmament and Arms Control.

The Fourteenth Unit focuses on the alternative concepts of security, such as cooperative security, human security and human development.

The Fifteenth Unit discusses two most important emerging trends of contemporary international politics, such-environmentalism and feminism.

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 9: NATIONAL INTEREST

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Meaning of National Interest

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

9.5 Components of National Interest

9.6 Types of National Interest

9.7 Instruments and Methods for Promotion of National Interest

9.8 National Interest and Foreign Policy

9.9 Core or basis of National Interest

9.10 Let Us Sum Up

9.11 Further Reading

9.12 Answers To Check Your Progress

9.13 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

9.2 INTRODUCTION

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

9.3 MEANING OF NATIONAL INTEREST

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.5 COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

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

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

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

- **Non-Vital or Variable Components:** These components are determined by the necessity or by circumstances. The factors like decision-makers, public opinion, political and moral folkways, party politics, group or sectional interests plays key role in the determination of these non-vital components. These components are not so strongly desired interests

and so a nation do not go to war for its fulfillment. These components are taken as objectives.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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9.6 TYPES OF NATIONAL INTEREST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c) **Conflicting Interest:** Such interests fall in the category of opposed interest. They are not permanent and often change due to force of events and diplomacy. For example, the case of Kashmir is one of the conflicting interest between India and Pakistan. In spite, of the repeated attempts of both sides, there is no decline of conflict.

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

9.7 INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS FOR PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST

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

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

These methods can be briefly discussed as follows:

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

its clauses. Morgenthau has stated that for the pursuit of national interest through alliances, the nation states conclude the following:

i) General alliances which are of common interest.

ii) Alliances for fulfilling primary and secondary interest.

iii) The weak and dependent nations enter into agreements with strong nations.

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

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

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

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

- **Economic Instruments:** The economic instruments are also used to promote national interests. Economic policies designed to fulfill national interests whether or not intended to harm other state or states, they are considered as economic instruments of national policy. For example, we may refer to tariff and trade, blockade, boycott, exchange control, loans and grants which are regularly employed by the states for such purposes. In this context, we may refer to America's policy of economic blockade against Iraq for promotion of its national interest. Economic methods are usually employed to fulfill national interests both in peace time and war time.

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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9.8 NATIONAL INTEREST AND FOREIGN POLICY

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

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

i) **Traditional view:** All nations formulate their foreign policy on the basis of their national interest determined by the needs and circumstances in which a state is placed. While all sovereign states struggle for power in international politics, the foreign policy of all nations refers to their survival and self-preservation as their minimum requirement. It means that every nation should protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Protection refers to preservation of its

sovereign identity and physical, political, cultural and social identity. Survival is identified with national interest. Accordingly, the traditional view believes that national interest is the most important component of foreign policy.

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

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

i) National interest is the vision of good life.
ii) National interest refers to the sum total of its interest and policies actually pursued.
iii) The concept is used to explain, evaluate, rationalise or criticise foreign policy.

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

9.9 CORE OR BASIS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

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

Accordingly, we could identify what is known as the core of national interest. It is true that national interest is reflected in the foreign policies of the respective countries. But it would be dangerous to regard it as the only component in the formulation of foreign policy. A nation's claim of primacy of its national interest may jeopardise the interest of other nations. But in the present day interdependent world, each nation has to accommodate its interests with other nations. Again in contemporary period, national interest is being challenged by certain competing interests such as global, regional and sub-national interests also. The contemporary generation will have to decide whether to give precedence to nations whose strategic, economic and cultural needs are better satisfied or to the states in its existing boundaries. The foreign policy makers of this contemporary time are compelled to define their objectives in such a manner which is acceptable to others. The present

day problems like pollution, environmental degradation, human rights and developments are some of the issues that go beyond the narrow national interest of the countries. Therefore, it is widely believed today that a sovereign nation can pursue its self-interest to subordinate them to the system of common interests of the nations. Thus, the core of national interest could be promoted by wider accommodation of the interest of the other nations as well.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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9.10 LET US SUM UP

- National interest is the core element which determines every action of the state. Each and every state aims to achieve its national interest to the fullest extent.National interest gives direction to long-term objectives of foreign policy of a state and also gives meaning to its actions in a short term context.

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



9.11 FURTHER READING

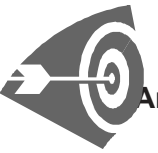
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9.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The general interest comprises conditions which apply to a large number of nations in such areas as trade and commerce, economics, diplomatic inter-course, etc. For example, we may refer to the general interest of India to maintain good and friendly relations with her neighbours. Similarly, we may also refer to the general American interest to expand trade in Southeast Asia.

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

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

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

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



9.13 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

Q.2: Explain various types of national interest.

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

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

Q.5: Write about basis of national interest.

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UNIT 10: NATIONAL INTEREST AND IDEOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives
10.2 Introduction
10.3 Ideology and National Interest
10.4 Some Major Ideologies of the World
10.5 Role of Ideology in International Politics
10.6 End of Ideology Debate
10.7 Let Us Sum Up
10.8 Further Reading
10.9 Answers To Check Your Progress
10.10 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

10.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

10.3 IDEOLOGY AND NATIONAL INTEREST

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

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

is a manifestation of false consciousness". Richard W. Sterling defined ideology as a " set of ideas that purports to give meaning to the past, to explain the present and to prognosticate the future".

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

10.4 SOME MAJOR IDEOLOGIES OF THE WORLD

Some of the major ideologies are discussed below:

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

considered to be acceptable. Similarly, Nazism under Adolf Hitler, over and above accepting the above mentioned principles, also put emphasis on the principle of racial superiority.

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of ideology.

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

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

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10.5 ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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

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

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

various capitalist proposition in order to make communism more practicable in contemporary times. Similarly, a number of countries of Asia and Africa have also adopted the ideology of pragmatism.

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

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

10.6 END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE

Ideology is currently the most influencing factor in International Politics in terms of achieving desired goals and objectives but this status was reviewed in the mid-1950s and in 1960s. Western liberal-democratic countries declared that ideology has no role and place in open societies and it is just an instrument of totalitarianism and authoritarianism. In fact, these countries declared that the age of ideology had come to an end. It was believed that at the stage of industrial and technological growth and development, political ideology has no role to determine a country's social-economic organisation, rather it is determined by the level of its development. Even countries with different ideologies are also found to evolve similar characteristics at their advanced stage of industrial development. The end of ideology view may be found in the report of Edward Shills' on the conference on 'The Future of Freedom' in Milan, 1955. The report was published in

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

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

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

W. W. Rostow also stated in his work "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto" (1960) that political ideologies has no role to play in determining the course of economic development in different countries. He believed that all societies irrespective of ideological differences pass through same stages of growth and development whether it is in Asia,

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

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

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

Thus, end of ideology thesis is subjected to criticisms too. In fact, it has been said that end of ideology theory is to prove the supremacy of liberal-democratic system in both theory and practice. Moreover, collapse of socialism in 1989 and 1991 do not imply the end of ideology as it could

be the result of human faults. Again to solve many human problems, relevant ideas from different ideologies may be taken. In this connection, it could be cited that ideologies like liberalism, marxism, socialism, gandhism, fascism are some of the most important ideologies which even today plays great role in determining national interest and policies of nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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10.7 LET US SUM UP

- An ideology represents a set of ideas based on a definite standpoint. An ideology builds up a theory seeking to give a moral code of conduct,

a sense of mission and a programme for action. Ideological considerations and their effective implementation have often constituted the backbone of the foreign policy of a state.

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



10.8 FURTHER READING

1) Asirvatham, Eddy and Misra, K. K. (2003). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

2) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
3) Ghosh, Peu. (2013). *International Relations*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd.
4) Heywood, Andrew. (2003). *Political Ideologies– An Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
5) Johari, J. C. (1982). *Comparative Politics*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
6) Malhotra,Vinay Kumar. (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi:Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.
7) Singhal, S. C. (2006). *International Politics*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Publication.

10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

b) At the stage of capitalism, there would be two main classes, namely, the capitalist and the proletariat.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The ideology of liberalism may be defined as an idea which is based on the freedom of the individual. Individual dignity is permanent and any attempt to subjugate individual liberty by an authority is considered as unjustifiable interferences. Under this ideology the individual is considered to be supreme and emphasis is laid on developing his or her talent to the maximum. It emphasizes on free competition and welfare of the individual is the prime concern.

Liberalism is thus identified with internationalism which believes in peaceful resolution of conflict, world brotherhood, non-aggression, peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of another states.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Francis Fukuyama

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

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



10.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: Define ideology.

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

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

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

Q.5: Discuss the "end of ideology" debate.

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UNIT 11: DIPLOMACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Meaning of Diplomacy

11.4 Development of Diplomacy

11.5 Functions of Diplomacy

11.6 Types of Diplomacy

11.7 Old vs. New Diplomacy

11.8 Decline of Diplomacy

11.8.1 Future of Diplomacy

11.9 Let Us Sum Up

11.10 Further Reading

11.11 Answers To Check Your Progress

11.12 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

11.2 INTRODUCTION

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

11.3 MEANING OF DIPLOMACY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.4 DEVELOPMENT OF DIPLOMACY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.5 FUNCTIONS OF DIPLOMACY

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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Q.2: Mention any two features of diplomacy.

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

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11.6 TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

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

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

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

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

Why Changes in Diplomacy?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

this diplomacy have favoured extensive preparation before holding the meetings at the summit level. The meeting at the summit level should be held only if the earlier negotiations indicate that there is a possibility of an agreement.

11.7 OLD VS NEW DIPLOMACY

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

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

11.8 DECLINE OF DIPLOMACY

Scholars of international relation argued that after the Second World War diplomacy has been losing its vitality. It no longer performs that spectacular

role which it used to perform in the past. The factors which account for the decline of diplomacy are:

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

back to the diplomacy. The diplomats were not given any discretion in negotiations during this period. They were expected to work simply according to the dictation of the government. Thus during the cold war, the diplomacy fell victim of bipolarity.

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

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

11.8.1 Future of Diplomacy

From the above we have seen that, in the World War-II period, the role of diplomacy has changed leading to its decline. But it is wrong to assume that diplomacy stands rejected as an instrument of international relations. In the changing scenario its role has been changed. This change does not imply that it is irrelevant now. It has taken a new form which is now called as New Diplomacy. The New Diplomacy is regarded as valuable means to secure national interest by the States as well as to maintain international peace. In the present international relation, summit diplomacy or personal diplomacy are widely used by the States to serve their national interest. It can be said that, so long as the need to eliminate or at least to reduce the chances of war remains, the dependence on diplomacy as a means for the conduct of relations is bound to be accepted by all the nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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Q.6: Write briefly about Track I diplomacy.

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11.9 LET US SUM UP

- Diplomacy is the means through which nations develop their relations with other nations. Diplomacy is a basic means by which a nation seeks to secure the goals of its national interest. The foreign policy of a nation always depends on diplomacy for its effective operationalisation.

- Diplomacy has certain features, such as-diplomacy is neither the art of deceit nor mere lies or propaganda, and nor even something immoral; diplomacy is a normal means of conducting relations; the very purpose of diplomacy is to secure the goals of national interest as defined and specified by the foreign policy of the nation; diplomacy functions through a network of foreign offices, embassies, consulates and special missions all over the world; diplomacy is basically bilateral in character; diplomacy is a continuous process.
- Diplomacy has acquired its present character by passing through various stages and a number of factors have contributed in this process.
- The main functions of the diplomats are– representation of the country officially in the international relation, negotiations, reporting, protection of national interest.
- Scholars in international relation have divided diplomacy into mainly two parts– the old diplomacy and the modern or new diplomacy.
- Diplomacy in its traditional form is known as old diplomacy. The main features of the old diplomacy are– old diplomacy was primarily confined to Europe, old diplomacy wasaristocratic in nature, secrecy was considered as the hallmark of old diplomacy, in old diplomacy diplomats enjoyed considerable freedom in negotiations within the agreed policy.
- The old diplomacy continued to remain in operation till the middle of the 20th century. Thereafter, it had to change due to changes in the international systems as well as because of the development of fast and comprehensive means of communication. These new developments in diplomatic practices came to be known as new or open diplomacy.
- The new diplomacy is open in character. Another outstanding feature of new diplomacy is that greater importance has been attached to multilateral or conference diplomacy.
- There are certain differences between old diplomacy and new diplomacy.
- Scholars of international relations argued that after the Second World War diplomacy has been losing its vitality. The factors which account for the decline of diplomacy are: development of communications, emergence of new diplomacy, emergence of the Super powers on the world scene, changing nature of contemporary international system.



11.10 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. (2015). *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
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3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar, (2006). *International Relations*. NewDelhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.



11.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 3: i) Representative functions: The basic function of the diplomacy is to represent the country officially in the international relation. The diplomats represent the concerned State and Government in all official functions and ceremonies at the international forum as well as in relation with other state.
ii) Negotiations: Diplomacy is the legal and formal channel of negotiations in international relation. The diplomats are the channels of communication which handle the transmission of messages between the foreign ministries of the parent state and the host state. Along with the nature of the message, the manner and style of delivering the message greatly influences the course of negotiations. It is mainly through negotiations that

a diplomat seeks to secure agreements and compromise over various conflictual issues and problems among states.

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

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

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

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

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

11.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

Q.2: Explain the growth of diplomacy.

Q.3: Discuss the various functions of Diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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UNIT 12: INTERNATIONAL CONFILCT

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning of Conflict and War

12.4 Historical Trends in War

12.5 Nature and functions of Conflict

12.6 Concept of Cyber Warfare and Strategic Bombing

12.7 Justification of War

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.11 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

12.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

12.3 MEANING OF CONFLICT AND WAR

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

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



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

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

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

The webster's third new International Dictionary state that the term war ultimately derives from the old high English noun "werra" which means 'confusion'. Further this term is derived from a complex Greek verb meaning 'to go ruin' Throughout history, many people have tried to compile data on wars in order to help identifying the issue and to test various empirical hypotheses about the causes of war.

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

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

12.4 HISTORICAL TRENDS IN WAR

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

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

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

for instance, the battles of then mopac, waterloo, gettysburg. In 15th and 16th countries, each and every war had on average slighting more than two collective participants. But by the end of 20th century, the numbers of states have increased upto five.

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

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

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

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of war.

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

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

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12.5 NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF CONFLICT

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

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

12.6 CONCEPT OF CYBER WARFARE AND STRATEGIC BOMBING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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Q.5: What is Cyber Warfare?

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12.7 JUSTIFICATIONS OF WAR

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

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

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

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



ACTIVITY 12.1

Write briefly about the conflict situation in BTAD, Assam.

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12.8 LET US SUM UP

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



12.9 FURTHER READING

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12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The word conflict drives from the Latin word "Confligere" which means to strike together. The term conflict has a variety of meanings. It is often used as a synonym for incompatible or irreconcilable. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In other words, a conflict is a state of affairs characterised by the existence of incompatible aspects of relationships.

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

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



12.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: State the meaning of war.

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

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

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

Q.5: Examine various justification of war.

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UNIT 13: DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of Disarmament

13.3.1 Dimensions of Disarmament

13.4 Meaning of Arms Control

13.5 Difference between Disarmament and Arms Control

13.6 Steps Towards Disarmament and Arms Control

13.7 Significance of Disarmament

13.8 Let Us Sum Up

13.9 Further Reading

13.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.11 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

13.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

13.3 MEANING OF DISARMAMENT

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

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

13.3.1 Dimensions of Disarmament

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

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

13.4 MEANING OF ARMS CONTROL

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

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

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

13.5 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

The differences between disarmament and arms control are discussed below:

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of quantitative disarmament.

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

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

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13.6 STEPS TOWARDS DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF DISARMAMENT

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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13.8 LET US SUM UP

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

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



13.9 FURTHER READING

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



13.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 5: 1946

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



13.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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UNIT 14: ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS ON SECURITY

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Alternative Concepts on Security

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

14.4 Let Us Sum Up

14.5 Further Reading

14.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.7 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

14.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

14.3 ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS ON SECURITY

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

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

14.3.1 Co-operative Security

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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14.3.2 Human Security

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14.3.3 Difference between the Traditional Concept of Security and Human Security

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

- The traditional discourse on human security emphasizes state security only where the state is the main referent. But the human security puts maximum emphasis on individual's safety and freedom.
- In traditional notion of security, the main concern was the threats that comes from other states. Thus in traditional security, territorial security is very important. On the other hand, human security emphasizing dangers emerging within the boundaries of the state, some of which are global in character. It concerns with the threats like terrorism, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, civil violence, AIDS etc. which are global in nature.
- Traditional security emphasizes the enhancement of military power for security. But human security does not consider military

force as an instrument of security. It treats all round development as a means to bring security to all members of the society.

- In traditional concept of security state is the sole actor to ensure security. But in human security, along with the state various non-state actors, NGOs also play a significant role in ensuring security.
- The scope of human security concept is much broader than the traditional notion of security. The contemporary human security approach emphasizes on guaranteeing comprehensive security to all people in the world.

14.3.4 Human Security and Development

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

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

development. They are: life expectancy, maternal and infant mortality rates, access to safe source of drinking water, access to health and educational facilities etc.

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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Q.5: What does freedom from want refer?

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

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14.4 LET US SUM UP

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

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

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



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14.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



14.7 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

Q.2: Who for the first time introduced the concept of Human Security?

Q.3: What are the two basic issues of Human Security emphasized by the Human Development Report of UNDP, 1994?

Q.4: What do you understand by the alternative concept of security? Discuss different types of alternative concepts of security.

Q.5: What is co-operative security? Is it useful to maintain peace in the world? Give reasons in support of your answer.

Q.6: Discuss the meaning and nature of the concept of Human Security.

Q.7: Differentiate the traditional concept of security and Human Security.

Q.8: How is Human Security related to the concept of Human Development? Discuss.

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UNIT 15: EMERGING TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 A Brief History of Environmental Issues on the International Agenda

15.3.1 Meaning of Sustainable Development and functions of International Environmental Co-operation

15.3.2 The Issue of Climate Change

15.4 Feminism in International Politics

15.4.1 Meaning of Feminism

15.4.2 Gender and Power

15.4.3 Reference to Feminist International Relations Theories

15.5 Let Us Sum Up

15.6 Further Reading

15.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.8 Possible Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the issues of climate change and sustainable development and functions of international environmental co-operation
- explain the feminist perspective on international politics
- describe the issue of gender and politics
- elaborate the feminist international relations theories.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

The issues of feminism and environmentalism occupy a prominent position within the scope of international relations. International Feminism, basically highlights the gains made during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) in collecting information and data on women's roles,

experiences and status globally.It is generally observed that environmental problems transcend national boundaries and so they became a feature of international politics. It is witnessed that environmental issues have arose into prominence, on the international agenda because of the effects of globalisation. In this unit we shall discuss the issue of feminism and environmentalism in international politics in detail.

15.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA

The post-second World War Global economic recovery brought with it evidence of new pollution, which lead to international agreements in the 1950s and 1960s, which includes matters like discharges from oil tankers. In 1968, the UN General Assembly agreed to conven what became in 1972, United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE). Its sole purpose was 'to focus government's' attention and public opinion on the importance and urgency of the question. In fact, it was this conference that led to the formation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and of establishing environment departments by many Governments.

From 1970s onwards new forms of transnational pollution like 'acid rain' had been causing serious problem and has been a matter of concern for the scientific community. The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) have focused upon the idea of sustainable development and accommodating the environmental concerns of the north and the economic demands of the South.In 1992 UNCED or 'Earth Summit' was at the time the largest international conference held ever. It had raised the issue of the environment as a international issue while was a substantial document issued by the conference, international conventions regarding climate charge and the preservation of biodiversity. The most remarkable agreements at UNCED were over aid pledges to finance the environmental improvements under discussion.

On UNCED's 10th anniversary in 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) met at Johannesburg. In this summit, emphasis was laid on eradication of poverty and in the field of providing

programs regarding clean water management, sanitation and agricultural improvements. In this context, the controversial element was the role played by private-public partnerships.

International environmental politics reflected the issue attention cycle in developed countries and relied heavily on enhancing scientific knowledge.

15.3.1 Meaning of Sustainable Development and Functions of International Environmental Co-operation

The Brundtland Commission Report named, "Our Common Future", 1987, provided the classic definition of sustainable development:

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Behind it lay an explicit recognition of limitations to future growth that were mainly, technological, social and environmental. Emphasis was placed on needs and utmost importance was given to those needs experienced by the world's poor. The main focus of the concept of sustainable development was the idea of fairness between generations as well as between the rich and poor currently living in the planet.

Again the World Summit held in the year 2002 ensures a balance between economic development, social development and environmental protection as interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development.

In fact, to maintain environmental stability, by integrating sustainable development principles into decision making was one of the eight UN Millennium Development Goals agreed in 2000.

Functions of International Environmental Co-operation: It is a well known fact that international co-operation establishes governance regimes to regulate transboundary environmental problems and issues and sustain global commons. Moreover,

international environmental co-operation may be regarded as part of a broader liberal approach to global reform.

Infact international environmental meetings serve political objectives along side environmental goals. The chief purpose of international co-operation is mainly transboundary regulation but at the same time attempts at environmental action may come into conflict with the rules and regulations of world trade regime. In order to promote environmental norms, to develop scientific understanding and to assist the participation of developing countries, there is an utmost necessity of international action.

15.3.2 The Issue of Climate Change

Climate change mainly because of its all embracing nature and its roots in essential human activities, poses a great challenge for international cooperation.

The greenhouse effect is essential to all living beings on earth. Greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the environment insulate the earth's surface by trapping salon radiation. Carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere have increased substantially, and continuously due to burning of fossil fuels and reductions in some of the 'sinks' for carbon-dioxide mainly forests. Emissions of Methane gas have also risen as agricultural production has increased considerably. The best statement from IPCC is that, if nothing is done to control and curb intensive fossil fuel emissions, the mean temperatures will rise between 1.5^0C and 4^0C by 2099. By 2016 mean temperatures have reached 1^0C above the pre-Industrial level.

Climate change has resulted in huge changes in living conditions and also posed a challenge to the existing patterns of energy use and security. In order to understand the magnitude of the climate related problem, a comparative study can be made between stratospheric Ozone issues. Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are in themselves greenhouse gases and the International legal texts on climate change make it clear that the controlling task rest with the Montreal Protocol.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) of 1992 envisaged the reduction of emissions of greenhouse gas and their removal by sinks. The Kyoto Protocol of 1997 to the UNFCCC have committed the developed countries to make an average of a 5.2% cut in their greenhouse gas emissions from a 1990 baseline by 2012.

The 2015 'Paris Agreement' involved 'bottom up' national contributions made by all parties, and it stresses on the necessity of adaptation and additional funding for the developing countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is the full form of UNCED?

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Q.2: Define Sustainable Development.

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Q.3: What is the full form of UNFCCC?

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Q.4: Write a short note on climate change.

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15.4 FEMINISM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

In the following sections we shall discuss the issue of feminism in international politics in details.

15.4.1 Meaning of Feminism

Feminism is mainly concerned with the concept of equality, justice and the elimination of women's subordination and oppression of all kinds. In fact Feminism has contributed to the development of innovative new methods of research and forms of knowledge. In order to understand and evaluate women's experiences, status and role, the differences among women as well their similarities had to be at the forefront of any organizing. Under the initiative of United Nations a convention name CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women) was created to look after women's issues and problems.

Feminism and feminist movements have achieved success in radically changing the understanding of international organizations and states regarding women's significance for and contribution to politics.

15.4.2 Gender and Power

It was Elisabeth Prugl who distinguishes the use of gender in three ways, each of which has an implication for understandings and getting the knowledge of power. She argued that, some scholars treat gender as an empirical variable, that mainly explains social, economic and political inequalities, where by gender is understood as the biological difference between men and women. This approach is mainly adopted by the liberal feminist International relations. While others had identified gender as a social construct that is mainly found in social practices, identities and mainly in institutions that interpret and fix the differences. This approach is mainly adopted by critical feminism in international politics. While another group

argues that gender is an effect of discourses of power. Here gender is neither biological difference nor is the social interpretation of biological difference. This argument clearly identifies gender as 'code' for the operation of 'power'.

15.4.3 Reference to Feminist International Relations Theories

The are mainly four feminist International Relations theories–

i) Liberal feminist International Relations.
ii) Critical feminist International Relations.
iii) Post-colonial feminist International Relations.
iv) Post-structural feminist International Relations.

- **Liberal Feminist International Relations:** Liberal feminist International Relations theorists argued that the rights and representation conventionally granted to men should be extended to women as well. In order to correct gender inequality, the liberals basically focussed upon the opinion of changing institutions, increasing the representation of women in positions of power basically within the primary institutions of national and international governance. They argued for a global initiative in order to achieve gender parity in international tribunals. In fact they also initiated the process of changing the existing laws for increasing women's participation in governmental practices.

  According to liberal feminist, gender inequality is a major barrier to the development of mankind and in fact it leads to greater incidences of war and violence.

- **Critical Feminist International Relations:** The critical feminists had questioned the liberal feminists for relying on the neutrality of their methods and for the volition of power as a positive social good that can be successfully redistributed without fundamental social changs. Critical feminist scholars basically identifies gender oppressions as intertwined and interdependent. Critical feminist also focussed upon the tight link between feminist

theorizing and feminist actions, in part due to their recognition that the oppressed and marginalised have a lot to teach about the violent practices of global Politics in particular locations.

- **Post-colonial Feminist International Relations:** Post-colonial feminism 'links every day life and local gendereds contexts and Ideologies to the larger, transnational political and economic structures and Ideologies of capitalism' (Mohanty 2003:504). Post-colonial feminists tries to highlight the centrality of conceptions of gender and of women to colonial regimes and their continuing effects. Past-colonial feminism argues that feminism of the global North is rooted in and dependent on discourses of rights and equality that were of pre-eminent concern to Western Europe. In fact, the post-colonial feminists suggest that the individualism and autonomy implicit in the definitions of rights and liberties are culturally ill-suited and collective and relational rights are a better fit.
- **Post-structural Feminist International Relations:** Post-structural feminism draws specifically from the scholarship of Judith Butler. Butler opined that, contrary to the common practice and accepted definition that gender is the social construction of sex, sex is in fact constructed by gender. Butler also introduces the concept of gender productivity. Thus, post-structural feminists basically demonstrate how gender is created through the workings of international politics and in turn how paying attention to this construction reveals relations of power that are otherwise overlooked.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: State the meaning of feminism.

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Q.6: Write briefly about the liberal Feminist International Relations.

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15.5 LET US SUM UP

- The issues of Feminism and Environmentalism occupy a prominent position within the scope of International Relations.
- The post-second World War Global economic recovery brought with it evidence of new pollution, which lead to international agreements in the 1950s and 1960s, which includes matters like discharges from oil tankers. From 1970s onwards new forms of transnational pollution like 'acid rain' had been causing serious problem and have become a matter of concern for the world community. Thus environmental degradation became a serious concern for the world community. Another environmental issue climate change, has its roots in essential human activities and poses great challenge for international cooperation.
- The world community adopted a number of steps to tackle the situation related to environmental degradation. International cooperation establishes Governance regimes to regulate transboundary environmental problems. In this regard the United Nations has been playing a very active role. It has adopted a number of Declaration, Convention and has established a number of Commissions related to environmental issues.

- Feminism is mainly concerned with the concept of equality, justice and the elimination of women's subordination and oppression of all kinds. In fact Feminism has contributed to the development of innovative new methods of research and forms of knowledge. In order to understand, and evaluate women's experiences, status and role, the differences among women as well their similarities had to be at the forefront of any organizing.
- The are mainly four feminist International Relations theories. These are– Liberal feminist International Relations, Critical feminist International Relations, Post-colonial feminist International Relations, Post-structural feminist International Relations.



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15.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.The main focus of the concept of sustainable development is the idea of fairness between generations as well as between the rich and poor currently living in the planet.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Climate change mainly because of its all embracing nature and its roots in essential human activities, poses a great challenge for International cooperation.

The greenhouse effect is essential to all living beings on earth. Greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the environment insulate the earth's surface by trapping salon radiation. Carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere have increased substantially, and continuously due to burning of fossil fuels and reductions in some of the 'sinks' for carbon-dioxide mainly forests. Emissions of Methane gas have also risen as agricultural production has increased considerably. The best statement from IPCC is that, if nothing is done to control and curb intensive fossil fuel emissions, the mean temperatures will rise between 1.5^0C and 4^0C by 2099. By 2016 mean temperatures have reacheol 1^0C above the pre-Industrial level.

Climate change threatens huge changes in living conditions and also pose a challenge to the existing patterns of energy use and security. In order to understand, the magnitude of the climate related problem, a comparative study can be made between stratospheric Ozone issues. Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are in themselves greenhouse gases and the International legal texts on climate change make it clear that the controlling task rest with the Montreal Protocol.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) of 1992 envisaged the reduction of emissions of greenhouse gas and their removal by sinks. The Kyoto Protocol of 1997 to the UNFCCC have committed the developed countries to make an average of a 5.2% cut in their greenhouse gas emissions from a 1990 baseline by 2012. The 2015 'Paris Agreement' involved 'bottom up' national contributions made by all parties, and it stresses on the necessity of adaptation and additional funding for the developing countries.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Feminism is mainly concerned with the concept of equality, justice and the elimination of women's subordination and oppression of all kinds. In fact Feminism has contributed to the

development of innovative new methods of research and forms of knowledge. In order to understand, and evaluate women's experiences, status and role, the differences among women as well their similarities had to be at the forefront of any organizing.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Liberal feminist International Relations theorists argued that the rights and representation conventionally granted to men should be extended to women as well. In order to correct gender inequality, the liberals basically focussed upon the opinion of changing institutions, increasing the representation of women in positions of power basically within the primary institutions of national and international governance. They argued for a global initiative in order to achieve gender parity in international tribunals. In fact they also initiated the process of changing the existing laws for increasing women's participation in governmental practices.

According to liberal feminist, gender inequality is a major barrier to the development of mankind and in fact it leads to greater incidences of war and violence.



15.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q.1: What is meant by sustainable development?

Q.2: Write briefly about Brundtland Commission.

Q.3: Write a short note on the meaning of feminsim.

Q.4: Discuss the four feminist International Relations theories.

Q.5: Examine the relationship between power and gender.

Q.6: Highlight the history of environmental issues on international agenda.

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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.

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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.