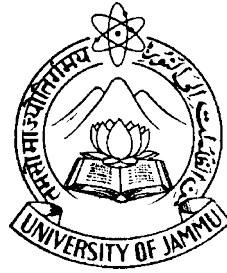


Directorate of Distance Education

**UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU**



**SELF LEARNING MATERIAL
B.A. SEMESTER V**

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT : I - IV

COURSE NO. : PS-501

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

PROF. DARSHANA SHARMA

Course Co-ordinator

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**B. A. SEMESTER V, POLITICAL SCIENCE
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

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**B.A.
Political Science
Semester-V**

**Course No. : PS-501
Duration of Exam: 3 Hours**

**Title: International Politics
Total Marks: 100
Theory Examination: 80
Internal Assessment: 20**

Examination to be held in Dec. 2019 and 2020.

Unit-I : Meaning and Approaches

- 1.1 International Politics: Evolution, Changing Nature and Scope
- 1.2 Idealist (Woodrow Wilson) and Realist Approach (Hans J. Morgenthau)
- 1.3 Decision making approach (Richard C. Snyder) and
- 1.4 Peace Approach (Johan Galtung)

Unit-II : Key Concepts: National Power and National Interest

- 2.1 National Power: Meaning, Forms and Role
- 2.2 Elements of National Power: Tangible: Geography, Economy, Military Non-tangible: National Character and Morale, Political Leadership and Ideology
- 2.3 National Interest: Meaning, Nature and Kinds
- 2.4 National Interest and Foreign Policy

Unit-III : Instruments for Promotion of National Interest

- 3.1 Diplomacy: Meaning, Importance and Types
- 3.2 Imperialism and Neo-imperialism:
 - Meaning and Nature of Imperialism
 - Concept of Neo-imperialism with special reference to Foreign Aid and Multi-National Corporations
- 3.3 Nonalignment: Rationale and Relevance
- 3.4 Propaganda: Techniques and Efficacy; and War: Meaning, Causes and Effects

Unit-IV : Management of Power

- 4.1 Collective Security and Collective Defence: Concept, Meaning and Distinction; Collective Security under UN Charter: Provisions, Working and Evaluation (with special reference to Korea and Kuwait Crises)
- 4.2 Balance of Power: Meaning and Devices and its Contemporary Relevance
- 4.3 Disarmament and Arms Control: Meaning and Distinction, Need for Disarmament, Major Efforts and Obstacles in achieving Disarmament
- 4.4 Emerging Global Power Structure: From Cold War to Post-Cold War Era

Note for Paper-setter:

Theory Examination: The question paper will be divided into two sections.

Section-I: It will carry 20 marks. There will be total 08 short answer type questions in this section. Students will attempt any four questions with upper limit of 150 words in every answer. Each question will be of 5 marks.

Section-II: It will consist of 08 questions of which students will attempt 04 questions from within unit choice. The upper limit of answer to each question will be 750 words. Each question will be of 15 marks. Total marks in this section will be 60.

Internal Assessment

Total Marks : 20

Two Written Assessments

10 Marks each

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Dear learner, as a student of this new subject, International Politics, you are prone to get certain questions at the very outset. Such questions often include what will my study of the subject deal with? What is its rightful claim? How its subject matter be differentiated from the other topics and papers that I have already studied? What are its unique elements of content and methodology and exactly what I am going to learn out of the study of the subject? These are the legitimate questions that all of us get whenever we are studying a new discipline.

International Politics, as a discipline is very young and still evolving. It became as a major subject of University teaching only in the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, the first Chair of International Relations, called the Woodrow Wilson Chair, was founded only in 1999 at the University of Wales. The two World Wars, the reconstruction process, the decolonisation process and emergence of many new states in the international scene, the growth of International Organisations, Regional Organisations, Conflicts between nation-states, Peace-Keeping Missions, Military Alliances, proliferation of nuclear weapons, rivalry between super powers, growth of peace movement and emergence of Multinational (transnational) Companies – all these contributed to the importance of International Politics as a discipline.

This paper on International Politics primarily provides a conceptual understanding about the important issues related to the discipline in general. Beginning with meaning, nature and scope of International Politics, it covers important issues such as how the discipline developed, what are the main approaches to study international politics, how the concept of ‘power’ operating in International Politics, what is the interrelation between power and securing a nation’s interests, what gives a country the power to influence others, what role diplomacy is playing in international relations, what all are the issues involved in the concepts of imperialism and neo-imperialism, how the Collective Security system functioning, the concepts of Balance of Power, Cold War, Bipolarity and Unipolarity and which direction the world is going – the topics which provide a general awareness about the International Politics. After going through this material, we hope you will be in a

position to understand the complexity of international relations and will develop further interest to build upon on what you have studied.

To those of you who want to go beyond this study material to get command over the subject, we have given below a list of books that are helpful to you.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. and Jon C. Pevehouse *International Relations*, New Delhi: Pearson, 2009.
- Jackson, Robert H. and Georg Sorensen *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Carlsnaes, W, Thomas R and Beth A. Simmons *Handbook of International Relations*, New Delhi: Sage, 2011.
- Nicholson, Michael *International Relations: A Concise Introduction*, 2nd Edition. New York: Macmillan, 2005.
- Griffiths, Martin and Terry O'Callaghan *International Relations: The Key Concepts*, London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Alden, Chris, Sally Morphet *The South in World Politics*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Salmon, Trevor C and Mark F Imber *Issues in International Relations*, Second Edition, London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Kumar, Mahendra *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwal & Company, 1984.
- Mansbach, R.W. and Rhodes, Edward *Global Politics in a Changing World*, Third Edition, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 2006.
- Jill Steans, et. el, *An Introduction to International Relations Theory: Perspectives and Themes*, Third edition. London: Pearson, 2010.

1.1 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: EVOLUTION, CHANGING NATURE AND SCOPE

- A. Lalitha

STRUCTURE

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1.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the meaning of international politics;
- the emergence and evolution of International Politics as discipline
- changing nature of international politics; and
- the issues and scope of international politics.

1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Lesson you will come to know about the basics of the subject of International Politics. This lesson is designed to provide an understanding about how various scholars defined International Politics, what the nature of the discipline is, what changes taking place in this nature, and finally what the scope of International Politics is and how it is increasing or restricting the study of discipline.

1.1.2 MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The highly dynamic nature of relations among nations as well as the divergent views held by the scholars of the subject, resulted in the lack of a generally accepted definition of International Politics. International Politics has been defined in different ways by different writers. The difference of opinion among scholars is basically due to the fact that the subject is still in a state of constant flux. In the absence of a general definition let us examine some of the definitions offered by the prominent scholars and understand the nature of International Politics.

1.1.2.1 Definitions

According to Norman Padelform and George Lincoln, “International Politics covers the interactions of state policies within the changing patters of power relationships.”

For Prof. Charles Schleicher, “International Relations involve the study of, the relations among states”. For him it includes all inter-state relations whether political or non-political.

In the words of Hans J. Morgenthau, “International Politics is a struggle for power among Nations”.

According to Robert Purnell International Politics is nothing but those “aspects of political concerned with disagreement, competition, rival claims and various outcomes arising from a desire for change in the relations of those special collective entities we call states”.

However, the definition given by Harold and Margaret Sprout is considered to be a comprehensive definition. For them “International Politics means those aspects of interactions and relations of independent political communities in which some element of opposition, resistance or conflict of purpose or interest is always present”.

In brief, it can be said that the International politics relates to the policies adopted by various countries in respect of their external relations.

1.1.3 EVOLUTION OF THE DISCIPLINE

International Politics, as a discipline is very young and still evolving. It became as a major subject of University teaching only in the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, the first Chair of International Relations, called the Woodrow Wilson Chair, was founded only in 1919 at the University of Wales. The two World Wars, the reconstruction process, the decolonization process and emergence of many new states in the international scene, the growth of International Organisations, Regional Organisations, Conflicts between nation-states, Peace-Keeping Missions, Military Alliances, proliferation of nuclear weapons, rivalry between super powers, growth of peace movement and emergence of Multinational (transnational) Companies, etc. contributed to the importance of International Politics as a discipline. In the following pages, you will study how International Politics evolved as a discipline in various phases and the importance of each of these stages.

1.1.3.1 First Stage – Domination of Diplomatic Historians

The first stage of the study of the discipline extends up to the end of the First World War. This stage was dominated by the monopoly of diplomatic historians. In this period international relations were presented only in a descriptive and chronological manner without reference to how various events and situations fitted in to the general pattern of international behaviour. The study of the diplomatic historian included only the knowledge of facts and did not provide any basis for understanding either present or the future of international relations.

1.1.3 2 Second Stage – Utopian Liberalism (Idealism)

Influenced by the experience and challenge of World War I, some scholars began to analyze the events that led to the war, speculate on how future wars could be averted and propound theories accordingly. The tone of their writings was moralistic and their style was descriptive. They preached for peace through international law, organizations and institutions. The scholars anticipated world peace through a set of codes or legal norms applied by certain institutions that are above or greater in authority than the nation-state. In

short, the study of international phenomena was conditioned by what might be called ‘idealism’ – the attitude that place special value on ideal, the vision of what should be promised on the moral goodness of humans, states and societies, especially of well organized.

As stated above, the destruction left by First World War influenced many leaders and scholars to move towards Liberal idealism with a view to create a world without war and human suffering. The US president during First World War was Woodrow Wilson, who had been a university professor of political science. He saw it as his mission to bring liberal democratic values to Europe and to the rest of the world. He believed that only in that way another great war could be prevented. In short, the liberal way of thinking had a political backing from the US, the most powerful state in the international system at the time. Academic IR developed first and most strongly in two leading liberal democratic states: the US and Great Britain. Liberal thinkers strongly believed that in order to avoid major disasters in the future, the international system should be reformed as well as the domestic structures of autocratic states.

President Wilson had a vision of making the world ‘safe for democracy’. It was formulated in a fourteen-point programme delivered in an address to Congress in January 1918. Wilson’s peace programme calls for an end to secret diplomacy, agreements must be open to public and international diplomacy must be carried out publicly. There must be freedom of navigation on the seas and barriers to free trade should be removed. Armaments should be reduced to the lowest point. Colonial and territorial claims shall be settled with the principle of self-determination of peoples. Finally, a general association of nations must be formed for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity of great and small nations. This last point was realised with the establishment of the League of Nations by the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The idea that international institutions can promote peaceful cooperation among states is a basic element of liberal thinking: the close link between liberal democracy and peace. So, according to Wilsonian idealism, through a rationally designed international organisation it should be possible to put an end to war and to achieve more or less permanent peace. The states should be subjected to the appropriate international organisations, institutions, and laws.

In short, liberal ideas dominated the first phase of academic IR during 1920s. Why do we tend to refer these ideas as utopian or idealist? When we look at the political and economic developments of the 1920s and 1930s, we see that liberal democracy suffered a lot with the growth of fascist and Nazi dictatorship in Italy, Germany, Portugal, and Spain. Authoritarianism also increased in many of the new states of Central and Eastern Europe such as Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Thus, contrary to Wilson's hopes for the spread of democracy, autocratic and militaristic states were established in Europe. The League of Nations never became the strong international organisation that liberals hoped for that it would restrain aggressive states. Being the strongest state in the international system, the US Senate refused to ratify the covenant of the League. Moreover, the Wall Street crashed in October 1929 (the Great Depression) that marked the beginning of an economic crisis. Finally, the breaking up of the Second World War in 1939 has put an end to the liberal dream of peace and cooperation.

To sum up the above discussion, in the second stage which started after the end of the First World War, the scholars of the subject emphasized the study of current events and concerned themselves with interpretation of the immediate significance of current development and problems. But this approach regarding current development and problems stressed the study of the present without much reference to the past. The apparent inability of liberal internationalists to cope with the events between two World Wars suggested the need for a new conceptual apparatus, or perhaps for the rediscovery of some older ideas.

1.1.3.3 Third Stage – Realistic Tradition

The idealistic vision of post-World War I was subsequently challenged and almost shattered by a new category of scholars after World War II. These scholars proposed that national policies should be based on power in order to achieve world peace rather than on some moralistic and legalistic precepts. The failure of law or idealism to prevent World War II contributed largely to the emergence of another view of international relations. This later perspective became what is known as the 'Realistic School' which emphasizes 'power

politics'. Imperial expansions, the struggle for hegemony, the impacts of nationalism, national culture and the influence of geography on a state's external relations became part of the issues of concern.

The most influential critique of liberal internationalism came from E. H. Carr who was a Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics in the late 1930s. In a book he published in 1939, *The Twenty Years Crisis*, Carr renamed Liberal internationalism as 'utopianism' and contrasted with his approach 'realism'. Carr's central point is that the liberal doctrine of the harmony of interests glosses over the real conflict that is to be found in international relations, which is between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'.

However, the most significant realist thinker of this period was a German scholar who fled to the US in the 1930s to escape the Nazi regime in Germany, Hans J. Morgenthau. He brought realism to the US with great success. His book titled *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* has been the most influential book on IR for several decades. There were other scholars writing along the same realist lines but Morgenthau gave the clearest summary of realism's core claims and since then has been known as the father of realism.

Hence, after 1945 realism became the dominant theory of International Relations, offering a conception of the world which seemed to define the 'common sense' of the subject. Most practising diplomats had always held views on international relations which were more or less realist; they were also joined by academics and journalists to work from the same realist perspective.

During this stage the emphasis has shifted from international law and organization to forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of states. The main concern of discipline of International Relations during this stage is fourfold: study of the motivating factors of foreign policies everywhere; techniques for the conduct of foreign policies; mode of conflict resolution; and the creation of new international order based on socio-economic justice. In this recent stage world politics is the setting in which international

relations are studied. Even the functions and purposes of the organizations like United Nations are being studied in political context rather than in a constitutional context.

1.1.3.4 Fourth Stage – Behaviouralism

Since the mid– 1950s, however, a third ‘school’ composed of behavioralists has emerged. This third category considers the previous two to be useful background on which the proper study of international relations should take off. The main contention of scholars in this category is that war and some limited historical experiences are inadequate for the analysis and understanding of inter-state relations. They refined and brought such methods as those of political sociology and socio-psychology into their analysis.

The ambition of behaviouralists in IR is to do exactly the same thing as the natural scientists. Thus, the main task is to collect empirical data about international relations, which can be used for measurement, classification, generalisation and the validation of hypothesis, such as scientifically explained patterns of political behaviour of the states. Behaviouralism is thus not a new IR theory but it is a new method of studying IR. It is interested in observable facts and measurable data in order to find the reoccurring behavioural patterns, and to create the ‘laws’ of international relations. According to behaviouralists, facts separate from values. Unlike facts, values cannot be explained scientifically.

In the behaviouralist approach, there is no place for morality or ethics in the study of IR because it involves values and values cannot be studied objectively or scientifically. So they raise the question of whether we can formulate scientific laws about international relations. They see the theorists standing outside the subject. The anti-behaviouralists argue that IR theorists are humans who can never step aside completely from human relations; he/she is always inside the subject.

1.1.3.5 Other Developments since 1960s

As the world is becoming more and more complex, many scholars realised that the study and the research in international politics should concerned not only with the body of scientific knowledge, but also with the improvement of international relationships. This thinking gave birth to what is called the “peace research approach” with its faith in the supreme importance of research in the achievement of peace. This approach largely committed to a scientific theory of the causes of war and conditions of peace.

During 1960s and 1970s a good deal of international relations concerned with trade and investment, travel and communication and similar issues. These relations provided the basis for a new attempt by liberals to formulate an alternative to realist thinking that does not contain the utopian part of earlier liberalism. We shall use the label “neoliberalism” for that renewed approach. Neoliberals share old liberal ideas about the possibility of progress and change, but they refuse idealism. In short, the debate between liberalism and realism continued, but it was now coloured by the post-1945 international setting and the behaviouralist methodology.

In 1970s, the discipline of International Relations has got another new orientation, which called as “Complex Interdependence”. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye argued that relationships between Western states (including Japan) are characterised by complex interdependence: they believe that there are many forms of connections between societies in addition to the political relations of governments, including transitional links between business corporations.

1.1.4 NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The true nature of International Politics can be analysed only by understanding the nature of Politics and the difference between politics within a nation and politics among nations.

The conflict over the values and interests, disagreements among the groups is the root from which politics originates. However, people in these groups are motivated to resolve their conflicts because they attempt to satisfy their interests and secure their values. These groups also try to reach a tolerable harmony in society. Thus *Interests and values* constitute the objectives of politics. For resolving the conflict groups try to secure *power* because it is the means for securing objectives. As power is considered as the ability to influence or control or regulate the behaviour or others for securing the desired goals and objectives, each group tries to secure power and thereby to control the other groups and gets engaged in a struggle for power.

Dear learner we hope that through the above discussion you understood the nature of politics. The nature of international politics is also similar to that of politics.

Politics in relationships between nations is international politics. In the case of international politics groups are *nations* and their needs and wants are called interests or *national interest* and disagreement among groups or between interests is called *conflict*. But the element of *power* remains same. Thus three important things relevant to international politics are ***National Interest, Conflict and Power***. Like politics international politics is a struggle for power among nations and it has a few variables.

Due to increasing human-activities, the relations among various states have been changing and due to these continuous changes in international relations, the meaning, nature and scope of international relations have been changing.

There are many factors which affects nature of international relations such as evolution of new nations, technological development, nuclear research, rise of multipolar world, emergence of new order, non-state organizations, global problems, so and so forth.

Due to changing nature of international relation, it is very difficult to explain the nature of international relations. However, these are the following important points explaining the nature of international relations;

1.1.4.1 No Single Definition

As a discipline, International Relations has no single definition. Unfortunately, till date, no universally accepted definitions of international relations have been coined because of its continuous changing nature.

1.1.4.2 Operates in Anarchical System

International relations operates in an anarchical system. There is no single organization to regulate relations among states. Michael Nicholson writes “international relation is study of aspects of anarchy, though an anarchy which is not necessarily chaotic”.

1.1.4.3 Inter-Disciplinary Subject

International relations is inter-disciplinary subject. In 1998, UNESCO mentioned international relations as a sub-field of political science because scholars of international relations analyse political relations, economic relations, social relations and cultural relations, etc.

1.1.4.4 Concerns with Global Issues

International relations deals with key issues which concerns public global interest. Goldstein and Pavese in his book, ***International Relations*** write, “International relations revolves around one key problem: how to balance interest of international states with the global interest?”

For example, every country has an interest in stopping global warming, a goal that can be achieved only by many countries acting together. Yet each country also has an individual interest in burning fossil fuels to keep its economy going.

Dear learner, thus, International Politics is a process of relations and interactions among nations. The basis of these interactions is the attempts made by the nations to safeguard and secure their interests by means of power. As the National Interests of the nations are invariably not in compatible with those of others the interactions of the nations always take place in a condition of conflict.

1.1.5. SCOPE

The ever changing nature of international politics has considerably expanded the scope of the subject. The scholars of International Politics have followed different approaches for defining its scope. While Morgenthau believes that the struggle for power among nations forms the scope of International Politics, Felix Gross and Russel H. Field holds that it is a study of Foreign Policies. But the scholars like Fred Sondermann international politics is the study of the process in which a nation basically tries to have an advantageous position in conflict with other nations or groups of nations. When we look at the definition given by Grayson Kirk he identified five important ingredients in the study of International Politics. They include: firstly, the nature and operation of state system, secondly the factors that affect the power of a state, thirdly the international position and the foreign policy choices of the great powers, fourthly the history of recent international relations and finally the building of a more stable world order.

1.1.5.1 State System

The state still continues to play a significant impact on international scene. The individuals organize themselves in sovereign states and through them strive to attain their interests. Hence, states are the primary actors in international relations. Naturally, International Politics studies relations and interactions between two or more states. Each state is conditioned by its geography, resources, population, level of industrial and technological development, ideology, diplomacy, national interest etc. Hence the study of inter-state relations necessitates a study of the basic actors and these factors. The interests of these sovereign states cause

conflict and co-operation in international politics. Thus the study of the relations between the states necessitates a study of the states as the prime actors.

1.1.5.2 National Interest

Since national interest is the objective that each nation tries to secure during the course of relations with other nations, it becomes imperative for International Politics to study national interests of various nations. The sovereign states are often motivated by the considerations of their national interests which often come in conflict with each other. International politics tries to adjust the national interests of various states to prevent the possible conflict. Hence the study of international politics includes study of the process by which states adjust their national interests towards each other.

1.1.5.3 National Power

The concept of national power remains to be crucial in understanding of international politics. According to Morgenthau, international politics is nothing else but ‘power politics’ and can be realistically understood only if viewed as the “concept of interest defined in terms of Power” of a nation state. The classification or a mere labelling of nations as super powers, major powers, big powers, global powers, small powers and weak powers reflects the importance of national power in international politics. Thus national power forms an important part of the subject matter of International Politics.

1.1.5.4 Foreign Policy

The scope of international politics further includes the study of foreign policies of various countries because the sovereign states try to attain their national objectives only through their foreign policy and such foreign policies have a deep impact on international politics. Through the means of foreign policy, nations exercise their national power for securing the goals of their national interests. Hence the understanding of the foreign policies is a prerequisite for understanding the nature of present day international relations. Study of foreign policies automatically becomes a part of the subject of international politics.

1.1.5.5 Instruments of International Politics

Further, the scope of international politics also involves the study of the various instruments of international politics employed by states to promote their national interests. Such instruments include diplomacy, international trade, economic and military assistance. Most importantly the economic instruments like Foreign Aid, Loan and Trade became most important means of influencing the course of relations. Hence the study of various instruments becomes an integral part of the study of International Politics.

1.1.5.6 The Study of various Notions

The study of various notions like nationalism, colonialism and imperialism which greatly influence the course of international relations also come under the scope of international politics. The emergence of nationalism has not only resulted in the independence of a large number of Asian-African countries but also undermined colonialism and imperialism to a large extent. Further the study of international politics includes the new methods (economic imperialism, neo-colonialism) evolved by the former colonial and imperialist powers.

1.1.5.7 International and Regional Organizations

The rapid growth of international organizations as the institutionalised means for the conduct of relations of the nations made their study as one of the subject matters of international politics. Whether they are universal or regional or supranational in their nature these international organizations provide forums for co-operation and conflict-resolution and are governed by their own rules. Over a period of time these organizations began to enhance economic, military, technical or cultural cooperation and exercise considerable influence over the course of relations among nations.

1.1.5.8 Various regulators of International Relations

Many principle concepts like Balance of Power, Regionalism, Disarmament and Arms Control, Collective Security, International Law, World Public Opinion, International Morality

remained as the guiding concepts in controlling the behaviour of nations. Hence the study of these regulators also becomes the subject matter of international politics.

Apart from the above mentioned generally accepted subject matter of international politics, those scholars who represent the contemporary vision of the scope of this subject include such ingredients like Ethics and Education, International Administration, Political Economy of International Relations, Military State-Craft, Science and Technology and related such things. However, in the conclusion it must be said that the scope of international politics is bound to be ever-expanding.

1.1.5.9 Scope of International Politics at Present

The scope of international relations at the end of the twentieth century has become very vast indeed. The world has virtually become a 'global village', as interdependence of states has increased manifold. Economic relations between states, the role of international institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation today influences economic activity all over the world. The United Nations and its various agencies are engaged in numerous socio-economic and political activities. International terrorism is a cause of serious concern for the human existence. Multinational Corporations (MNCs), also are giant companies operating the world over, are important non-state actors of international relations.

Thus, the scope of international relations has become vast, and, besides international politics, it embraces various other inter-state activities as well. It is known by now that international relations encompass a myriad of discipline. Attempts to structure and intellectualize it have often been thematically and analytically confined to boundaries determined by data. The core concepts of international relations are International Organization, International Law, Foreign Policy, International Conflict, International Economic Relations and Military Thought and Strategy, International/Regional Security, Strategic Studies, International Political Economy, Conflict/War and Peace Studies, Globalization, International Regimes. Moreover it covers, state sovereignty, ecological

sustainability, nuclear proliferation, nationalism, economic development, terrorism, organized crime, human security, foreign interventionism and human rights.

1.1.5 LET US SUM UP

In this lesson you have studied the meaning, nature and scope of international politics. To state briefly, international politics, like any other politics, is a struggle for power and is a system of interactions among the nations. Nations, National Interest, National Power, Conflict and Co-operation become important variables in the study of International politics. Nations try to secure their interests through their foreign policy, the outcome of which depends upon the strengths and weaknesses of the national power. If we could summarize all that we have said above about the nature of international politics, we could say that we should view international politics as a process in which nations try to serve their national interests, which may be in conflict with those of other nations, by means of their policies and actions. However, with the change in the nature of international politics, the methods of its study have also changed.

1.1.6 EXERCISE

1. How do you define International Politics?
2. Write briefly note on Diplomatic Historians of 19th Century.
3. Why International Relations during the First World War has taken the orientation of Liberal Utopianism?
4. What is the contribution of Woodrow Wilson to Liberal Internationalism?
5. Why Liberal Internationalism lost its influence?
6. How International Politics can be considered as an extension of politics to the international arena?

7. What do you understand by the word “Power”? Why it is considered to be both as a means and end in itself in International Politics?
8. Why nations interact with each other? What are the results of these interactions between nations?
9. Do you agree with the propositions that the nature of International Politics is continuously changing?
10. Do you accept with the view that the scope of International Politics is ever expanding? If so substantiate your answer with relevant points.

1.2 IDEALIST (WOODROW WILSON) AND REALIST APPROACH (HANS J. MORGENTHAU)

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

- 1.2.0 Objectives**
- 1.2.1 Introduction**
- 1.2.2 Idealist Approach**
- 1.2.3 Idealism of Woodrow Wilson**
 - 1.2.3.1 Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points
 - 1.2.3.2 Limitations to the Wilsonian Idealism
- 1.2.4 The Realist Critique of Idealism**
- 1.2.5 Realist Approach**
- 1.2.6 Realism of Hans Morgenthau**
 - 1.2.6.1 Six Principles of Morgenthau's Realism
 - 1.2.6.2 Criticism on Morgenthau's Realist Approach
- 1.2.7 Let us sum up**
- 1.2.8 Exercise**

1.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the need of approaches to study the International Politics;
- the reasons for emergence of Idealist Approach and its basic premises;
- the Idealism of Woodrow Wilson and its strengths and weaknesses;
- the Realistic Critique of Idealism;
- the contribution of Hans Morgenthau to the Realist Approach; and
- the criticism against Morgenthau's Realist Approach.

1.2.1 INTRODUCTION

We study every problem and issue with a particular viewpoint, which we might call it as an approach. Scientifically speaking, an approach consists of criteria employed in selecting the problems or questions and the data for investigation. One should clearly distinguish approach from that of method and technique. Approach is much larger concept and when it comes to International Politics the number of possible approaches to the study of any phenomenon is very large. As the criteria for selecting the problems and data are determined by the scholar's view, there may be as many approaches as there may be scholars. It would, therefore, be impracticable to attempt to identify each possible approach separately. We can only classify them and then compare and assess them by types.

The all-inclusiveness of an approach looks at all facts from its own angle and explains the phenomenon also from the same angle. Obviously, then, the character of an approach determines the character of generalisation, explanation, prediction, and prescription – all of which are among the main functions of a theory. Therefore, an approach is closely related to a theory. Thus the nature of theory is determined by the approach and the two are not easily separable.

In this lesson, you will study the two most important approaches to study international politics: Idealism and Realism. While Idealism or, as some prefer to call, Liberalism evolved after First World War, the Realist tradition in international politics emerged after Second World War as a critique to Idealism. Idealist international relations was predominant in the inter-war period, however, its hopes were dashed by the disasters of the thirties, including the rise of aggressive fascism and the collapse of the League of Nations leading up to the beginning of the Second World War. After a period of normatively based analyses (for example, the search for ‘peace through law’), the discipline saw the errors of its ways and took a more empirically sound approach, centring on the recognition of the supremacy of sovereign states and the requirements of state power.

1.2.2 IDEALIST APPROACH

Idealism is the label commonly attached to the well-wishing, optimistic rationalists, particularly of the inter-war period, who believed that progress in human relations is attainable through the application of human reason and that underlying human interaction is a basic harmony of interests.

Idealism is one of the most difficult terms in the vocabulary of international relations because no commonly accepted meaning exists for it. Yet the term idealism is frequently used in both the theory and the practice of international politics. At the most general level idealism refers to an approach to international politics that seeks to advance certain ideals or moral goals, for example, making the world a more peaceful or just place. Idealism can be defined in terms of its claims about the nature of human beings and the world in general. People are rational, there is a harmony of interest between people(s), and there is the possibility of progress. This world-view dominated the early years of the international relations discipline.

Contrary to the contemporary usage of the term ‘Idealism’, the interwar idealists did not see themselves as idealists and did not call themselves such. They certainly had

ideals, but they did not see these as impracticable. Rather, they were ideals capable of achievement with sufficient wisdom, energy, and political will. The term idealism (or Utopianism) was applied to them by their critics, mostly the ‘realists’. Idealism and Utopianism are thus pejorative terms. Yet interestingly they were accepted in IR up to now, even by those interested in dislodging the hegemony of realism. From the 1970s through the early 1990s a number of scholars who attempted to explain the growth of the discipline and the evolution of IR theory accepted the idealist or Utopian label to describe the ‘first phase’ of IR theorizing.

The Idealist approach rests on a dual premise: first, that the current world political arrangements for achieving such goals are inadequate; second, human beings have it within their power to change these arrangements for the better, perhaps radically. As Hedley Bull has commented:

The distinctive characteristic of these writers was their belief in progress: the belief, in particular, that the system of international relations that had given rise to the First World War was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just world order; that under the impact of the awakening of democracy, the growth of the “international mind” the development of the League of Nations, the good works of men of peace of the enlightenment spread by their teachings, it was in fact being transformed; and that their responsibility as students of international relations was to assist this march of progress to overcome the ignorance, the prejudices, the ill-will, and the sinister interests that stood in its way.

Hence, the First World War shifted Idealist/Liberal thinking towards recognition that peace is not a natural condition but is one which must be constructed.

1.2.3 IDEALISM OF WOODROW WILSON

The nearest one gets to a self-consciously idealist paradigm or school of thought is Wilsonian idealism. This is the approach to foreign policy inspired by the ideals and diplomacy of US president Woodrow Wilson. It is associated with the promotion of democracy, self-determination, the rule of law, and collective security—especially through such bodies as the League of Nations or United Nations. More generally it contends that pursuit of the national interest is not enough; foreign policy should always be inspired by a broader moral purpose. In some formulations it rests on the idea that domestic policy and international policy cannot be separated. The achievement of domestic moral goals, such as increasing liberty or reducing poverty, always depends, in part, on achieving these things abroad. This assertion is put by some Wilsonians in terms of the merging of national and international interests.

1.2.3.1 Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points

Woodrow Wilson articulated his views on international politics in general and how to avoid war in particular after America emerged as victorious country in the First World War. During the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson hoped to revolutionize the conduct of international affairs. He first outlined his vision in the 'Fourteen Points' speech delivered to Congress on January 8, 1918. It called for a 'new diplomacy' consisting of "open covenants openly arrived at." Secret treaties, like the ones that had pulled the world into war in 1914 would no longer be tolerated, and all territories occupied during the war were to be evacuated. Wilson wanted to dismantle the imperial order by opening up colonial holdings to eventual self-rule and all European sections of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires to immediate independence. He also proposed a general disarmament after the war, with the Germans and Austrians giving up their armed forces first. Fair treatment of revolutionary Russia, he declared, would be the "acid test" of the peace. Other points included freedom of the seas at all times and free trade all over the world.

The Fourteen Points was a statement of principles for peace that was to be used for peace negotiations in order to end World War I. Europeans generally welcomed Wilson's points, but many statesmen of that time were sceptical of the applicability of Wilsonian idealism. The Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson are the following:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and an opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy.
7. Belgium must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and Germany must return Alsace-Lorraine to France.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea.
12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an autonomous development.
13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations.
14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Of all the above, Wilson's most important proposal was the prevention of future wars by means of a new international organization, a League of Nations, open to membership by all democratic states (14th Proposal). This new world body would be in charge of disarmament and the dismantling of colonial possessions. Most importantly, the League would hold power over all disputes among its members. Wilson believed that this League would transform international relations and create a new era of world peace.

1.2.3.2 Significance of Woodrow Wilson

Of the many who argued in liberal and democratic lines, perhaps the most famous advocate of international authority for the management of international relations was Woodrow Wilson. According to the US president, peace could only be secured with the creation of an international institution to regulate international anarchy. Security could not be left to secret bilateral diplomatic deals and a blind faith in the balance of power. Like domestic society, international society must have a system of governance which has democratic procedures for coping with disputes, and international force which could be mobilized if negotiations failed.

President Wilson and his ideas of collective security, a league of nations trying to mitigate the international system of anarchy, and self determination for all nations are key aspects of international relations today. They are the cornerstone of US foreign affairs. After the carnage of World War II, the US and its allies would create the United Nations, which is heavily active in world affairs today. Self determination is considered by most nations a fundamental right of the international system. There are no European colonies in Africa or Asia, and the idea of colonialism has been abandoned. Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt in crafting the post World War II peace to President George W. Bush in his argument for invading Iraq to create democracy have used the tenants of Wilsonian ideas to justify their actions. President Obama has even used President Wilson's ideas of morality to justify his own policies.

1.2.3.3 Limitations to the Wilsonian Idealism

The problem with Wilsonian Idealism is that though its norms and principles sounds concrete, it is actually quite vague. It is hard to identify its proponents with any degree of precision. Its core propositions are contested, some say conflicting. It is perhaps best seen not as a coherent school of foreign policy but as a broad foreign policy outlook stressing the importance of law and morality in international affairs, the need for international institutions, and the possibility, perhaps even the necessity, of progress. While the term Wilsonian is generally a legitimating term in foreign policy debate and commentary, especially in the

United States, the actual foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson and its legacy remain deeply controversial.

In the end, faced with the determined insistence of Allied leaders to punish Germany with heavy reparations, territorial occupation, and total disarmament, Wilson was forced to compromise on most of his Fourteen points. He got his League of Nations, but instead of a “peace without victory,” the Big Four leaders—David Lloyd George (Britain), Georges Clemenceau (France), Vittorio Orlando (Italy), and Wilson—held secret negotiations and produced the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty imposed harsh terms on Germany, and Wilson was forced to present to the Senate a treaty that bore little resemblance to the ideal peace most Americans expected.

The opposition at home equalled the opposition abroad. In one of the most controversial episodes in presidential history, Wilson—completely out of touch with the situation in the Senate—refused to consider any compromises to the League. When the Senate Republicans amended the treaty—to ensure that the president could not use US forces on League business without securing congressional assent—Wilson told his supporters to vote against the amended treaty, and they joined with the Republican “irreconcilables” to reject the League. America never joined the international organization that Wilson had envisioned as the foundation of his new world order. This failure of the League was a devastating conclusion to Wilson’s almost superhuman efforts for world peace based upon international cooperation and the peaceful solution of international disputes.

1.2.4 THE ‘REALIST’ CRITIQUE OF IDEALISM

The events from 1930s occurred contrary to the beliefs of the Idealists. Japanese militarism in Manchuria and China, and ‘authoritarianism’ in the Spain, Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, etc. happened contrary to beliefs of the Idealists. League of Nations has become ineffectual from the beginning as US and USSR had not become members in its initial days.

Hence, the most influential critique of liberal internationalism came from E. H. Carr who was Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics in the late 1930s. Carr produced a number of studies in the 1930s, the most famous of which was published in 1939 – *The Twenty Years Crisis*. This book performed the crucial task of providing a new vocabulary for International Relations theory. Liberal internationalism is renamed ‘utopianism’ (later writers sometimes use ‘idealism’) and contrasted with Carr’s approach which is termed ‘realism’. Carr’s central point is that the liberal doctrine of the harmony of interests glosses over the real conflict that is to be found in international relations, which is between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. A central feature of the world is scarcity – there are not enough of the good things of life to go around. Those who have them want to keep them, and therefore promote ‘law and order’ policies, attempting to outlaw the use of violence. The ‘have-nots’, on the other hand, have no such respect for the law, and neither is it reasonable that they should, because it is the law that keeps them where they are, which is under the thumb of the ‘haves’.

Although Carr produced the most sustained attack on the assumptions of idealism, it was Hans Morgenthau who did most to popularize the new approach of Realism. In his textbook, *Politics among Nations*, first published in 1948, Morgenthau proposed that international relations be studied by means of a Realist scientific approach. For Morgenthau, human nature was at the base of international relations. And humans were self-interested and power-seeking and that could easily result in aggression. The second major element in the realist view concerns the nature of international relations: “International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim”.

1.2.5 REALIST APPROACH

Realism is an approach to the study and practice of international politics. It emphasizes the role of the nation-state and makes a broad assumption that all nation-states are motivated by national interests, or, at best, national interests disguised as moral concerns. Realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflictual side. It is usually contrasted with idealism or liberalism, which tends to emphasize cooperation. Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power. The negative side of the realists' emphasis on power and self-interest is often their skepticism regarding the relevance of ethical norms to relations among states. National politics is the realm of authority and law, whereas international politics, they sometimes claim, is a sphere without justice, characterized by active or potential conflict among states.

Realists regard themselves as heirs to an extended intellectual tradition. It is customary to trace realism back to antiquity, with claims that its arguments can be found in important works from Greece, Rome, India, and China. The proponents of realism suggest that Thucydides' history of *The Peloponnesian War* illustrates realism's skepticism for the restraining effects of morality. Realist arguments can also be found in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* from India. According to realists Kautilya 'is concerned with the survival and aggrandizement of the state' and 'clearly instructs in the principles of a balance of power system'. Realists also claim Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) among their number. Starting from a deeply pessimistic view of human nature, Machiavelli argues for strong and efficient rulers for whom power and security are the major concerns. Unlike individuals, such rulers are not bound by individual morality. Realists also identify with Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and his notion of a 'state of nature' where the absence of overriding authority allows human appetites to be pursued without restraint.

This emphasis on relative, and not absolute power, derives from the realist conception of the international system which is, for the realist, an anarchical environment. All states have to rely upon their own resources to secure their interests, enforce whatever agreements they may have entered into with other states, or to maintain a desirable domestic and international order. There is no authority over the nation-state, nor, for the realist, should there be.

As you have already studied earlier, twentieth-century classical realism is generally dated from 1939 and the publication of Edward Hallett Carr's *The 20 Year's Crisis*. The 20th century realists are usually characterized as responding to the then-dominant liberal approaches to international politics although some scholars disagree on how widespread liberalism was during the interwar years. Of these many realists, it was, however, Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, which became the undisputed standard bearer for political realism.

1.2.6 REALISM OF HANS MORGENTHAU

The Realist approach has been also called as the *power* approach because it emphasizes the importance of national interest as viewed by the statesmen of a particular nation in concrete terms and also because it takes power or influence as the only means for the furtherance of national interest. To the extent to which its central focus is on power, it may also be called the power approach. Morgenthau defines power as “man's control over the minds and actions of other man”.

Morgenthau rejected existing liberal and scientific theories of international politics for precisely this reason—they did not produce a true theory of international politics, but rather subsumed it in a scientific philosophy and methodology that obscured rather than revealed the harsh realities of international existence. For Morgenthau, the truth about international politics was intrinsically bound to power, so much so that a commitment toward examining the central role of power in IR dominates his work. The primacy of

power is the ultimate reality and truth of international politics as it permeates the social and political fabrics of human existence.

Morgenthau frustrated with the Rationalist models as they have become, in his understanding, too rigid and over simplistic. Morgenthau's position should be clearly differentiated from positivistic attempts to create a quantitative science of IR, a project he derided for being responsible for the replacement of genuine "theory" by "dogma." Morgenthau had determined that "good" science was the separation of truth from falsehood, an attempt to understand reality in a systematic and theoretical fashion. The failure of the "new" theories was that they told nothing of "the real world" and perpetuated through their language the metaphysics of utopianism.

For Morgenthau, the heart of statecraft is the clear-headed knowledge that political ethics and private ethics are not the same, that the key to effective and responsible statecraft is to recognize the fact of power politics and to learn to make the best of it. Responsible rulers are not merely free, as sovereigns, to act in an expedient way. They must act in full knowledge that the mobilization and exercise of political power in foreign affairs inevitably involves moral dilemmas, and sometimes evil actions. The awareness that political ends (e.g., defending the national interest during times of war) must sometimes justify morally questionable or morally tainted means (e.g., the targeting and bombing of cities) leads to situational ethics and the dictates of 'political wisdom': prudence, moderation, judgement, resolve, courage, and so on. Those are the cardinal virtues of political ethics. They do not preclude evil actions. Instead, they underline the tragic dimension of international ethics: they recognize the inevitability of moral dilemmas in international politics that evil actions must sometimes be taken to prevent a greater evil.

1.2.6.1 Six Principles of Morgenthau's Realism

The essence of Morgenthau's Realist theory is contained in the six principles of political realism enumerated by Morgenthau himself. The first principle is that politics is governed by objective laws which have their roots in human nature. The laws by which man moves

in the social world are eternal. The operation of these laws is impervious to our moral preferences. As such, our efforts should be to ascertain facts and interpret them through our reason. It assumes that the nature of a foreign policy can be appraised only through the examination of political activities and their possible consequences. We must find out what the statesmen have actually done and then make our guess on the basis of that finding as to what the objectives of the statesmen have been.

Secondly, the main element of political realism is the concept of national interest which Morgenthau defines in terms of power. Connected with this concept is the assumption that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power. Thus the realist theory of international politics does not care for what is desirable and possible for a particular nation under the concrete circumstances of time and place. A foreign policy, therefore, should concern itself more with the political requirement of success rather than anything else. It should eschew the preoccupation with ideological preferences of political actors.

Thirdly, political realism does not take a fixed or determined meaning of interest. It asserts that the forces of international politics are perennial and hence the transformation of the contemporary world is possible only by the manipulation of these forces which are already in existence. It is Morgenthau's belief that environment plays an important role in shaking the interests that determine the political action. Thus the emphasis on power must be adapted to the changing circumstances. Morgenthau suggests that it is the function of political science to stress the importance of power when times tend to deprecate it, and it must point out limitations of power when times tend to favour the monistic concept of power.

Fourthly, political realism though not indifferent to morality, implies that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulations, but that they must be modified in accordance with the requirements of concrete circumstances of time and place. Realism considers prudence to be the supreme virtue in politics.

Fifthly, political realism refuses to accept any identification between the moral aspirations of a particular nation and the moral laws which govern the universe. It conceives of all nations as political actors pursuing their interests defined as power.

Finally, political realism maintains the autonomy of the political sphere. It thinks in terms of interest defined as wealth. It is not unaware of the existence and relevance of standards of thought and action other than the political but it puts them all in subordination of political standards. It parts company with other schools because they impose non-political standards of thought and action on political affairs. Thus political realism is contrary to the legalistic-moralistic approach to international politics.

The realist approach is based upon three basic assumptions: one is that statesmen desire to pursue their nation's interests; the second is that the interest of every nation lies in the expansion of its influence, territorial, economic, political and cultural; and, the third is that states use their power, which is also defined as influence, in the protection and furtherance of their interests. It follows then, that the realist approach regards the foreign policy of any state as solely dependent upon power or, as power is influence, on influence. In that sense, the power approach may also perhaps be called the influence approach.

1.2.6.2 Criticism on Morgenthau's Realist Approach

Morgenthau's theory provides a guide to the study of one aspect of international politics, that is, conflict of interests, but not to that of other aspects. Thus it is a partial approach to international politics.

Morgenthau's concept of human nature is unscientific because science consists of theories or hypotheses whose truth or validity has to be established by critical experiment or testing. But Morgenthau's theory is based not on such hypotheses but on what Benne Wasserman calls absolute and unverifiable essentialist laws.

Morgenthau states that all men and all states seek power; he actually means that all men and all states should seek power. This element should take Morgenthau's theory away from realism.

Morgenthau's assumption about the power drive as the essential basis of human nature must admit only such an international theory as views the struggle for power as the fate of man. But curiously enough, Morgenthau shows lack of faith in man when he deals with the nature of international politics.

Morgenthau puts too much emphasis on one aspect, interest and power. Morgenthau does not clarify the relationship between power and control as influence. As Richard Snyder has pointed out we do not know whether control implies refusal of freedom of choice to those who are controlled or it implies only a limited freedom of choice.

To sum up, in today's world of transition, Morgenthau's theory of power cannot explain the phenomenon of international relations in its entirety because this theory claims that whatever can be understood about the behaviour of states has already been understood and that it is futile to hope that the disorders of power politics can be mitigated.

1.2.7 LET US SUM UP

In this lesson, you have studied about 'Idealism' and 'Realism', the two approaches that dominated in the early period of the development of International Politics as a discipline. During the twentieth century, political idealism and political realism vied as conceptual rivals for understanding international relations, for analyzing the decision-making of inter-state actors, for qualifying what policies should or should not see the light of day, and for justifying or criticizing the kinds of policies that went forward from each other's camp. In fact, it was to deal formally with such issues that the academic discipline of "international politics" itself was formed in 1919 at the University of Wales. In the literature, the terms 'power politics' and 'realpolitik' (practical, actual politics) may be used synonymously for 'political realism', and the word 'idealism' may be favoured for 'liberalism'.

1.2.8 EXERCISE

1. How do you understand Idealism in International Politics?
2. What is the contribution of Woodrow Wilson to Idealist Approach?
3. What are the strengths and weaknesses of Wilsonian Idealism?
4. Why Liberal Internationalism lost its influence?
5. Briefly state the Realist critique of Idealism
6. How Realism is different from Idealism.
7. Politics is governed by objective laws which have their roots in human nature. Elaborate.
8. Political realism does not take a fixed or determined meaning of interest. Explain.
9. What is the major contribution of Morgenthau to the Realist Approach
10. Briefly state the criticism against realist approach?

1.3 DECISION MAKING APPROACH (RICHARD C. SNYDER)

- Mukesh Sharma

STRUCTURE

- 1.3.0 Objectives**
- 1.3.1 Introduction**
- 1.3.2 Decision-Making Theory**
- 1.3.3 Process of Decision-Making**
 - 1.3.3.1 Policy Initiation
 - 1.3.3.2 Formulation of Decision
 - 1.3.3.3 Implementation of Policy
 - 1.3.3.4 Evaluation
- 1.3.4 Contribution of Richard Snyder in Decision-Making Theory**
- 1.3.5 Decision Making Models**
- 1.3.6 Let us Sum up**
- 1.3.7 Exercise**

1.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the role of individual decision makers in the process of foreign policy making along with the earlier focus on formal institutions and legal frameworks;
- the importance of various informal factors such as society, culture and value system of a particular state in the process of making foreign policy decisions;
- the different steps involved in the process of decision making;
- the contribution of Richard Snyder in understanding the role of rational statesmen while making key decisions; and
- the other models of decision making that developed in the field of study of international politics.

1.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Decision-making approach was first articulated by Joseph Snyder in the context of decision-making in the 1970s. It was developed in the field of bureaucratic politics as a cognitive approach to government decision making. It became important in the advent of Crimean War due to some of the poor foreign policy decisions. It was built on the maxim that rational decision-making can provide answers to some unresolved issues/questions about conflicts and wars that neo-realism has not been able to explain. The approach is aimed to grasp the complexity of foreign policy and understanding the dynamics of decision-making to respond to both domestic and international issues.

1.3.2 DECISION-MAKING THEORY

Decision-making theory is based on the concept of highlighting the importance of informal elements in the process of policy decisions along with the formal institutions. It is an attempt to use cognitive approaches based on rational or analogical reasoning to act upon a pressing issue of concern. It highlighted the failure of structural-realists to explain the outbreak of World War - I because of the failure of rational decisions on part of the major powers. Thus, it is a response to the failure of the rational decision makers to formulate adequate policy responses to various issues of high concern such as management of conflicts. It is also developed as a response to threatening actions on part of any irrational state actor/actors. Thus, the decision-making theory gained impetus when the international order got threatened by conflicts and wars. It developed as a response to these systematic imperatives to focus upon the national security as the goal of the foreign policy authority. According to the Decision-Making Theory, the foreign policy making is, in fact, a process of decision making. States take actions because people in the governments – decision makers – choose those actions.

1.3.3 PROCESS OF DECISION MAKING

“Decision-making is usually defined as a process or sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search for information, definition of alternatives and the selection of an actor of one from two or more alternatives consistent with the ranked preferences”. It is a steering process in which adjustments are made as a result of feedback from the outside world. There are various stages involved in the process of decision-making. The whole process can be divided all these into four different categories which are: Policy initiation, policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation.

1.3.3.1 Policy Initiation

Policy initiation is the crucial stage of decision-making. A policy is initiated, generally, in the background of problems or critical issues. But policies are not taken as soon as problems

arise and this generally happens. There may be a gap between the emergence of problem and the taking of a decision or clusters of decisions. The policy may originate at the level of the government or from the level of masses through political parties, pressure groups, public opinion, mass media, and political agitation depending upon the type of regime prevailing in a state.

1.3.3.2 Formulation of Decision

The next stage in the process is to adopt a decision and this is called policy/decision formulation. This involves evaluation of various proposals and alternatives available before the policy-makers. The task is to select the best alternative available. The quality and efficacy of the decision depends to a large extent on the elements with the help of which it has been made.

1.3.3.3 Implementation of Policy

Implementation of decision is the third stage of policy. Once a decision has been implemented the formulators will have to study the impact of the decision. If the policy fails to reach the goal, its revision or reformulation will be required. In fact, the implementation of policy is a stage which can warn the formulators. In democratic systems the impact of the implementation of policy is highly considered because the persons want to know the effects of policy. This they did taking account of the forth-coming elections.

1.3.3.4 Evaluation

The final stage of the decision-making process is the evaluation. The decision makers or the executives sit to ponder over the pros and cons of the policy. The chief objective is to study the success and failure of the policy. It collects facts, data or information about the decision and on the basis of all these the evaluation task is done. The communication network function and the political system is fully utilized for this purpose.

1.3.4 CONTRIBUTION OF RICHARD SNYDER IN DECISION-MAKING THEORY

Richard Snyder has contributed in applying the rational decision making process in the studies of International Politics to a significant level. He makes the analysis of decision making to the analysis of international policies in general and power politics in particular. During the Cold War period and its aftermath, Snyder's decision-making approach is being profusely used to explain the international events and the actions of the big and superpowers.

Given that in international politics, there are several actors such as states, individuals, international organisations, transitional organisations etc., in case of foreign policy choices, both the states and the individuals are actors. It is the duty of the state to prepare the general guideline of any foreign policy and the decision-makers prepare the foreign policy. This is the decision-making. Without individuals (they may be bureaucrats, technocrats or any other person) the decision making concept will never be translated into reality. In fact, the state is an abstract concept. It is the individuals who perform everything and the decisions go in the name of state. It has been observed by the critics that the decision-making theory is more concerned with the processes of decision-making and less with the consequences of decisions. Thus, Snyder's approach to decisions-making is focused on a particular aspect in which individuals play important part.

Snyder is a pioneer in this field and he has drawn our attention to the fact that decision making approach can conveniently be used to study foreign policy and to investigate international events. In collaboration with Burton and Spain, he studied the factors and circumstances that influence and shape foreign policy of nations in international politics. They published a paper in 1954 titled "Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics". Snyder begins with the simple idea that all political action is taken by human beings, and if we want to understand the dynamics of this action, we should try to see the world from the angle of the persons who are responsible for making decisions.

So, a proper understanding and analysis of decisions is possible only by taking into consideration the political actors, situation and the process of decision-making.

According to him, decision-making is influenced by three factors – internal setting, external setting and decision making process. Internal setting refers to the society for which decisions are made. It includes public opinion, values held by the people, structures and functioning of social and political institutions, differentiation and specialization. External setting refers to the actions and reactions of the states and the surrounding physical world. In so far as the decision-making process is concerned, it includes competence, communication and motivation. Competence means roles and structure. Communication means the channels of information. Motivation means the goals of the organisation for the realisation of which decisions are made.

However, Snyder is also criticised for his theory on a number of points. Critics of decision-making approach raise objections about its too much emphasis on rationality in the process of decision-making. The adherence to rationality by the foreign policy makers cannot be expected on permanent bases. Rationality is associated with the concept of economic man and not with foreign policy maker. Situations, alternatives, circumstances or type and extent of information and value system of a society have great influence on the process of decision making. They are subject to change in case the concept of rationality will prove futile.

1.3.5 DECISION-MAKING MODELS

There is a large proliferation of the decision-making theory. It is applied in business organisation, domestic politics as well as international politics. So many varieties or models of decision making process appeared over the period. According to Joe Holtsi, decision-making models are of three types – bureaucratic-organisational model, small group politics (also referred to as groupthink) and individual leader's model.

In bureaucratic-organisation politics, traditional models called for a clear distinction between politics and decision-making, administration, implementation and a presentation of that distinction. The focal point of decision-making in a bureaucratic organization is the political character of bureaucracies and certain aspects of organisational behaviour. Values, experiences and standard procedures of an organization either shape or distort the implementation of certain decisions. Hence, organizational decision-making has a political undertone dominated by bargaining for resources, roles and missions, and by compromise rather than analysis.

The second model, which is the small group politics, aims to assess the impact of group dynamics on decision-making. Sociology and social psychology has been employed by analysts to impact of small group politics on decision-making process. Group suggestions have more impact on the quality of decisions than separate individual preferences. This is so because groups are made up of individuals with distinct qualities, specialists in their fields, dispersed in an effective division of labour and high-quality debates that will bring out the best. Defiance in a fraction of a group enhances performance in decision-making. If a group is constantly cohesive in nature, performance may be reduced in decision making.

The third model deals with role of individual leaders in decision-making process. Policy makers (political leaders) have different characters. The anomalies emerge due to influence of individual leaders, as postulated by cognitive psychology, range from paranoia, authoritative displacements of private motives on public objects, etc. limited human capabilities often inhibit rational decision-making. These limited capabilities could be an individual's capacity to process and assimilate information about a situation, inability to order preferences on a single utility scale. As such, conceptions have arisen as to the strategies of the decision-maker in dealing with half-truths, conflicting information, and complex situation.

1.3.6 LET US SUM UP

The decision-making approach is not without any limitations. But the mere fact is that it has immense importance in the present day structure of administration and relation between authority and public. The state must do some works for the welfare of the people, and that requires policy formulation.

The state cannot move in an uncharted sea and if it tries to do so that will be a fruitless venture. Hence, for the proper and effective performance and administration, decision/policy is essential and if so there must be a logical and scientific method of policy making. Decision-making is an important part of state administration and we should not have any hesitation in admitting that Snyder has done a seminal job by initiating and popularizing the decision-making approach to politics.

Early in the twenty-first century, neuroscience is bringing emotion back into theories of individual choice and collective moods and transforming understanding of decision making with significant consequences for the analysis of foreign policy and international politics. This is essential because all other theories of international relations cannot function effectively without some level of decision-making theory. Through the analysis of decision-making, central key concepts in international politics – deterrence and reassurance, nuclear proliferation, nuclear strategy, onset of war, signalling and bargaining, peace, conflict management and resolution – are explored by political psychologists.

It is pertinent to note that a leader's views and teachings affect his actions. We can clearly observe considerable difference in foreign policy of the United States under President Bush and President Obama where the former is a Republican and the latter is a Democrat. Their responses to terrorism and terrorists differ. We can rightly say that decision-making is principally dependent on the 'person' of the policy maker.

1.3.7 EXERCISES

1. What are the different structures involved in the process of decision-making?
2. What are the different factors that influence the process of decision-making?
3. Write a short note on the meaning and nature of decision-making approach in the study of International Politics.

1.4 PEACE APPROACH (JOHAN GALTUNG)

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 1.4.0 Objectives**
- 1.4.1 Introduction**
- 1.4.2 Peace Research: History**
- 1.4.3 Galtung's Peace Research Approach**
 - 1.4.3.1 Tripartite Division of Peace Research
 - 1.4.3.2 Diagnosis-Prognosis-Therapy Triangle
 - 1.4.3.3 Negative and Positive Peace
 - 1.4.3.4 Direct-Structural-Cultural Violence Triangle
 - 1.4.3.5 Faultlines
- 1.4.4 Galtung's Critique on Global Structure**
 - 1.4.4.1 Belligerent Democracies and Confederation
- 1.4.5 Peace by Peaceful Means**
- 1.4.6 Critical Evaluation of Galtung's Peace Approach**
- 1.4.7 Let us sum up**
- 1.4.8 Exercise**
- 1.4.9 References**

1.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Lesson, you will be able to understand:

- Emergence and historical evolution of peace studies and their importance;
- the methodological and conceptual bases for John Galtung's peace approach;
- the distinction between negative peace and positive peace;;
- Galtung's critique of Global structures;
- critique of John Galtung's peace approach.

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Amidst the prevailing complexities in international relations, peace research approach has emerged one of most significant approaches in the field of social sciences to find out root causes and subsequently, to make strategies to resolve various problems that are bringing the bitterness in bilateral, trilateral or multilateral relations. Throughout the history philosophers and political thinkers have been concerned with the issues of violence and peace. Time to time, they have expressed their opinions on war and peace. Immanuel Kant recognized the centrality of perpetual peace for survival of mankind. The destruction left by two World Wars in the 20th century increased quest for peace among the statesmen and academic circles. This led to the emergence of peace research as an academic discipline in the form of peace studies. Peace research approach became the central feature of this new academic field.

1.4.2 PEACE RESEARCH: HISTORY

The term 'peace research' is often used to refer to existing institutes and activities. Although peace research is as old as humankind, yet it was not an organized activity prior to the Second World War. As Peter Wallensteen states, peace research has existed as "an organized activity" since the middle of the 1950s. At that time, first institutions, concerned

with concepts like “conflict analysis”, “conflict resolution” and “peace research”, were formed in the western countries. The International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) was established in January 1959. The PRIO was the first entity that openly professed a dedication to peace research in its very name. A grant was given to Johan Galtung by the Institute for Social Research in Oslo to draft a research programme in the field of peace studies. The programme was accepted, with the US social psychologist Otto Klineberg as a consultant and work was started in June 1959 with five researchers and five research programmes. Apart from PRIO, in 1964, the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) was founded at London with the important support of UNESCO. The IPRA contributed a lot in the field of peace research.

Johan Galtung is generally regarded as the father of modern peace research. He founded the world’s first Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1959. Over the past 50 years, as the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies, Galtung has authored 95 books and over 1000 articles. Galtung was also instrumental in helping to bring a peaceful end to the series of four border wars between Peru and Ecuador in 1999. His major publications are Gandhi’s Political Ethics, Essays in Peace Research, True Worlds, There Are Alternatives and Peace by Peaceful Means. He developed many innovative concepts and terms in the field of peace research. His writings reflect original thinking. His scholarship and personal support have led to the development of many university based peace study programmes around the world. Apart from this, Galtung has been actively engaged as a conflict resolution facilitator in diverse conflict situations such as Somalia, former Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland, South Caucasus, the Basque area in Spain and France, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and those dealing with China, Tibet and Taiwan and between North and South Korea and the Gulf region.

1.4.3 GALTUNG'S PEACE RESEARCH APPROACH

Johan Galtung is generally regarded as the father of modern peace research. He founded the world's first Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1959. He developed many innovative concepts and terms in the field of peace research. His writings reflect original thinking. His scholarship and personal support have led to the development of many university based peace study programmes around the world. Apart from this, Galtung has been actively engaged as a conflict resolution facilitator in diverse conflict situations such as Somalia, former Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland, South Caucasus, the Basque area in Spain and France, Lebanon, Sri Lanka, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and those dealing with China, Tibet and Taiwan and between North and South Korea and the Gulf region.

Johan Galtung views peace research as an inter-disciplinary activity and it is international in nature. He explains that it should be holistic and ever more global. In his peace research approach, Galtung provides a comprehensive analysis of non-violent conflict resolution. Examining peace and violence from different perspective, Galtung argues that these are multidimensional and hence, a holistic approach is required to analyze the peace and violence. In his writings, especially in the *True Worlds* and *Peace by Peaceful Means*, he has classified peace research and discussed issues of peace and violence in detail.

1.4.3.1 Tripartite Division of Peace Research

Johan Galtung divides peace research into three branches:

- **Empirical:** It is based on empiricism. A systematic comparison of theories is made with the empirical data. Theories are revised in case they do not agree with data or data emerges stronger than the theory.
- **Critical:** This branch is based on criticism. A systematic comparison of empirical realities is done with the values and attempts are made to bring a change in reality if does not agree with values and/or values merge as stronger than reality.
- **Constructive:** This branch of peace research is based on constructivism. A systematic comparison of theories is done with values. Further attempts are made

to adjust the theories to values while producing a new reality. All this is done as values proves stronger than theories.

These branches of peace research collectively make the following data-theories-values triangle:

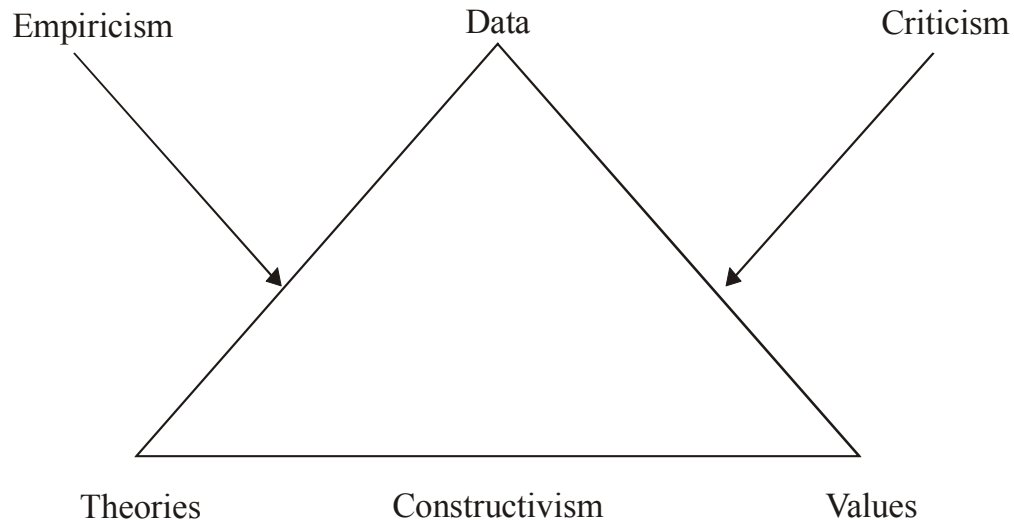


Diagram: The Data-Theories-Values Triangle (Galtung, 1985:152)

1.4.3.2 Diagnosis-Prognosis-Therapy Triangle

Galtung has compared peace studies with the health studies. He argues that diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle can also be applied in peace studies.

Peace studies share a common idea of a system with health studies which is made up of various actors and/or, of cells. A system in peace studies espouses well-states and ill-states. The word-pair “health/disease” of health studies is similar to “peace/violence” of peace research. Both well-states and ill-states are in need of diagnosis or analysis not only of violence and disease. Peace has its own conditions and contexts which are different from the conditions for violence. But sometimes, conditions of peace can be related to

conditions of violence. Equitable relationship is a condition for peace especially among the states. But, even then, there can be violence in a non-exploitative system if there is something wrong within on single actor. Similarly, although stable equilibrium of the key parameters of the human body is a condition for health, yet despite this equilibrium, one cell or a colony of cells may go wrong.

Peace researchers must look for causes, conditions and contexts in various spaces such as nature, human social, time, world and culture. Galtung opines that this transdisciplinary spectrum makes peace research intellectually difficult and problematic in practice. Galtung writes that if system of states falls out of its 'well-states' and shows the symptoms of 'ill-states', it needs to be prognosis that "... whether system is capable of adequate Self-restoration to the well-state, or whether some Other-intervention is needed (Galtung, 1996: 1)."

Galtung does not identify external intervention with the therapy. He argues that external intervention can actually make system worse in the end. Self may also be capable of providing adequate therapy. Moreover, self-restoration does not necessarily mean conscious and deliberate intervention. The system simply may take care of itself. Like human body, system of states has "miraculous capacity" to restore equilibrium through "hyper-complex mechanisms" (Galtung, 1996: 1). Hence, instead of intervention, here, Galtung suggests that to provide the positive conditions for the "restorative" functions.

Therapy is the deliberate efforts by self or other to move the system back again toward some well-state. System needs both curative as well as preventive therapy. Because even if systems are symptom-free and there is a prevalence of negative peace then, equilibrium will be very unstable. A minor insult can tip the system into ill-state. In case of the prevalence of positive peace in a system, equilibrium is more stable and has more capacity of self-restoration. Curative therapy aims at the former and preventive at the latter. Galtung says that both types of therapy are required for peace.

1.4.3.3 Negative and Positive Peace

Peace research, for Galtung, is a research into the conditions for moving closer to peace or at least not drifting closer to violence. He discusses two compatible definitions of peace: (Galtung, 1996: 9):

- First, that it “...is the absence/reduction of all kind of violence” and;
- Second that peace is a “...nonviolent and creative conflict transformation.”

First definition is violence-oriented and second is conflict-oriented. Galtung considers the later more dynamic rather the former. He classifies peace into two categories – negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace means the absence of violence and positive means integration of human society. These two types of peace are conceived as two separate dimensions. Hence one can be possible without other. Negative peace is what one see in a world dominated by one state or supra-national organization such the United Nations which is equipped with coercive power and readiness to use it and that may be used to bring about integration, i.e. positive peace. Negative peace is pessimistic, curative and peace not always by peaceful means. Positive peace is optimistic, preventive and peace by peaceful means. Task of the peace research is to study both negative and positive aspects of the peace.

1.4.3.4 Direct-Structural-Cultural Violence Triangle

Galtung says that peace and violence are linked to each other. The creating peace means reduction and prevention of violence. And similarly, violence means harming or hurting. Life is capable of suffering of physical and mental violence. Besides, it also capable of experiencing pleasure that comes to the body and mind. Violence hurts body, mind and spirit. It is avoidable insults to basic human needs and more generally to life.

Depending on how it operates, Johan Galtung provides three categories of violence – direct, structural and cultural – which are given as following:-

- **Direct Violence:** Direct violence is also termed as personal violence. There is a perpetrator who intends the consequences of violence. Absence of personal violence is called ‘negative peace’.
- **Structural Violence:** Structural violence is known as indirect violence. It is also referred to as ‘social injustice’. This comes from the structure of society itself. It can be between humans, between sets of societies and sets of alliances or regions in the world. It is invisible and can be much more destructive. Inside human beings, there is the indirect, non-intended and inner-violence which comes out of the personality structure. Two main forms of outer structural violence in politics and economics are repression and exploitation. Both have significant negative impact on body and mind. Hence, structural violence may be the frozen direct violence of past conquest or repression, like colonialism, slavery or economic exploitation. It can result into revolutionary and counter-revolutionary violence. Absence of structural violence is called ‘positive peace’ which is referred to as ‘social justice’. (Galtung, 1969: 183).
- **Cultural Violence:** Cultural violence is symbolic in religion, ideology language, art, science, law, media and education. It is also invisible, but with clear intent to harm, even kill, indirectly, through words or images in symbolically. This is the violence of priests, intellectuals and professionals. Its simple function is to legitimize the direct and structural violence. In the words of Galtung, “cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong”. (Galtung, 1990: 291).

Galtung (1985: 152) views direct violence as an “event”, structural violence as a “...process with ups and downs”, and cultural violence as an “invariant”, and “permanence”. Structural violence often breeds structural violence and personal violence often breeds personal violence. Cases of cross-breeding between two are also there. To explain the direct-structural and cultural violence triangle, Galtung has applied the concept of power and identified four dimensions of power impacting positive and negative peace. These

dimensions are cultural, economic, military and political. Galtung emphasizes that vicious spiral of violence can be broken with the virtuous spiral of peace flowing from cultural peace through structural peace to direct peace. This process would bring about positive peace.

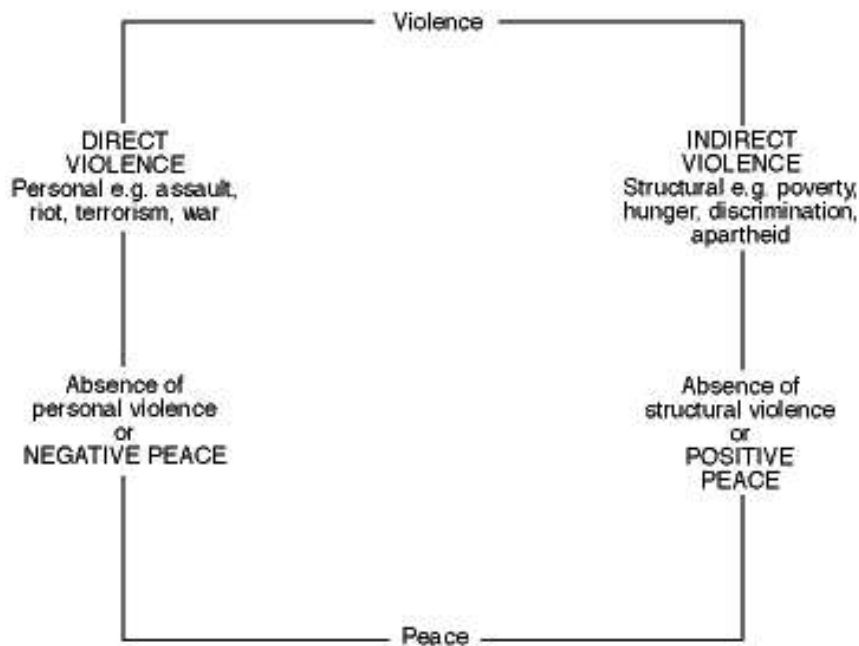


Diagram: Linkages of Violence and Peace (Galtung, 1969: 183)

1.4.3.5 Faultlines

Galtung identifies ten fault-lines which serve to organize structural violence at local, regional and global levels. These fault-lines are human/non-humans; gender (male/female); generation (old/young); race (white/coloured); class (high/low); nation (high/low); countries (centre/peripheries); and the three edges in the state-civil society-capital triangle, in social and

world space. Thus, the terms such as speciesism, sexism (patriarchy), ageism (gerontocracy), racism, classism, nationalism, territorialism, statism, anarchism, capitalism and super-statism (imperialism) carry connotations of direct, structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1996: 61).

1.4.4 GALTUNG'S CRITIQUE OF GLOBAL STRUCTURE

Galtung was the critic of existing global structure. He favoured global social integration which, according to him, can alleviate the problem of rank disequilibrium within actors. Galtung divides world into 'centre' and 'periphery' nations. He says that imperialism is not merely an international relationship, but a combination of intra and international relations. He conceives of imperialism as a dominance relation between centre and periphery nations. The Centre or elite of the periphery nation forms a bridgehead for the centre nation. This relationship creates a 'disharmony of interest' and widening gap in living condition between the nations as a whole. Nevertheless, a harmony of interests can be observed between the centre of the periphery nation and the centre of the centre nation (Galtung, 1971: 82).

Galtung identifies two basic mechanisms of imperialism. The vertical interaction relation is the major mechanism behind the inequality between centre and periphery. The feudal interaction structure is the mechanism which maintains and reinforces this inequality. Interaction is vertical when it takes place across a gap in processing levels. The mechanism is located in the international division of labour. The periphery nations export raw material and centre nations export manufactured goods. The processing stage generates spin-off or external economies for the centre nations (Galtung, 1971: 82-83 and; Gidengil, 1978: 51-52). The same is denied for the periphery nations. This is result into inequality which is perpetuated by the feudal interaction structure. In a way, all this is an expression of the old strategy of divide and rule.

This feudal interaction is characterized by high degrees of interaction between centre nations, lesser degrees of interaction between centre and periphery nations, and very little interaction between periphery nations. This structure has two important economic

consequences. First, there is the concentration on trade partners, with the periphery having most of its trade with one centre nation, while that nation is free to extend its trade relations in any direction. Then there is the commodity concentration, with periphery nations tending to have only one or a few primary products to export. The combined effect of these two consequences, according to Galtung, is a dependency of the periphery on the centre (Gidengil, 1978: 51-52).

1.4.4.1 Belligerent Democracies and Confederation

Galtung does not believe in the peaceful character of democracies. He views them to be belligerent. Democracies also seem ready to use violence to maintain their power and privileges arising from their high ranking in the global pyramid. To make modern system of states less violent, Galtung suggest establishing a confederation of states. In the suggested confederation, it would be easy to reach unity as the cooperation would not be imposed from outside. In this type of system, there would always options of exit and reorganization for the states.

1.4.5 PEACE BY PEACEFUL MEANS

Galtung explains that violence breeds violence and peace breeds peace. He projects positive peace as a higher ideal than negative peace. Positive peace is feasible. Negative peace is useful for the short term. But, positive peace is the only the longer-term remedies for violence. To make, build and sustain the peace, it needs to be looked at in totality at all levels of human organization. Positive peace can be ensured through peaceful means. Peace education, peace training and peace journalism are necessary for a long-term peace in the society. Elite, peace researchers and people can play a decisive role to make a peace.

1.4.6 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF GALTUNG'S PEACE APPROACH

Peace research in general has face criticism from various quarters. It is said that it does not produce practical prescriptions for managing or resolving global conflicts. Argument has been made by the critics that it is focused on putting a respectable face on the western self-loathing. They also terms peace research as hypocritical because of its tacit or open support to terrorism as a permissible strategy for the disempowered to redress real or perceived grievances against the powerful. Human right activist Caroline Cox and Roger Scruton opine that the curricula of peace research is intellectually incoherent and riddled with bias and unworthy of academic status.

Galtung's peace research approach has also been criticized by different scholars. Kenneth Boulding (1977: 83) calls Galtung's thought as 'heavily normative' and further says that Galtung is responsible for down-gradation of study of international peace. Because he leveled it as 'negative peace' and introduced concepts such as 'structural violence' and 'positive peace' which are metaphors rather than models. Boulding believes that such ideas dragged peace researchers into theoretical areas where they have little expertise. Besides Boulding, Barbara Kay has also criticized the views of Johan Galtung. Kay writes that Galtung has written on the 'structural fascism' of 'rich, Western, Christian' democracies. Moreover, Galtung had admired Fidel Castro and opposed resistance to the Soviet Invasion of Hungary in 1956. He has also praised Mao-Tse-Tung for 'endlessly liberating' China and termed the US as a 'killer country' which is guilty of 'neo-fascist state terrorism'. He has also compared the US to Nazi Germany for bombing Kosovo during the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

Despite all criticisms, Galtung's ideas remain the foundation of peace research. His ideas are a counter-weight to the realist theory of international relations because he has not given too much credit to state as the realists do. Thus, one can say that Galtung's peace research approach is valuable to ensure long-term peace in the world. Positive peace is the central idea of peace research approach advocated by Johan Galtung.

1.4.7 LET US SUM UP

The theory of peace has undergone changes since 1964 and Galtung's views on peace and violence have changed to a broadened focus on causes and effects of violence and peace. Galtung states that an adequate understanding of violence is required in order to understand and define peace. So, Galtung moved away from the actor-oriented explanation of peace and violence to structure-oriented explanation where the central idea was the violence exists because of the structure and the actors merely carry out the violence. His definition of structural violence leads to an extended definition of peace, where peace is not merely an absence of direct violence (negative peace) but also absence of structural violence (positive peace). Structural violence stems from violence in the structure of society, rather than the actor-generated personal violence. Galtung acknowledges that poverty (structural violence) or media glorification of violence (cultural violence) are also forms of violence. We all agree with Galtung's proposition that understanding how violence originates and operates at all levels, and how and why violence is used as a method of conflict resolution is, therefore, necessary to develop a theory of peace.

1.4.8 EXERCISE

1. Why Johan Galtung considered as father of peace research?
2. Explain Galtung's tripartite division of peace research.
3. How do you understand Diagnosis-Prognosis-Therapy Triangle?
4. Peace is a "nonviolent and creative conflict transformation". How do you understand this?
5. Explain Galtung's direct-structural-cultural violence triangle.
6. Galtung views direct violence as an "event", structural violence as a "process with ups and downs", and cultural violence as an "invariant", and "permanence". Elaborate.
7. Write briefly about Galtung's critique of Global Structure.
8. What are the limitations or criticism of Galtung's peace approach?

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2.1 NATIONAL POWER: MEANING, FORMS AND ROLE

- Chetan

STRUCTURE

- 2.1.0 Objectives**
- 2.1.1 Introduction**
- 2.1.2 The Concept of National Power**
- 2.1.3 Meaning of Power**
- 2.1.4 Forms/Methods of Use of Power**
 - 2.1.4.1 Persuasion
 - 2.1.4.2 Rewards
 - 2.1.4.3 Punishment
 - 2.1.4.5 Force
- 2.1.5 Role of National Power**
- 2.1.6 Let us sum up**

2.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the meaning of National Power;
- the forms through which states use their power;
- the role of power in international relations.

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This lesson will be concerned with an analysis of the concept of national power which is one of the most crucial concepts in the vocabulary of international politics. We discuss here the various perspectives with which the concept of power has been and can be analysed.

2.1.2 THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL POWER

National power is a vital and inseparable feature of the state system, through which states implement their policies, domestic as well as foreign. To understand the concept of 'National Power', we have to grasp the meaning of 'power' and 'nation', especially in relation to international politics. By 'power' we mean the power of man over the minds and actions of other men, a phenomenon to be found whenever human beings live in social contact with one another. On the other hand, a 'nation' is an abstraction from a number of individuals who have certain characteristics that make them members of the same nation. Besides being a member of a nation and thinking, feeling and acting in that capacity, the individual may belong to a religion, a social or economic class, a political party, a family, and may think, feel and act in these capacities. Apart from being a member of all these social groups, he is also a human being pure and simple, and thinks, feels and acts in that capacity. Therefore, when we speak in empirical terms of the power or of the foreign policy of a certain nation, we can only mean the power or the foreign policy of certain individuals who belong to the same nation.

States are inexorably driven to the struggle for power simply because they wish to survive. As Reinhold Niebuhr has pointed out, there is "no possibility of drawing a sharp line between the will-to-live and the will-to-power". Of course, power may be mobilized beyond the peaceful requirements of states, and it may be abused and misused, but the wrongful use of power does not in itself destroy the need of states to possess power; in fact the evil use of power by some states is the best reason why other states must have power.

Viewed historically, the fact of state power antedated the formulation of the theory of sovereignty. What Bodin and other political philosophers did was to recognize a fait accompli and offer ethical justification for what had already happened. The legal justification of a state's power is to be found in the concept of sovereignty; the ethical defence is to be sought in the responsibility imposed on the state for seeing to the security of its people and their interests. The nature of power, its propensity to rush into and occupy every nook and crevice, is to be explained partly by the diligence of states in striving to enhance their security – power being regarded as the best assurance of security in the present nation-state system – and partly by a natural impulse to power. In his interesting study of power, Russell said that “every man would like to be God, if it were possible; some few find it difficult to admit the impossibility”.

There is, however, another side to the picture. About half a century ago a distinguished English student of International Relations, G. Lowes Dickinson, pointed out the “absurdity” of the reliance of every state on power. In answer to the question “why must the state be strong” he found that the usual answer is “to defend itself from attack”.

2.1.3 MEANING OF POWER

In a very broad sense, power can be defined as the ability or capacity to control others and get them to do what one wants them to do and also to see that they do not do what one does not want them to do. It is the ability of a state to make its will prevail and to enforce respect and command obedience from other states. It can also be defined as the ability to control the behaviour of other states in accordance with one's own will.

It is often believed that wealth, resources, manpower and arms confer power on nations. But their importance is to be judged in accordance with whether or not they are used successfully to influence the behaviour of other states. In general, wealth is an important element of power because with it a state can offer reward to influence the behaviour of other states. Wealth can also be used to purchase other elements of power, especially the

instruments of coercion. But the mere possession of wealth does not ensure power. For example, United States did not possess much power in international relations for a long time, even though she was rich enough. It is the use of resources, and not merely their possession, which imparts power to a nation.

It is thus clear that the mere possession of resources does not guarantee power. In order to attain power, the resources must be used and so used that a nation becomes able to influence the behaviour of other nations, for the capacity to do so is the essence of power. Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, thus, define power as ‘participation in decisions’.

This definition is not generally accepted because it does not accommodate the entire content of power, whereas power as the ability to influence or control other’s behaviour can reach the point of not merely participating in but actually monopolizing decisions. This definition of power should also indicate that when a state tries to influence the behaviour of other states, it enters the realm of politics because politics is the struggle for power.

Sometimes power is defined as the control over men’s minds. But this definition seems to offer little advantage because, as the working of a mind cannot be seen, we can depend only on behaviour. It should also be remembered that all nations are not engaged in international politics to the same extent at all times.

According to Hans J. Morgenthau, power in a political context means, “the power of man over the minds and actions of other men”. He further defines that it is a “psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter through the influence which the former exerts over the latter’s mind”. Similarly, George Schwarzenberger defined it as the “capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance”. He distinguished it from both influence and force by regarding it as containing a threat not present in influence and yet stopping short of the actual use of force. For Charles P.

Schleicher “power is the ability to exercise such control to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward them, or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value’. According to Organski, power is “the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own ends. Unless a nation can do this she may be large, she may be wealthy, she may even be great, but she is not powerful”.

E.H. Carr pointed out, “in its essence, power is an indivisible whole”; and while it must be somehow divided to permit an intelligible discussion, all theoretical divisions must be made with the realization that “it is difficult in practice to imagine a country for any length of time possessing one kind of power in isolation from the others. Thus, a state having the industrial establishment to sustain great military power is likely to be in a position to make effective use of devices of economic coercion and military and economic power give strength to moral suasion, even when there is no suggestion of their use.

Carr divided power basically into three categories:-

- Military power
- Economic power
- Power over opinion

The paramount importance of ***military power*** lies in the fact that it is the end argument, the last word, the final court of appeal. “Every act of the state, in its power aspect, is directed to war, not as a desirable weapon but as a weapon which it may require in the last resort to use”.

Economic power is inseparable from military power, for it is one of its basic components, to say that under conditions of modern warfare economic power is military power is only a slight exaggeration. But economic power is not limited to its part in the building of a military machine. Control of markets, raw materials, credits and transportation is another form.

Power over opinion, now usually spoken of as propaganda, encompasses the building of national morale at home, psychological warfare abroad, and the fight for moral leadership everywhere. It too is inseparable from other forms of national powers, for it is always used to stimulate domestic production, fighting spirit, and the willingness to sacrifice; and it is used abroad to recruit allies and weaken the enemy.

A distinction is also sometimes made between capability and power. By the former is meant the potential to be and by the latter the effect of the mobilization of the capability.

Robert Dahl defines power in these words, “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”. This definition of power can be helpful only if one can ascertain that A was attempting to make B to do something which B would not have done if A had not intervened. Dahl’s definition could be useful if we could know the actual working of the minds of decision-makers.

2.1.4 FORMS / METHODS OF USE OF POWER

There are four main methods through which states try to secure the desired behaviour of states:-

- Persuasion
- Rewards
- Punishment
- Force

2.1.4.1 Persuasion

If power is defined as the ability to control the behaviour of other states, these methods can also be regarded as the instruments of the exercise of power. Persuasion is considered the easiest method of exercising power, as also the commonest. In this method a nation tries to influence other nations by arguments with a view to convincing them that they

should adopt a course of behaviour suggested by it. It redefines the situation in a manner that other nations change their minds about what they should do. In so doing, it will not offer any new rewards or threaten new punishment but will only point out those which already exist. As a matter of fact, much of diplomacy is based upon the method of persuasion and the success of diplomacy is measured in terms of whether or not and how far a nation is able to exercise power through the manipulation of the art of persuasion without having to resort to the methods of rewards, punishment and force.

2.1.4.2 Rewards

Another method of the exercise of power is used by offering rewards. In this method a nation tries to influence the behaviour of other nations by promises of rewards. The rewards that can be offered are many and of varied types. Most often the rewards that are offered are material, economic and political. These rewards may consist of territories or colonies, of military aid in the form of weapons, troops, bases or training facilities and personnel or of a promise to allow passage to troops, or of a promise not to interfere in some dispute with others. The reward may be economic also. In the post-1945 period the most important form of the exercise of power by means of rewards is the economic aid. This is the method which both the United States and the Soviet Union followed during Cold War. The economic aid can be either in the form of trading contracts or concessions or even in the form of technical assistance. Also, there are political rewards which include a grant of political freedom or increased self-government to a dependent area, or support for another nation's viewpoint at an international conference or a favourable vote in an international organization, or a promise not to embarrass the other nation or nations by bringing some controversy into the public.

2.1.4.3 Punishment

As a matter of fact, rewards and punishments are closely interrelated, because one of the most effective punishments is to withhold a particular reward, just as one of the most effective rewards is to refrain from some punitive action which could otherwise be taken.

The most effective punishment is the one which is never meted out because the very threat of it should succeed in preventing the action of which the punisher disapproves and in getting a promise of an action or behaviour which the punisher desires. If at all the punishment is actually carried out it should be done in such a manner that it can be withdrawn immediately after the offending party corrects itself to the satisfaction of the punishing party. However, punishment may consist of any action of a state which is unpleasant to other state or states.

2.1.4.4 Force

When the punishment is actually carried out it becomes the use of force. With the help of physical force, a state can compel another state to behave in a desired manner. The most extreme form of the use of force is war. The object of war is to prevent undesirable behaviour as also ensure desired behaviour of other in future. But the use of force in the form of compulsion is designed to produce result, not in future, but in present.

2.1.5 ROLE OF NATIONAL POWER

National power is the currency of international relations. Each nation seeks to use its power for securing its national interests in international relations. It is this feature which makes us regard international relations as a process of struggle for power. The nature of this struggle for power can be analysed only through an analysis of the national power of various nations. The role that a nation is playing or can play in international relations can be judged by evaluating its national power. It is also needed for examining the national interest of nations. In fact, the greatest of all the national interests of a nation is to maintain and increase its national power. It is the means for the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of a nation. As such, it is on the basis of an analysis of national power that we can assess the importance and role of nation in international politics.

National power is the basis as well as means of foreign policy. National power is the very basis of the foreign policy of a nation. Only that foreign policy can be effective in securing the national interest which is backed by adequate national power. The ability of

the statesmen and diplomats to act and react is determined by the national power of their respective nations. National power is both the objective and the means. The important of power in international politics can be realized from the fact that it is both an end as well as means. Nations use national power as the means for securing the objectives of national interest. At the same time, to maintain and increase national power is one of the most valuable part of national interests of the nation. As V.V. Dyke has rightly remarked, “power is both the capstone among the objective which states pursue and the cornerstone among the method which they employ”.

Examining the importance of national power in international relations, Frankel has observed that “all politics by definitions, revolves around the exercise and pursuit of power, but in international politics power is considerably more in evidence and less circumscribed than in domestic politics, and hence this field is often described as ‘power politics.’ Power plays the same role in International Politics as money plays in market economy. But at the same time it must be asserted that although power plays a role in most of international transactions and is central in many, yet it is not an ingredient in all. There are certain transactions which are non-political and technical. The border line between political and non-political transactions is very thin, nevertheless it is there. As such while analysing the role of power in international relations we should not ignore the other factors and non-political matters.”

2.1.6 LET US SUM UP

In this lesson we try to explain the concept of National Power. As you studied, states are inexorably driven to the struggle for power simply because they wish to survive. The nature of power is to be explained partly by the diligence of states in striving to enhance their security and partly by a natural impulse to power. In a very broad sense, power can be defined as the ability or capacity to control others and get them to do what one wants them to do and also to see that they do not do what one does not want them to do. It is the ability of a state to make its will prevail and to enforce respect and command obedience from other states. It can also be defined as the ability to control the behaviour of other

states in accordance with one's own will. You also studied the various means in the use the power. These means or methods are persuasion, rewards, punishment and force. Similarly, this lesson also analysed the primary role of power in international politics.

2.1.7 EXERCISE

1. Give some definitions to understand the concept of Power?
2. What is National Power?
3. What are the different forms or methods in the use of Power?
4. Write briefly on role of national power in international politics.

2.2 ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER; TANGIBLE AND NON-TANGIBLE

- Ranjit Singh

STRUCTURE

2.2.0 Objectives

2.2.1 Introduction

2.2.2 Elements of National Power

2.2.3 Tangible Elements

2.2.3.1 Geographic Element

2.2.3.2 Economic Element

2.2.3.3 Military Element

2.2.4 Non-Tangible Elements

2.2.4.1 National Character and National Morale

2.2.4.2 Political Leadership

2.2.4.3 Ideology

2.2.5 Let Us Sum Up

2.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- What is meant by elements that give a nation its power in international politics;
- The importance of tangible elements such as geography, economic and military role in a nation's power; and
- How important the non-tangible elements like leadership and ideology in national power.

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of power is as old as human civilization as human being has always been struggling for the acquisition of power. Modern political scientists Max Webber, George Catlin, Harold Laswell, Robert Dahl, Charles Merriam and Morgenthau accept power as the key element of politics. National Power is a key component of international politics, which is basically a process of struggle for power among nations, whereby each nation seeks to attain the desired goals and objectives of its national interest. Because of the absence of any sovereign or fully powerful centralized international machinery for the authoritative allocation of values among the nations, and because of the sovereign status of each nation-state, the securing of national interest is always done by the use of the power. The ability to employ power for securing of national interest is the determinant of each nation's role in international relations. The concept of National power seeks to analyze the role of power in international relations.

2.2.2 ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER

National Power is the ability or capability of a nation to secure a desired change, or more particularly to control the behaviour of other nations in such a way as can lead to the attainment of certain desired objectives of national interest. This ability of a nation is dependent upon several factors which are together called the components or elements of national power. Frankel prefers to term them as capabilities or capability factors. Another popular, but loose designation is 'determinants of national Power.' We are not inclined to call them determinants because none of these factors or elements is individually determine National Power. ***It is not merely the existence of these factors which makes a nation powerful. It is the ability to skilfully harness and use these factors that leads to national power.*** Hence, we prefer to refer to these as the components or elements or factors of National power.

There are a number of elements of National Power. Many Political Scientists have attempted to classify these. Whereas Morgenthau classifies them into two parts – permanently and changeable, Organski prefers to classify these into the natural and social determinants – the former including geography, resources and population and the latter including economic development, political structures and national morale. Palmer and Perkins classified these elements into two parts: tangible and intangible elements – the former including those elements which can be assessed in quantitative terms and latter including such elements as are ideational and psychological and cannot be quantified. Geography, Economic development (raw materials, natural resources), military, population and technology are the tangible elements, whereas national character & morale, philosophy and ideology are the intangible elements. The elements of national power are so much interdependent and linked that we cannot evaluate one without reference to others. Their interdependence is almost complete and power is indivisible.

2.2.3 TANGIBLE ELEMENTS

The Tangible elements are one of the important aspects of national power. There are three crucial elements that give a country the power to secure its interests. These are:

- 1 Geographic element
- 2 Economic element
- 3 Military element

2.2.3.1 Geographic Element

Amongst the elements of national power, geography is a stable, tangible, permanent and natural element. Its importance as a factor of national power can be judged from the fact that many geo-political scientists, like Moodie, Spykman, Haushofer, Mackinder and others, regard Geography as the determinant of international politics. Napoleon, while describing the importance of geography in international relations observed, “The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography. This is indeed an exaggeration, but there can be no denial of the fact that geography has a decisive impact on national life and is an important

element of national power of a nation. A basic knowledge of human, economic and political geography is essential for an understanding of the present day world. History is sometimes described as geography in motion. Geography includes maps, size, location, climate, topography and boundary.

i) Maps: Maps are always geographical in nature and these are sometimes used by nations to justify a particular course of policy or action as well as to reject the views of other nations. Padelford and Lincoln have stated that “Observers of international relation always need an atlas showing population, raw materials, communication routes and other data and the ability to interpret maps.” The Sino-Indian dispute is a dispute of maps regarding McMahon Line. The Chinese claim of a larger part of Russian territory was again based on maps. The controversy between India and Bangladesh over the issue of New Moore Island involves a dispute involving interpretation of maps. Maps as such are used as instruments for justifying a particular demand or action of a nation.

ii) Size: Size is another geographical element of national power. The large size of a country can accommodate a large population, often better natural resources and raw materials can be more helpful in the Defence of the country. A large size can help the country to defend by retreat followed by an attack. It is definitely more, rather very difficult for a state to defeat a big country. It was also the large size of the erstwhile Soviet Union that helped it to defeat the forces of Hitler. Large area also makes it possible for a country to establish vital industrial complexes far away from the frontiers and thereby, to organize effective defence. Thus size is a component of national power. A united Germany as a big state is bound to be a new powerful state in the world politics of 21st century.

However, size can be both a helping and hindering factor. A large size with inadequate natural resources, inaccessible mountains and forests, unhealthy climate and topography can be a hindrance in the way of the national power. It can also pose a defence problem. The Himalayas in the North and a long sea-coast in the South have made the defence of India a complex and difficult problem. Moreover, the existence of some other factors can help even the small sized states to develop a large amount of national power.

The location of England and rapid industrial development that it could achieve after the industrial revolution helped it to establish and maintain a big empire and be a virtual ruler of the seas till 1945. Japan, even with its small size scored a victory over Russia in 1906. The USA had a relatively smaller territory than the erstwhile USSR yet it had more power than it. Israel offers us another striking example of a small sized country that has demonstrated a disproportionately large amount of power. On the other hand, some large sized countries such as Brazil, Canada, Zaire, Australia and Sudan and now Russia are not nearly as powerful as their size might indicate. In spite of these exceptions, it cannot be denied that a large territory generally creates the possibility of a great power, or conversely, small states like Luxembourg, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Fiji etc. cannot normally expect to be great powers.

iii) Location: Location of a Nation can be helping as well as a hindering factor for her national power. It determines whether a nation can be a sea-power or not. England could become a big-naval power and thereby an imperial power because of its location. The location of Japan has helped it to be a major ship-building nation. Locations of Germany in the heart of Europe and of Russia in the centre of 'World Island' have been sources of strength for these two nations. The location of the USA helped it adopt and follow the policy of isolationism. Further, its location, being relative to land and seas has helped it to be a both land and sea power. The strategic location of Pakistan in Asia has helped to secure favourable responses from some of the Asian and European states. The importance that the USA used to give to Pakistan during 1954-1990 period was also due to its strategic location in the neighbourhood of China and the erstwhile Soviet Union. India's location as sub-continental power of Asia has been a source of strength for its role in international relations. The location of Switzerland has been instrumental in securing for it the status of a neutralized state. Middle East and continental Europe have been the potential zones of power rivalry because of their geographic and strategic locations. Location of Canada has hindered its emergence as a great power. Finland, Norway and Denmark landed into war in 1939-40 because of their strategic locations. Hence a favourable geographical location among other things can help a nation to be powerful and an

unfavourable location can limit the national power. A location along the sea is always helpful for the power of a nation. Land-locked countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Chad, Mali, Bolivia cannot be expected to become economically and politically very powerful nations. Hence location is an element of power.

iv) Climate: No one can deny the importance of climate in the context of National Power. Climate determines the food production, economy and even the culture of a nation. It can be a source of big hindrance or help for the human capabilities. The cold climate of Arctic zone and Antarctic and the excessive heat of the tropical zone and Sahara have kept the development of life backward in these areas. Extreme heat and cold are unfavourable conditions for national strength. The prosperity of India stands in separately conditioned by Monsoons. A failure of Monsoons weakens India and likewise timely and good monsoon rains help India to be self-sufficient and even surplus in food production. It is a well-known fact that the great centres of power have so far arisen only in the moderate temperate zone, between 20 and 60 degrees North. A helpful climate can be source of power and an unkind climate can be a source of weakness. Hot climate makes people slow and lethargic, whereas cold climate makes people study, hardworking and efficient. Thus climate is an element of power.

v) Topography: It is an important factor of power. Terrain can influence the power of a state and its potentials for offence, defence and growth. A nation with plane and artificial boundaries can be easy victim of expansionism on the part of a powerful nation.. Natural Boundaries with strategic advantages are always a source of strength for a nation. It is terrain which determines decisions concerning physical security of the state. The English Channel has been a source of defence and strength for England. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have provided strength to the security of the United States. Since mid-1950s defence of the Himalayas has been a source of limitation on India's power. The lack of a good number of natural harbours along the sea coast has hindered the economic and trade relations of India with other countries. The Soviet foreign policy has always been influenced by a lack of all-weather ports and a lack of system of navigable rivers. All these examples highlight the role of topography in determining of a state.

vi) Boundaries: Boundary is also a Geographic factor of national power. Sharply delaminated boundaries are a source of friendly and cooperative relations among nations of a region. Undefined and disputed boundaries are potent sources of conflict which weakens national power e.g. the boundary disputes between India and China, Israel and Arab states can be quoted as examples. Natural Boundaries are helpful to national power and conversely artificial boundaries are a source of weakness and conflict. “Boundaries, which are well defined, make a nation less prone to boundary disputes while loosely defined national boundaries often yield international boundary disputes.

Thus geography is an element and not an independent determinant of national power. The Geo-politicians overrate its importance. We have to accept its importance but at the same time weigh and analysis it only in the context of other elements. The human element has to be taken into account. As Robert Ricknow has observed, “Although it is well to recognize the contribution of geography to the destiny of the state, it is well also not to over rate it. Men are not trees wholly at the mercy of the environment. Instead men may perversely thrive on obstacles. Nature has frowned more than it has smiled on Scotland and built a super study race that has made notable achievements. A nation without a coast or good harbour can hardly become a sea power, by the same token it is more than rain, sunshine to make crops someone has to cultivate the soil.” As such, the evaluation of Geography as an element of national power has to be made in relation with other factors and not independently.

2.2.3.2 Economic Element

Economic power is a vitally important part of national power of a nation because it is the means for military power and the basis for welfare, prosperity and enlightenment of its people. A nation with developed, healthy and growing economy alone can be a great power in world politics. Effective economic organization and planning are essential ingredients of a powerful nation. Poverty is always a source of limitation of power. It is this factor which is forcing most of the developing countries of the Third World to live with neo-colonialism—economic dependence on the rich nations. The increased importance of

economic instruments of foreign policy is a recognized fact of present day international relations. Only nations with developed economies can use the economic instruments—aid, loan, rewards, trade, grants and denial of rewards or punishment; for securing their desired goals in international relations and thereby further increasing their national power. The level of economic well-being determines the power of a nation.

The economic factor is intimately linked up with industrial capacity of a nation. In this age of industrialization, developed industrial capacity alone can be a source of enduring and effective economic development. Only industrially advanced nations can become great powers. Today the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Japan and Germany are powerful nations because of their huge industrial capacities. They have the ability to process raw materials, and thereby are in a position to control international economy. Industrial capacity of a nation is thus an important factor of national power. Industrial backwardness, despite the possession of raw materials, can be a source of weakness for any nation. The USA, Russia and India have almost equal coal and iron resources, but lack of industrial capacity in India has been responsible for her comparatively weak position. Since her independence, India has been trying to develop her industrial capacity. She has been successful in achieving good progress in this direction. It has been this factor that has made others accept India as a developing and potentially big power. A state must have surplus industrial production if it wants to be economically developed and this can be achieved only through industrialization.

The modern warfare has made industrial capacity a significant factor of military power of a nation. The agricultural production of a country can be increased only through industrialized farming. Increased industrial capacity increases the agricultural capacity and the power of a Nation. Morgenthau has emphasized the importance of economic development and industrial capacity as elements of national power when he observes, “The technology of modern warfare and communications has made the overall development of heavy industries an indispensable element of national power. The quality and productive capacity of the industrial plant, the know-how of the working man, the skill of the engineer, the inventive genius of the scientist, the managerial organization are those factors upon

which industrial capacity of a nation and hence its power depends.” Thus, economic, development and industrial capacity are important elements of national power. However, like other elements these two elements are also closely related to other elements, particularly, raw materials, technology, skilled man power, scientific talent and research, economic resources etc. Their role as elements of power has to be analysed in relation with other factors and not independently.

2.2.3.3 Military Element

Military Power as one of the basic forms of national power of a state. The importance of military factors as an element of national power can be judged from the fact that many persons regard the two as synonymous. Military power is not national power; nevertheless, it is an important part of national power which contributes to its strength effectiveness. Military preparedness is a background factor for the success of foreign policy. Robinson has well observed, “Military preparedness is the most apparent and tangible factor capable of supporting the foreign policy and promoting national interest”. It influences the level of success of foreign policy. The superpowers and other major powers of our times have been big military powers. By virtue of being a major developing military power, India, besides other factors, is considered to be a major power having a potential to be a great power in future.

There are three factors of Military Preparedness. While evaluating military preparedness as a factor of national power we have to take into account three factors (i) War technology or technological innovations, (ii) Military leadership and, (iii) Quantity and Quality of soldiers.

(i) War Technology: War technology refers to the nature and type of weapon system that is available with the army of the state. Modern warfare is a sophisticated technological warfare. The quantity and technical quality of weapons and military equipment is a major factor that determines the level of military power of a nation. Advanced military technology is always a source of strength and strategic advantage. The submarine technology available

to the German Army was responsible for the initial success that Germany secured in the First World War. However, the convoy system and use of big tank battle technique adopted by the Britain, successfully met the German threat and made possible the British victory over Germany. In the Second World War, Atomic technology helped America to inflict a crushing defeat on Japan. Thus, the weapon system and war technology is an important factor in military preparedness.

(ii) Quality of Military Leadership: War technology is an important factor but it can be fruitful only when backed by efficient planning and systematic and effective use. This brings into focus the role of military leadership. Military planning is a valuable factor of military action in a war. Skilled, trained, experienced, dedicated, energetic and disciplined military leadership alone can make the best use of available weapons, equipment and manpower. A war victory can be possible only under effective and efficient military leadership.

(iii) Quantity and Quality of Soldiers: In a war, weapons and equipment play a key role but their role and effectiveness is dependent upon the quantity and quality of soldiers. Military equipment and weapons system is important, but not as much as the soldiers who actually use these weapons and equipment. The number skill, training, discipline and dedication of the soldiers are essential factors which can make possible an effective and successful use of military weapons and machines. Pakistan had a superior weapon system, tanks and aircrafts in both the 1965 and 1971 wars with India, however, it fed to use this superiority to its advantage because of inadequately trained and less killed men behind these machines. Indian soldiers could provide a decisive and befitting answer to Pakistani attack because of their superior qualities which made it possible for them to use a relatively lower level machines and equipment for securing the desired objectives and best possible results.

We have to take into account these three factors for judging the role of military preparedness as an element of national power. The quality of weapons, war technology and morale of the soldiers are more important factors than the quantity of weapons, equipment and soldiers. Israel has been able to secure victories and advantageous positions

in the Middle East wars because of qualitative superiority over the armies and war machinery of Arab countries. However, military preparedness is directly dependent upon such factors as technology, industrial capacity, economic development and state of economy and economic policies of the government, strategic factors etc. and hence it is not an independent determinant of national power.

2.2.4 NON TANGIBLE ELEMENTS

Non-Tangible elements are those elements which are physical and cannot be simply quantifiable the way tangible elements are measured. But they play crucial role in serving a country's interest. The three most important non-tangible elements are:

- National Character and Morale
- Political Leadership
- Ideology

2.2.4.1 National Character and National Morale

An important but intangible element of national power is national character. National character is a collective name for referring to the traits of the people, their attitude and aptitude towards work and national needs. National character undoubtedly influences national power as it manifests qualitative make up of a people in actual behaviour. Sociologists tell us that Russians are known for their sturdiness, elementary force and persistence; Americans for their inventiveness, initiative and spirit of adventure; British for their undogmatic common-sense, and Germans for discipline and industriousness, Japanese for their nationalism, Indians for their tolerance, idealism and faith in rich cultural traditions and Chinese for their cosmic unchangeability. Traits of national character definitely influence the national power of a nation. Analysing the factor of national character Frankel observes: "Although the stereo-types of national character can be grossly misleading, there is some foundation for the observation that different nations tend to develop their own peculiar ways of thinking and acting".

Along with national character, national morale is also an element of national power. National morale, in the context of national power, refers to “the degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policies of its government in peace and war, it permeates all activities of a nation, its agriculture and industrial productions as well as its military establishments and diplomatic service.” Frankel describes it as “the extent to which the people support their leaders, believe in the superiority of their state and in the rightness of their cause.” It is a healthy frame of mind characterized by fidelity to cause. It depends upon a combination of circumstances and the quality of leadership and can be subject to frequent and sometimes sudden fluctuations. Indian morale became quite low after severe reverses in Sino-Indian War of 1962. The success in 1965 and 1971 wars, the successful green revolution and the entry into nuclear club through a peaceful nuclear explosion in May 1974, gave vital strength and reinvigorated the India’s national morale. A high and healthy national morale can be a big source of power which can lead to successful use of power for securing the national interest. High national morale kept the British in high spirits which finally helped them to win the First World War, even after having lost many battles. The high morale of Indian army was a factor in the victory in 1971 war with Pakistan.

National character and morale are elements of national power but their role can be both positive and negative. Further, their evaluation as factors of national power must be done with reference to other human and material factors. The intangibility of these factors particularly national character must also be kept in mind.

2.2.4.2 Political Leadership

Leadership of a nation is an important human element of national power. The utilization of natural resources, raw materials, technology, industrial capacity, military power and ideology for strengthening the national power of a state is dependent upon the qualities of the leadership that runs the government of the state. Civil and Military planning is a function of the political leaders. To make and implement foreign policy is the responsibility of the leadership, the decision-makers in particular. “Political Leaders”, observes V.V. Dyke, “determine in what proportion to allocate resources between military and civilian programs,

that is, how great the military-power-in-being should be. They allocate appropriations among the branches of the armed services. They determine when to seek alliances, with which states to seek them, and on what terms. They decide when and what to concede in relations with other states, and whether and when to stand firm. They declare war and make peace. What they do or fail to do may have a fundamental and lasting impact on the power of the state and for that matter, on the whole course of history.” Between 1985-90 Gorbachev’s leadership acted as a major input for the rapid changes that came to characterize the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Perestroika and Glasnosts were Gorbachev’s brain children which produced astounding changes in the role of the erstwhile USSR in world politics. During this period it became instrumental in producing big changes in the international system.

National Power is really the Power of the decision-makers, the Leaders. The quality of leadership determines the nature and extent of power that a nation uses for securing its national interests. Efficient, devoted and mature leadership can be a source of national power in the sense that a judicious use of power can surely increase the national power and its operational effectiveness.

2.2.4.3 Ideology

“Ideas and ideologies are elements in the power of state.” Pen is mightier than sword or at least pen has might which can be a source of strength for a nation. The ideology that a government upholds is a source of unity and support of the people at home and abroad. The ideology of communism served as a big source of strength for the communist states between 1947-89 period. Ideology has helped nations to influence the development and use of command over power and violence. It serves as a source of unity and strength both at home and abroad. Similarly, the adoption of democratic socialism helped India to establish friendly and cooperative relations with the democratic west and the socialist east. It also acted as a source of popular support for the Government of India. The ideological concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost brought a qualitative change in the relation between the (erstwhile) USSR and the USA, and East and West.

Analysing the role of ideology as an element of national power, V. V. Dyke has observed that “To be strong, a government must stand for ideas which command support at least at home, and it will be stronger if they also command support abroad.” The ideology of nationalism has always been a source of strength for nations. We all know the role which ideology played in strengthening the national powers of the communist state. The ideology of Liberalism has helped America to spread its influence over Eastern Europe and other parts of the globe.

However, a choice of wrong ideology can be a source of weakness. Nazism weakened Hitler’s Germany and Fascism did the same to Mussolini’s Italy. Further, ideological differences within a nation and among nations can be a source of weakness. Capitalism vs. Communism paved the way for the emergence of Cold War between the West and the East. Ideology is closely linked with national power. A suitable popular ideology can increase the power of a nation to explain, justify and secure the goals of national interest. In practice, a nation uses a number of particular ideologies for securing support for its foreign policy objectives. These provide cover to the real intentions of the state and help it to increase and successfully exercise power for producing a desired change and impact upon others. While evaluating the role of ideology as an element of national power, we must also take into account the means which a state has at its disposal for advertising and propagating the ideology. Thus the facilities enjoyed by Voice of America broadcasts are elements of American power.

2.2.5 LET US SUM-UP

To conclude it can be argued that every element of national power has a special significance. The national power depends on the capacity of a nation to use elements of national power effectively and efficiently. Many nations with tremendous natural resources are still weak on account of their failure to tap these resources. Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are gifted with enough raw materials. On the contrary, Japan, Switzerland etc.

are the nations which have scarce natural resources but they have made tremendous economic progress. Therefore the judicious use of elements determines the power of a nation.

2.2.6 EXERCISE

1. The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography. Explain.
2. Economic power is a vitally important part of national power of a nation. Elaborate.
3. Explain the three factors that indicate the military preparedness.
4. Modern warfare is a sophisticated technological warfare. Explain.
5. Traits of national character definitely influence the national power of a nation. Elaborate.
6. Leadership of a nation is an important human element of national power. How do you understand this?
7. Ideology serves as a source of unity and strength both at home and abroad. Explain.

2.3 NATIONAL INTEREST - MEANING, NATURE AND KINDS

- Ranjit Singh

STRUCTURE

- 2.3.0 Objectives**
- 2.3.1 Introduction**
- 2.3.2 Meaning and Nature of National Interest**
- 2.3.3 The Kinds of National Interest**
- 2.3.4 Methods for Promotion of National Interest**
- 2.3.5 Constraints on National Interest**
- 2.3.6 Let Us Sum-up**

2.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- Meaning and nature of National Interests;
- Various kinds of national interest;
- Multiple methods to promote national interest;
- National Interest influence in directing foreign policies of the countries; and
- Various constraints faced by countries in promoting national interest

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of national interest is comparatively a new concept. In the ancient and the medieval times also the states pursued certain substantial interests on the basis of which their relations were conducted. In the early middle ages the laws of Christianity formed the basis of these relations and the states were expected to ensure that their laws etc. conformed to these principles. However with the emergence of the secular power, Church began to be looked upon as the enemy of national interest and the national interests were equated with the interests of the prince of the ruling dynasty. At that time the national interest meant the interest of a particular monarch in holding fast to the territories he already possessed, in extending his domains and in aggrandizement of his house. But in course of time the popular bodies challenged the authority of the monarchs and asserted themselves. This resulted in the growth of democracy and the 'honour of the Prince was replaced by the honour of the nation'. Thus the concept passed from the feudal and monarchical system to the republic and democratic system and soon gained a common usage in the political and diplomatic literature. In short, the term 'national interest' gained currency only with the emergence of the national state system, increase in popular political control and the great expansion of economic relations.

2.3.2 MEANING AND NATURE OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The concept of national interest carries meaning according to the context in which it is used. Brookings Institute defines national interest as general and continuing ends for which a nation acts. Charles Lerche and Abdul Said define it as the general long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation and the government all see themselves as serving. Thus national interest refers to as a permanent guide to the action of the state.

The concept of National Interest has become vague both as an analytical tool and as an instrument of political action. As Mahendra Kumar rightly argues, whatever definitions of national interest have been developed represent a particular approach adopted by a

researcher. But it is difficult to establish any meaningful reconciliation between those definitions.

The various approaches adopted to define national interest can be divided into two broad categories which Joseph Frankel calls the “objectivist” and “subjectivist” approaches. In the first category are included those approaches which view national interest as a concept which can be defined with the help of some objectively definable criteria, whereas the latter category includes those definitions which seek to interpret national interest as a “constantly changing pluralistic set of subjective references”.

Similarly, the definition of national interest depends upon the position which a particular person assumes between several pairs of extremes such as ideals versus self-interests, idealists versus realists, short-term and long-term concerns, and traditional and individual concerns. The task of defining national interest is rendered difficult also because of the fact that there is a very thin boundary between the domestic and international activities of a state.

It is because of these difficulties that some writers have been led to the conclusion that the concept of national interest is too vague to permit any meaningful analysis. Yet it can hardly be denied that national interest is an important concept in policy making and that one can understand its significance in international politics only by trying to define it. This Charles Lerche and Abdul Said would define it as “the general long-term, and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving”. National interest is also defined as that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It covers desires on the part of sovereign state and these desires vary enormously from state to state and from time to time.

National interest is neither “the desirable best” nor “the possible best”. It is both and yet something more. It is a guide which continuously asks policy-makers to keep in view “the desirable best” and try to achieve “the possible best” and thus seek a closer approximation of one to the other. In other words, national interests dictate the nature of

the long-term as well as short-term efforts in foreign policy. Thus national interest is nothing else but the application of a generalised value-synthesis to the overall international situation in which a state has to formulate and execute its foreign policy.

2.3.3 NATURE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

National interests are not constant. They keep on changing with the changed times. Today a nation's interests may demand friendly relations with the outside world. Subsequently national interests may require neutrality or distance from some states and more friendly towards others. Since national interests are changeable they need to be continuously evaluated. With the change in national interests, policies and functions of the state are bound to change. National interests are defined in terms of national power and they are guiding force of international politics. Change in national interests brings about changes in national power. For example in 1962 India suffered defeat at the hands of China which reduced the national power of India to a large extent. But again in 1965 and 1971 in war with Pakistan national power of India enhanced tremendously. Thereafter with nuclear explosions in 1974 and 1998 by India, and development in the fields of industry and technology, India's power and prestige increased at the international level. Today international community recognizes India as a powerful nation and support her claim to the permanent membership of UN Security Council.

2.3.4 THE KINDS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

Different scholars have classified national interest into different categories. According to Thomas W. Robinson, the national interests are of six categories, viz., primary interest, secondary interest, permanent interest, variable interest, general interest, and specific interest.

2.3.3.1 The Primary Interests

These interests of a nation include the preservation of physical, political, and culture identity of the state against possible encroachments from outside powers. Sovereignty, unity and integrity are considered sacrosanct. Whenever any attack is made on the territorial integrity of state, it is repelled with all the might at the disposal of the state. These interests are permanent and the state must defend them at all costs. No compromise of these interests is possible

2.3.3.2 The Secondary Interests

These interests are vital from the point of view of international personality of the state. Though less important than the first one, these secondary interests are quite vital to the existence of the state. These include the protection of the citizens abroad and ensuring of diplomatic immunities for the diplomatic staff, etc. For this purpose every state has signed number of conventions. Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations is important from this point of view.

2.3.3.3 The Permanent Interests

The permanent refer to the relatively constant and long term interests of the state. The change in the permanent interests, if any, is rather slow. An example of this type of national interest is provided by the determination of Britain to maintain freedom of navigation during the past few centuries for the protection of her overseas colonies and growing trade.

2.3.3.4 The Variable interests

Variable interests refer to those interests of a nation which a nation considers vital for national good in a given set of circumstances. In this sense the variable interests of a state are largely determined by “the cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics, and political and moral folkways.”

2.3.3.5 The General interests

The general interests of a nation refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economics, trade, diplomatic intercourse etc. For example it was the general national interest of Britain to maintain balance of power in the European continent from 18th century onwards.

2.3.3.6 The Specific interests

Specific interests grow logically out of the general interests over the course of the time. They are defined in terms of time or space. For example, Britain has considered it a specific national interest to maintain the independence of the Low Countries for the sake of preservation of balance of power in Europe.

In addition to the above six types of national interests, Robinson refers to three other interests which he describes as “international interests.” These include the identical interests, complementary interests and conflicting interests. The *Identical interests* refer to interests which are held in common by a number of states. For example, both U.S.A. and Britain have been interested that Europe should not be dominated by any single power. The *Complementary interests* of the nations refer to those interests, which though not identical, can form the basis of agreement on some specific issues. For example Britain was interested in the independence of Portugal against Spain because she wanted to control the reign of the Atlantic Ocean. Likewise, Portugal was interested in the British maritime hegemony because this was a safe means of defence against Spain. The interests other than the identical and the complementary interests fall in the category of *Conflicting interests*. It may be noted that the conflicting interests are not fixed and undergo a change due to the force of events and diplomacy. Thus, the present time conflicting interests may become complementary interests. Likewise, the complementary and identical interests can also get transformed into conflicting interests.

2.3.4 METHODS FOR THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

Generally, the states adopt many methods for the promotion of their national interests. Some of them are elaborated below.

2.3.4.1 Coercive Measures

Coercive measures are one of the most popular methods for the promotion of national interests, which have been frequently used by the states. According to Beard the coercive measures adopted by the states for the enforcement of national interest broadly fall into two categories (a) the measures taken within the state which do not infringe directly upon the state against whom they are taken and (b) measures directly operating against the state which are the object of enforcement procedure. The acts falling in the first category are of negative character, even though they may produce positive effect. Some of the important measures taken by the state which fall in this category include acts of non-intercourse, embargoes, boycotts, retaliation and reprisal, severance of diplomatic relations etc. Any one or all of these measures can be employed by the state for the advancement and enforcement of its national interest. It may be observed that even though these measures are considered coercive they are non-violent in character and do not produce any international crisis. On the other hand the measures operating directly upon the state to be influenced or coerced, actually involve the use of physical force. These measures are of quite a wide range and include actual display of force. History is replete with numerous examples when different states resorted to the display of force to enforce their national interest. Apart from use of force, the state can take certain measures on its own soil to advance its national interests which ultimately operate against the enemy state. These include action like seizure and confiscation of the property of the offending state or its subjects by way of compensation in value for the wrong, suspension of operation of treaties, embargo of ships belonging to the offending states lying within its ports, seizure of ships at sea etc. All these methods are *prima facie* act of war and the state against whom they are directed has to determine whether it wants to give the developments the shape of war or not. In

extreme form these measures can take the shape of actual bombardment of coastal areas or military occupation of an inland centre.

2.3.4.2 Alliances

Alliances are generally concluded by two or more nations for the protection and promotion of common interests. As a result of the alliance the protection of these common interests becomes a legal obligation which the member states are duty bound to discharge. These alliances may be concluded for the protection of a large variety of national interests and their nature depends on the interest sought to be protected. Thus the nature and the duration of the alliance will depend on the relative strength of those interests. According to Prof Robinson “the advantage of pursuing the national interests through alliances, of course, lies in the translation of inchoate, common or complementary interest into common policy and in bringing the nation’s power directly to bear on questions of national interests.

2.3.4.3 Diplomatic Negotiations

Diplomatic negotiations are another important method for the protection of national interest. Generally diplomatic negotiations are used to reconcile the divergent interests of the state through process of “mutual give and take.” It may be noted that diplomatic negotiations prove fruitful only if the interests of concerned states are complementary or compatible. In such cases an agreement can be reached through mutual bargaining. On the other hand in the case of incompatible or conflicting interests negotiations are virtually impossible. In addition to the national interests the states must try to protect certain common interests in the larger interests of the international community, For example, they must avoid use of nuclear weapons and not resort to war in view of the highly destructive nature of these weapons. They must realize that the outbreak of a war will not only mean the possibility of their defeat in the traditional sense but also destruction of the domestic society and civilization. They must prefer diplomacy over war.

2.3.4.4 Economic Aid

This method of promotion of national interest can be made use of only by the affluent and developed states. Such states provide economic- aid and loans to the poor and less developed countries to promote their national interests. It is well known that US provided enormous economic aid under Marshall Plan to enhance its influence in Europe. Likewise, Soviet Union also used this instrument to preserve her interests in Eastern Europe. In the-Middle-East the OPEC countries used export of oil to secure support for their interests.

2.3.4.5 Propaganda

Propaganda can be used as an effective instrument for the promotion of national interests. In the words of Frankel, “Propaganda is a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose”. The importance of Propaganda as a method has greatly increased in recent years due to revolution in the means of communications. Realizing the importance of this instrument most of the states maintain Cultural Attaches and Information Centres in foreign countries.

2.3.4.6 Collective Security

The system of collective security which operates on the principle that international peace and security is the common objective to be secured by all the states through collective action against any violation of internal peace and security also restricts the national power. Due to presence of system of collective security each state is restrained from taking any action which violates the freedom, sovereignty or territorial integrity of another state. Because of this any violation to accepted order by a particular state would be met by the collective power of all other states. Thus we find that the National Power is limited by several factors and is not absolute.

2.3.5 CONSTRAINTS ON NATIONAL INTERESTS

Any foreign policy which claims to operate in the national interest must have some reference to the physical, political and cultural entity called the nation. According to Morgenthau it must be determined in the light of possible usurpation by other national and sub-national interests, which are indeed serious constraints on the national interest. At the sub-national level we find group interests, represented particularly by ethnic and economic groups, tend to identify themselves with the national interest and thus confuse the issue.

Similarly, the other national interests can usurp the national interest of a state in two ways, *viz.*, through treason and criminology. For instance an individual may commit treason on behalf of a foreign government either out of conviction or out of monetary gains. Criminology may also prompt a person to promote the interests of a foreign government. In other words, there is every possibility of an ethnic minority of a country identifying itself with a foreign government and promote its interests under the guise of the national interests of its own country. Again the national interests of a country may be usurped by the supranational interests in two ways—through religious bodies and international organizations. Though religious bodies have ceased to be effective instruments of supranational interests at present, the international organizations certainly operate against the national interests of the states by compelling them to pursue only such policies which do not operate against the interests of other member-states.

The international environment also exercises a profound influence on the decision makers in the formulation of a country's foreign policy. As a unit of the international community, the state is bound by certain regulations—conventional, customary ethical, legal or institutional and the framers of the foreign policy have to operate within these limitations. The framers of the policy have not only to keep the national interests in mind but also give due weightage to the interests of other states who are equally determined to fight for their national interests. They must keep a watchful eye on the policies and actions of other states and keep a track of various international developments.

This naturally implies that a state which wants to play an active international role must take decisions keeping in mind the conditions prevailing around and should be willing to overhaul its foreign policy according to the exigencies of time. Failure to do so will only mean that the state is cut off from the main currents of the world affairs and its leadership is not far-sighted. In short, we can agree with the observation that the major influence on foreign policy making thus derives from the fact that it is made with reference to other similarly acting bodies over which the policy-makers of the state in question have no authority or jurisdiction, and that the international arena within which policies are made is in high degree anarchical.

Morgenthau has also asserted the need of compromising the national interests with the interests of other nations. He says “the national interest of a nation which is conscious not only of its own interests, but also of that of other nations must be defined in terms compatible with the latter. In a multi-national world this is a requirement of political morality; in an age of total war it is also one of the conditions for survival.”

Above all, in formulating the foreign policy the political leaders must not lose sight of the domestic factors like geography, natural resources, industrial capacity demography, impacts of various groups and interests in the society, strategic position of the country etc. As the resources available for the pursuit of the national interest are necessarily limited in quantity and kind, all the states cannot promote their objectives with equal vigour.

2.3.6 LET US SUM UP

The term national interest has very fluid term and very difficult to define what actually constitutes national interests. Moreover, in the contemporary period, the term itself is losing its relevance because of the nations and states are fading with the globalization and transnationalism. The issues are also becoming transnational and their solutions require involvement of more than one nation. Yet, the national interest cannot be entirely abandoned. Even though the nation is declining in its importance as a political unit to which allegiances

are attached, the process of decline is many decades—perhaps even centuries—away from an end. Political actors will no doubt continue to make extensive use of the national interest in their thinking about foreign-policy goals and in their efforts to mobilize support for them. And, to the extent that they do, political observers must take cognizance of the national interest.

2.3.7 EXERCISE

1. The term ‘national interest’ gained currency only with the emergence of the national state system. Explain.
2. Since national interests are changeable they need to be continuously evaluated. How do you understand this?
3. Change in national interests brings about changes in national power. Elaborate.
4. What are the elements that constitute the primary interest of a nation?
5. Primary interests are long term interests of a particular state. Explain.
6. Explain two most frequently used coercive measures used by states to promote national interest.
7. Diplomatic negotiations prove fruitful only if the interests of concerned states are complementary or compatible. Explain.
8. “Foreign policies are not abstractions but the results of practical concepts of national interest.” How do you understand this?
9. The international environment exercises a profound influence on the decision makers in the formulation of a country’s foreign policy. Explain.
10. The states must pursue their national interest by factoring the national interest of other countries. Do you agree with this?

2.4 NATIONAL INTEREST AND FOREIGN POLICY

- Seema Shekawat

STRUCTURE

2.4.0 Objectives

2.4.1 Introduction

2.4.2 National Interest and Foreign Policy

2.4.3 Foreign Policy in World Politics

2.4.4 Foreign Policy and Decision Making

2.4.4.1 Individual Decision Makers

2.4.5 Foreign Policy and Interest Groups

2.4.6 Foreign Policy and Public Opinion

2.4.7 Goals of Foreign Policy

2.4.8 Let Us Sum Up

2.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to:

- Know the linkage between National Interest and Foreign Policy;
- Comprehend how nations pursue national interest through foreign policy;
- The role of diplomacy in foreign policy and in the advancement of national interest.

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The proposition which deserves attention is as to how far the national interests influence the formulation of the foreign policy of country. Though the states generally do not publicly admit that their foreign policies are based on their self-interest, sometimes responsible people have admitted this *fact*. For example Hughes, American Secretary of State admitted in the 1920's that "Foreign policies are not abstractions but the results of practical concepts of national interest." Morgenthau in his article "Another Great Debate: The National Interest of United States" also asserts that the foreign policy "seeks the defence of the national interest by peaceful means" and to defend the national interest restrictively and rationally defined "against the national interests of other nations which may or may not be thus defined." Another scholar has observed: "national leaders as a rule never pursue national policies that are in the interest of any nation other than their own."

Different national interests may overlap /or be in harmony with one another but no president, prime minister or /foreign secretary in full possession of his faculties – especially sense of his own political and personal survival – would openly and knowingly initiate or implement policies that would favour another nation and damage his own. Morgenthau asserts "In planning, formulating, adopting and executing foreign policies, national leaders and their aides are confronted with a veritable spider's web of conflicting claims and values. Yet priorities of the national interest must finally be established in terms of preferred goals and in relation to the power of one's own nation and that of other nations. Both national goals and national means must simultaneously be related to dangers or opportunities on the international scene; not only other nation's power but also their intentions must be properly evaluated. In short, it has been asserted that the national interest is the predominant factor in the formulation of a country's foreign policy.

2.4.2 NATIONAL INTERESTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

The linkage between national interest and foreign policy is one of the important issues to the students of international politics. As early as 1920s, Hughes, the U.S. Secretary of State told that “Foreign policies are not abstractions but the results of practical concepts of national interest”. Morgenthau also asserts that the foreign policy “seeks the defence of the national interest by peaceful means”.

Many argue that the priorities, that is, the practical not ideal, contents of the national interest must finally be established in terms of preferred goals and in relation to the power of one’s own nation and that of other nations. Jawaharlal Nehru had declared in 1947 in the Constituent Assembly of India that “whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country – whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of the country.”

However, Reynolds argues that it is not always possible to base the foreign policy of a state on its national interests alone. He argues that the foreign policy of a state influenced by its national interest only if the interests of the various nations are homogeneous. Sometimes it becomes costly to pursue a policy based on national interest when it contradicts with the interests of other countries. Reynolds further states that “Since self extending heterogeneous values of unlimited range must almost certainly lead to major armed conflict, national interest must require their limitations. National interests cannot, therefore, always in all circumstances be identified with the values of the community.”

In any case national interest is a very important concept in the study of international politics, because it forms the material on the basis of which foreign policy is formulated. It is the purpose of foreign policy to conduct foreign relations in a way as to guarantee the moulding of national interest as favourably as possible. In formulating a foreign policy it is imperative to express what is aimed at in accurate and modest terms. But it is very difficult to determine precisely what a nation’s national interest is.

2.4.3 FOREIGN POLICY IN WORLD POLITICS

It is very important to give information about foreign policy in order to understand and evaluate its role in world politics. Waltz argues that, if there is a state there should be foreign policy; and in foreign policy the state must speak with a single voice. Bukovansky claims that, states in the Eighteenth-century were far more oriented toward international relations and foreign policy than the states now. Since the early 1990s because of globalization threat, foreign policy started facing manifold challenges of continually redefining its spaces of accountability. Marsh claims that, according to realists, foreign policy in terms of the states, attempts to maximize security through power: force, diplomacy, duplicity, balancing power, and conduct contrary to democratic principles are all options to be explored in the prudent pursuit of national security. The main aim of foreign policy has been seen as a pursuit of the national interest in the external relations of states. National interest mainly involves in economic well-being, political values and security. For example, regarding economic situations, foreign policy first emerged in U.S. following the First World War because of the growing importance of oil to modern industrial society and modern warfare, fear of exhaustion of U.S. domestic reserves, and the need of U.S. companies with foreign markets for additional sources of supply. John J. Mearsheimer argues that “U.S. foreign policy shapes events in every corner of the globe”.

There are many factors behind foreign policy. The factors can affect foreign policy in both short and long run such as: International, domestic, cultural, and social changes. These factors all affect nations. For instance, foreign policy decisions have very important consequences for nations, their allies, and rival countries. Even the decisions can affect the survivability of leaders in power. When the leaders, who are in power, make decisions about foreign policy, the decisions will affect their future. The leaders can change world order by making a proper foreign policy. Scott Burchill claims that “liberal internationalists were naively optimistic about the prospects for a new world order based on the rule of law, open diplomacy and collective security, and they thought their ideas were dangerous because they distracted attention from the main task of foreign policy which is to ensure the security and survival of the state”

2.4.4 FOREIGN POLICY AND DECISION MAKING

The foreign policy process is a process of decision making. States take actions because people in governments—decision makers—choose those actions. Decision making is a steering process in which adjustments are made as a result of feedback from the outside world. Decisions are carried out by actions taken to change the world, and then information from the world is monitored to evaluate the effects of these actions. These evaluations—along with information about other, independent changes in the environment—go into the next round of decisions.

2.4.4.1 Individual Decision Makers

Every international event is the result, intended or unintended, of decisions made by individuals. IR does not just happen. President Harry Truman, who decided to drop U.S. nuclear bombs on two Japanese cities in 1945, had a sign on his desk: “The buck stops here.” As leader of the world’s greatest power, he had nobody to pass the buck to. If he chose to use the bomb, more than 100,000 civilians would die. If he chose not to, the war might drag on for months with tens of thousands of U.S. casualties. Truman had to choose. Some people applaud his decision, others condemn it. But for better or worse, Truman as an individual had to decide, and to take responsibility for the consequences. Similarly, the decisions of individual citizens, although they may not seem important when taken one by one, create the great forces of world history. The study of individual decision making revolves around the question of rationality. To what extent are national leaders (or citizens) able to make rational decisions in the national interest—if indeed such an interest can be defined—and thus to conform to a realist view of IR? Individual rationality is not equivalent to state rationality: states might filter individuals’ irrational decisions so as to arrive at rational choices, or states might distort individually rational decisions and end up with irrational state choices. But realists tend to assume that both states and individuals are rational and that the goals or interests of states correlate with those of leaders.

2.4.5 FOREIGN POLICY AND INTEREST GROUPS

Foreign policy makers operate not in a political vacuum but in the context of the political debates in their society. In all states, societal pressures influence foreign policy, although these are aggregated and made effective through different channels in different societies. In pluralistic democracies, interested parties influence foreign policy through interest groups and political parties. In dictatorships, similar influences occur but less visibly. Thus foreign policies adopted by states generally reflect some kind of process of domestic coalition formation. Of course, international factors also have strong effects on domestic politics.

Interest groups are coalitions of people who share a common interest in the outcome of some political issue and who organize themselves to try to influence the outcome. For instance, French farmers have a big stake in international negotiations in the European Community (which subsidizes agriculture) and in world trade talks (which set agricultural tariffs). The farmers exert political pressure on the French government through long established and politically sophisticated associations and organizations. They lobby for desired legislation and contribute to politicians' campaigns. More dramatically, when their interests have been threatened—as during a U.S.-European trade dispute in 1992—French farmers have turned out in large numbers across the country to block roads, stage violent street demonstrations, and threaten to grind the national economy to a halt unless the government adopts their position. Similarly (but often less dramatically), interest groups form around businesses, labour unions, churches, veterans, senior citizens, members of an occupation, or citizens concerned about an issue such as the environment.

Lobbying is the process of talking with legislators or officials to influence their decisions on some set of issues. Three important elements that go into successful lobbying are the ability to gain a hearing with busy officials, the ability to present cogent arguments for one's case, and the ability to trade favours in return for positive action on an issue. These favours—legal and illegal—range from campaign contributions to dinners at nice restaurants, trips to golf resorts, securing illicit sexual liaisons, and paying bribes. In many states, corruption is a major problem in governmental decision making, and interest groups may induce government officials by illegal means to take certain actions.

Ethnic groups within one state often become interest groups concerned about their ancestral nation outside that state. Many members of ethnic groups feel strong emotional ties to their relatives in other countries; because the rest of the population generally does not care about such issues one way or the other, even a small ethnic group can have considerable influence on policy toward a particular country. Such ethnic ties are emerging as a powerful foreign policy influence in various ethnic conflicts in poor regions.

2.4.6 FOREIGN POLICY AND PUBLIC OPINION

Many domestic actors seek to influence public opinion—the range of views on foreign policy issues held by the citizens of a state. Public opinion has greater influence on foreign policy in democracies than in authoritarian governments. But even dictators must pay attention to what citizens think. No government can rule by force alone: it needs legitimacy to survive. It must persuade people to accept (if not to like) its policies, because in the end, policies are carried out by ordinary people—soldiers, workers, and bureaucrats. Because of the need for public support, even authoritarian governments spend great effort on propaganda—the public promotion of their official line—to win support for foreign policies. States use television, newspapers, and other information media in this effort. In many countries, the state owns or controls major mass media such as television and newspapers, mediating the flow of information to its citizens; however, new information technologies with multiple channels make this harder to do.

Journalists serve as the gatekeepers of information passing from foreign policy elites to the public. The media and government often conflict because of the traditional role of the press as a watchdog and critic of government actions and powers. The media try to uncover and publicize what the government wants to hide. Foreign policy decision makers also rely on the media for information about foreign affairs.

2.4.7 GOALS OF FOREIGN POLICY

The making of foreign policy is essentially an exercise in the choice of ends and means on the part of a nation-state in an international setting. It is necessary, first of all, to formulate a broad end or goal which will give a sense of purpose and direction to foreign policy. This goal need not, and in fact should not, be static in content; it must be a conceptually long-term goal to which immediate objectives, and the short-term policies pertaining to them, can be related. In the event of possible conflict between different short-term goals, the broad and long-term goal will indicate the direction of choice. Though broad, this goal should not be a vague one; it should be clearly definable and divisible into some concrete and specific components, since otherwise it will not be possible to formulate any goal-oriented clear policies (short-term or long-term) and foreign policy may degenerate into a futile exercise, loose talk, and aimless shift of one thing to another. Though sometimes the policy makers may not always be able to relate their short-term policies to long-term goal, due to various factors and contingencies, but this relationship is the essence of rationality in the making of foreign policy. In this broader perspective, foreign policy strived to attain some basic goals to secure territorial, political and human security of the country.

Securing the borders and lives of the people is the most important responsibility of any nation-state. Hence, security becomes the most primary goals of foreign policy of any country. However, security should not be interpreted in narrow sense. The military preparedness of security cannot guarantee long-term security. Long-term and durable security always results from economic development and state-building. Similarly, militarily aggressive postures (hegemony) cannot be equated with the security. That is the reason there is no general agreement among scholars what constitutes security. A country's effort to attain security might become insecurity to others. Hence, while defining security one has to undertake a balanced viewpoint.

2.4.8 LET US SUM UP

Even if it is admitted that the national interest occupies a prominent position in the foreign policy of all countries, the leaders of the state do not necessarily always try to promote the national interest alone. Quite often they use foreign policy as a tool to strengthen their internal position. For example, Sukarno of Indonesia diverted the attention of the people from the acute economic and social problems by adopting the policy of confrontation towards Malaysia. Likewise, Pakistan has consistently raised the boggy of danger from India to divert the attention of people from the internal problems.

2.4.9 EXERCISE

1. Explain the relationship between national interest and foreign policy.
2. Briefly state the importance of foreign policy in world politics.
3. What is the importance of decision-making or decision-makers in the formulation of foreign policy?
4. How do you understand the role of public opinion and interest groups in the making of foreign policy?

3.1 DIPLOMACY: MEANING, IMPORTANCE AND TYPES

- Seema Shekawat

STRUCTURE

- 3.1.0 Objectives**
- 3.1.1 Introduction**
- 3.1.2 Concept and Meaning**
- 3.1.3 Importance as an Instrument of National Power**
- 3.1.4 Types of Diplomacy**
 - 3.1.4.1 Open/Democratic Diplomacy
 - 3.1.4.2 Traditional / Classical Diplomacy
- 3.1.5 Let us sum up**
- 3.1.6 Exercise**

3.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the concept and meaning of diplomacy;
- the importance of diplomacy as an instrument of National Power;
- various types of diplomacy.

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is regarded as the mainstay of the core of international relations. It is one of the most important and valuable instrument of foreign policy. It is mainly through diplomacy that a nation communicates its wishes, desires, objective and goals to other nations and again it is through diplomatic negotiations that it attempts to secure these objectives. Morgenthau describes it as the best way to promote international peace, i.e., peace through accommodation.

3.1.2 CONCEPT AND MEANING

Diplomacy is a word that is often used vaguely with different meanings. Sometimes it is used to express the whole context of international relations. Sometimes to express the manner in which personal affairs are conducted; sometimes it is used in a derogatory sense; sometimes it is described as a highly commendable activity. Its proper and main meaning is the manner in which international relations are conducted.

Harold Nicolson points out that this term is carelessly taken to mean several different meanings. In his classical book on diplomacy he wrote that this term is employed to mean five different words. It is employed as a synonym for “foreign policy”. It signifies ‘negotiation’. It also denotes ‘the processes and machinery by which such negotiation is carried out’. Its fourth meaning is ‘foreign service’ and the fifth interpretation which this word carries is that of an abstract quality of gift, which, in its best sense, implies ‘the skill in the conduct of international negotiation’, and, in its worst sense, implies that more guileful aspects of tact. However, all of these meanings cannot be rejected on one or the other pretext.

According to “the Oxford English Dictionary”, diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist. In essence, Diplomacy is a substitute for force. It is the means for obtaining the maximum

national advantage without the use of violence, perhaps with the maximum of friction and resentment.

The word “Diplomacy” is derived from the Greek word “diploma” meaning a folded paper such as was early used for state papers, charts, etc. and hence a privilege, licence or degree conferred on a person. It is traced from the Mediterranean states and it was cultivated by Greek statesmen. They followed art of persuasion. Then it spread to Rome and Egypt.

In practical terms Diplomacy is “the management of international relations by means of negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business of art of the diplomat”. Quincy Wright defines diplomacy at two levels – in the popular sense and in the special sense. In the popular sense, it means “the employment of tact, shrewdness and skill in any negotiation or transaction, and in the special sense it means the art of negotiation.” On this aspect only in the middle ages the diplomats were called as legates, agents or ambassadors. Wright further says, “it is the art of negotiation in order to achieve the maximum of group objectives with a minimum cost, within a system of politics in which war is a possibility. It is the function of a diplomat to derive maximum benefits for the foreign policy measures of his country”.

Diplomacy, thus, is an act of realising the aims of the foreign policy of one’s own country with respect to another. A practitioner of diplomacy has put it: ‘Diplomacy ... is not an end but a means; not a purpose but a method. It seeks, by the use of reason, conciliation and the exchange of interests to prevent major conflicts arising between sovereign states. It is an agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war’.

3.1.3 IMPORTANCE OF DIPLOMACY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POWER

According to Morgenthau, of all the factors that contribute to the making of national power, the most important, though unstable, is the quality of diplomacy. All other factors like geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, population and national character are the potential elements which statesmen exploit for making the nation a great power. They are like raw materials, and the country possessing them may be a potentially great power. However, it becomes actually great when it pursues an effective foreign policy towards this end. 'The conduct of a nation's foreign affairs by its diplomats', says Morgenthau, 'is for national power in peace what military strength and tactics by its military leaders are for national power in war'.

Morgenthau regards it as the most important, though unstable element of national power. He describes it as "the brain of national power which can bring all the power sources of a nation to bear in such a way as to make the most of them." Diplomacy is the means of foreign policy and as such helps it to achieve better results through judicious hard work and persuasion in international relations. Diplomacy of high quality can bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national power. It can trap the hidden sources of national strength and transform them fully and securely into political realities. As Morgenthau says, "the quality of a nation's diplomacy combines those different factors into an integrated whole gives them direction and weight, and awakens their slumbering potentialities by giving the breath of actual power." British diplomacy has been instrumental in projecting Britain as a major power in world politics, even after the loss of its status as a mighty imperial power. During the inter-war period America was politically and militarily very strong but it played a minor role in world politics because of her weak diplomacy.

The role of diplomacy as an instrument of national power has undergone a change in recent times. The emergence of new diplomacy – open and conference diplomacy – has somewhat limited its role as a factor of national power. Though the Morgenthau's

assumption that diplomacy is the most important of all the elements of national power, nevertheless, we cannot deny that diplomacy is a factor of national power which, when of high quality, can effectively contribute towards the effective and successful exercise of national power.

3.1.4 TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

On the basis of the nature, purpose, tactics and objectives, Diplomacy is popularly categorised into several forms or styles. Each style of diplomacy involves a particular view of the manner in which negotiations are to be conducted, national interest is to be secured and actual course of relations among states is to be handled. Some of the known types of Diplomacy are discussed here.

3.1.4.1 Open / Democratic Diplomacy

Diplomacy is believed to be responsible for war and peace. At the end of the First World War, a search for its causes was started. Scholars ultimately blamed the diplomacy of that era and mistakes of diplomats responsible for the outbreak of war. The necessity of tearing the garb of secrecy in diplomacy was felt. The attack on traditional diplomacy was led by Woodrow Wilson, who specifically mentioned in one of his fourteen points that “Open Covenant of Peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.” The same arrangement has been made in the U.N. Charter.

Open diplomacy, in fact, is a reaction against the totalitarian and secret approaches to diplomacy. In Paris Peace Conference, the states agreed to the open approach to diplomacy and that no provision of any treaty or contract would be kept secret from public. It would be given fullest publicity and it was also resolved that without the proper ratification by a popular legislature no treaty would be valid. The open diplomacy can be preferred on the basis of following arguments.

- (i) The people of nation have a right to know what international commitments their governments make because it is they who will be called upon to sacrifice that wealth and lives to keep the pledge their diplomats have made.
- (ii) In a democracy the government is responsible to the people. If the pledge and commitment are not conveyed to the people it runs against the democratic norms.
- (iii) As open diplomacy is against the secret commitments and pledges no such treaty should be concluded which might ultimately prove disastrous to the people.
- (iv) Open approach to diplomacy is not opposed to closed door negotiations. It is against only to the secret provisions of the treaties and keeping the public uninformed about the agreements and their provisions.

However, it cannot be denied that privacy and secrecy was and is prerequisite of success in international diplomacy. It allows negotiations to be frank and ready to give such concessions as may be embarrassing and require a diplomat to reverse his position in public. Even President Woodrow Wilson, who is called the father of the open diplomacy, while negotiating with great leaders like Clemenceau, Lyod George, Orland of Europe, had to ask for a closed door discussion, even his personal secretary had to keep away all the time.

The open diplomacy is also called democratic diplomacy whereby it is argued that firstly, diplomacy is accountable, not only to the government but to the people and secondly, all the negotiations are placed before the public so that it may express its opinion and the governments, taking the hint, may act accordingly.

However, democratic diplomacy, as experience shows, has proved a dismal failure and disappointing, as the conditions which this approach to diplomacy lays down, cannot make the negotiations successful. Besides delay and imprecision are other shortcomings of democratic diplomacy. Moreover the people generally are ignorant of the skill

with which foreign affairs need to be conducted. Thus the main shortcoming of democratic diplomacy is largely in the formulation of policies and their implementation.

3.1.4.2 Traditional / Classical Diplomacy

The traditional or classical diplomacy is also called old diplomacy. The origin of Classical Diplomacy can be traced as early as 16th century and continued up to 1919 and has come to be popularly called as Old Diplomacy.

This type of diplomacy was, in fact, European Diplomacy since it was primarily confined to the “great”, “powerful” and “important” states of Europe. This diplomacy was aristocratic in the sense that it was considered the prerogatives of the kings or rulers and their trusted ambassadors. It was born formal and elitist in nature and approach. Besides, Secrecy was considered to be the hallmark of traditional diplomacy. Complete 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 and an ideal as well as imperative condition for its success. Diplomats communicated with diplomats. No press briefings or reports were issued after negotiations or meetings. Only the results of negotiations were announced and many at times this too was not considered essential. Secret negotiations leading to secret understanding, agreements of treaties or alliances were considered to be ideal ways of conducting relations and for preservation of peace – a particular balance in power relations.

The arguments which were put forward in favour of this type of diplomacy were:

- 1) Secrecy is in the interest of a nation to be successful at diplomatic level.
- 2) Secret negotiations help the diplomats to be free and frank in expressing their views.
- 3) Open diplomacy can be misleading in practice because the need for securing public sympathy for an essential state act can make the diplomats practise window dressing and false propaganda.

- 4) The public in general has neither the ability nor the time to participate constructively in diplomatic debate that may emerge as a result of public access to all information regarding diplomatic negotiations.
- 5) It never gets polluted by malicious propaganda.
- 6) The diplomacy has the option to be more dynamic and realistic.

3.1.5 LET US SUM UP

As we understand from the above discussion, Diplomacy is the core of international relations because the process of establishment of relations between any two nations begins effectively by the establishment of diplomatic relations. It is one of the significant means for the attainment of foreign policy goals by peaceful means. It is an instrument for establishing the preconditions of permanent peace. In olden days the traditional or classical diplomacy was popular whereby it was limited, aristocratic and above all secretive in nature. The open or democratic diplomacy is a new concept whereby it is asserted that since people are sovereign so diplomacy must take into account popular wishes, and it must inform the public about the nature and progress of various diplomatic negotiations and about the final agreement or disagreement resulting from such negotiations.

3.1.6 EXERCISE

1. Diplomacy is a word that is often used vaguely with different meanings. Explain.
2. Give any three definitions of Diplomacy.
3. ‘The conduct of a nation’s foreign affairs by its diplomats is for national power in peace what military strength and tactics by its military leaders are for national power in war’, Hans J. Morgenthau. Elaborate.
4. What is the difference between traditional and open diplomacy.

3.2 IMPERIALISM AND NEO IMPERIALISM

- Seema Shekawat

STRUCTURE

- 3.2.0 Objectives**
- 3.2.1 Introduction**
- 3.2.2 Meaning and Concept of Imperialism**
- 3.2.3 Types of Imperialism**
- 3.2.4 The Motives of Imperialism**
- 3.2.5 Neo-Imperialism**
- 3.2.6 Reasons for Emergence of Neo-imperialism**
- 3.2.7 Distinction between Imperialism and Neo-imperialism**
- 3.2.8 Instruments of Neo-Imperialism**
 - 3.2.8.1 Foreign Aid
 - 3.2.8.2 Role of Multi-National Corporations
- 3.2.9 Other Forms of Neo-Imperialism**
- 3.2.10 Let us sum up**
- 3.2.11 Exercise**

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the meaning and concept of imperialism;
- types of imperialism and their characteristics;
- the motives of imperialism;
- reasons for the emergence of neo-imperialism;
- the distinction between imperialism and neo-imperialism.
- Instruments of neo-imperialism, foreign aid, MNCs and other instruments.

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The term imperialism generated lot of debate among the scholars of International Politics. While debating on this, scholars had taken different positions and these positions created some sort of controversy among them. Those who defended imperialism pleaded their case in terms of, what Palmer and Perkins called, “the White Man’s Burden”. They rationalised that it was the obligation of advanced nations to help the people of “backward” nations – to civilize them, to teach them the dignity of labour, and to impress upon them the beauties of their own concepts of law and order. On the other hand, the critics used quite another vocabulary. Their indictment was filled with such words as war, brutality, exploitation, misery, hatred, and degradation. They insisted that the struggle for empire led only to the urge to create greater and still greater empires and that the appetite of empire builders knew no limits.

Imperialism and colonialism have long been employed as instruments of national policy. The European powers used Imperialism as an effective means for enlarging their power beyond their own national frontiers. The victims of imperialism, mostly Afro-Asian countries, strongly opposed it and the middle of the twentieth century witnessed a great nationalist movement against the imperial forces. To understand this phenomenon fully, we study the notion of imperialism in this Lesson.

3.2.2 MEANING AND CONCEPT OF IMPERIALISM

Imperialism can be discussed, denounced, defended, but it cannot be defined in any generally acceptable way. It means different things to different people. Let us note some of these differences as they appear in the definitions of a number of able writers on the subject.

Moritz Julius Bonn defined “Imperialism is a policy which aims at creating organizing, and maintaining an empire; that is, a state of vast size composed of various more or less distinct national units and subject to a single centralized will”.

For Charles A. Beard “*Imperialism* is... employment of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates, and/or spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples, and to promote industrial, trade, and investment opportunities”. According to Parker T. Moon, “Imperialism... means domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations”.

Hans J. Morgenthau scrapped the conditions of exclusive economic motivation, size of operation, and difference of race; he defined imperialism altogether in terms of the “expansion of a State’s power beyond its border.” Schumpeter deprived imperialism of all conscious motivation and definable objectives. He regarded it as an “atavistic force, ancient in inception, descendent and self-conscious in an age of rationalism yet still powerful enough to lord it over its rival, the upstart capitalism.” Winslow reversed Schumpeter and saw both organization and specific objectives in the imperial operation, and he made it evil by definition. Lenin asserted the traditional view of communism, in which imperialism is not only entirely economic but also a rather precise stage in the development of international capitalism.

It would be futile to attempt to reconcile these definitions since imperialism is a highly *subjective* word and it was used to condemn the policies of other powers. Shorn of the special conditions, which individual writers attach to it, imperialism comes close to being what Charles Hodges called “a projection externally, directly or indirectly, of the

alien political, economic, or cultural power of one nation into the internal life of another people....it involves the imposition of control – open or covert, direct or indirect – of one people by another”. “The object of imperialism”, added Professor Hodges, “is to affect the destinies of the backward people in the interest of the more advanced from the standpoint of world power”.

These observations suggest that imperialism pertains to a relationship in which one area and its people are subordinate to another area and its government. Thus construed, imperialism in essence always involves subordination; it is a power relationship without moral implication of any kind.

3.2.3 TYPES OF IMPERIALISM

Scholars and Statesmen analysed various types of imperialism that are practiced by the imperialist forces. These are described as territorial/military, economic, and cultural.

The method which was employed by most of the imperial powers and which was highly crudest was the *territorial or military imperialism*. According to Morgenthau “The most obvious, the most ancient and also the crudest form of imperialism is military conquest. The great conquerors of all times have also been the great imperialists”. The aim of this imperialism is direct control over the territories and people that they have conquered.

The term *Economic imperialism* has been used in cases where the economically powerful countries used their power to exploit the backward regions for their own economic benefits and advantages. In this case direct control may not require. As Morgenthau pointed out, “Economic imperialism is less obstructive and also generally less effective than the military variety and is, as a rational method of gaining power, a product of modern times”. The common characteristic of economic imperialism is to exercise economic control over other countries and people.

The third one *Cultural imperialism* explains the exploitation by subtle means by employing a psychological method of expanding state power by impressing upon others, through persuasion and propaganda, the superior nature of the culture and ideology of the imperial power. This method of imperialism does not involve the use of military or economic power but at the same time it is much more effective and enduring successful in achieving the goal of imperialism. In the words of Morgenthau, “Cultural imperialism is the most subtle and, if it were to be successful by itself alone, the most successful of imperialist policies”. American policy of impressing upon other nations the value of freedom, free enterprise and liberal democracy is in fact a subtle method of influencing other nations in favour of American power in international relations. The scientific and technological development is greatly contributing in the modern times to pursue the policy of cultural imperialism as television and media playing larger role in the lives of people.

The Marxist-Leninist Theory of Imperialism

The Leninist theory of imperialism explains imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. This theory rests upon the assumption that all political actions are based on economic motives. Consequently, when capitalist societies find that they have exhausted the local domestic markets, they bring political forces into play for achieving the subjugation or subordination of outside areas so that these may be held as controlled markets for selling surplus products and for the investment of capital. In this way imperialism is regarded as the natural expansion of capitalism. The tendency of creating and maintaining ever increasing inequalities, that is inherent in a capitalist system lead to the development of monopoly capital. The expansion of industries to surplus production and the capitalists, in order to increase their profits, become very keen to secure foreign markets for selling their products as well as for getting raw materials. The state is compelled by the capitalists to control foreign markets and territories and this leads to imperialism. In this way imperialism is actually a form of capitalist expansionism. Lenin gives the example of British imperialism over India. It was the economic wealth of India which the Britishers wanted to exploit. They came as traders but became the rulers.

3.2.4 THE MOTIVES OF IMPERIALISM

Because the fruits of imperialism have long been regarded as valuable to the controlling state, they have been eagerly sought. To some extent they have been the badge of status in international society. Consequently, imperialistic rivalries have been a fertile source of interstate conflict, they have figured importantly in the international economy.

The motives and techniques of modern imperialism were enormously varied and complex. The leading motives appear to have been the following.

3.2.4.1 Economic Gain

The Economic gains includes conquest for the sake of loot, the quest for competition-free markets and sources of raw materials, the search for virgin fields of investment for the capitalists of imperial powers, and urge to secure certain strategic raw materials. At times imperialism may have provided goods that could not be obtained otherwise; at other times it merely made it possible to get them at a lower price or with less likelihood of interruption by war.

3.2.4.2 National Prestige

Many defenders of imperialism have believed that a state must achieve its “manifest destiny” or its “place in the sun”. Generations of Englishmen glorified the reality that “the sun never sets on the British Empire”. An analysis of imperialism shows that the desire for land and still more land has often been a product of aggressive nationalism.

Speaking of imperialism generally, Hans Kohn made the following observation on its non-economic impetus: “Besides the economic urge, psychological motives played a great role in imperialism – the lust for adventure and for power, the added prestige and glory which seemed to accrue from a vast colonial empire not only to the governing classes but even to the masses of the colonizing nations, the new sentiment of pride and superiority which animated even the lowest members of the white races in their dealings with the “backward” races.

3.2.4.3 National Defence

Imperialism may serve national defence in a number of ways: by providing areas and bases for the defence of the state or its lines of communication, by providing much-needed markets and sources of essential raw materials, and by providing populations from which troops and labourers may be drawn. States have often sought to protect themselves by gaining control of outlying or border areas, either by completely subordinating the areas or by winning influence over nominally independent states, called buffer states. Thus through most of the nineteenth century England relied upon the buffer states of Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet for the defence of India against Russia.

The acquisition and retention of sources of raw materials bring economic motivation and military motivation very much together.

3.2.5 NEO-IMPERIALISM

Neo-imperialism or Neo-colonialism has been defined by a number of scholars as a system of continued economic domination of the newly emerged sovereign states by the former colonial powers. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, “The essence of neo-colonialisms is that the state which is subject to it, it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.”

President Sukarno in his address to the Bandung Conference of 1955 described neo-colonialism as “colonialism with a modern dress in the form of economic control, intellectual control, and actual physical control by a small but alien community within the nation.” The Marxists have described it as “the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which continue to be the victims of indirect and subtle form of domination of economic, political, social and cultural as well as technical forces.

Thus, neo-imperialism is a system of continued economic control over the newly emerged sovereign states by former colonial powers. The mechanism of neo-colonialism results in the continuing economic dependence of former colonies upon their former colonial masters, integration of the former into colonial economic blocs through capital investments, loans, aids, unequal exchange and finances directly controlled by colonial powers.

3.2.6 REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF NEO-COLONIALISM

The weakened position of European power after facing two world wars within a short duration inflicted very heavy losses upon the imperial powers of Europe. Their weakened position made it difficult for them to maintain their big colonial empires.

The rise of strong national liberation movements in the colonies in the wake of rise of consciousness among the people against exploitative imperialism made it difficult for the imperialist powers to continue their rule over colonies. This feeling of anti-imperialism led to the drive towards decolonisation and consequent liquidation of the colonial empires and rise of new sovereign states in international politics. However, realizing fully the necessity of exploiting the resources of the new states for their own needs, the old colonial powers were quick to devise new instruments of economic control over new states. Thus this led to the replacement of imperialism by neo-imperialism. The imperial powers decided to serve their interests in economic sphere by new, subtle and indirect economic devices. Having been forced to abandon the old colonial system they decided to go in for neo-colonialism – the systematised economic domination of their former colonies.

The continued dependence of the New States on Developed States for selling raw materials as well as purchasing industrial goods also contributed towards the continuance of imperialism in its new outfit – neo-imperialism.

3.2.7 DISTINCTION BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND NEO-IMPERIALISM

The first and foremost difference between imperialism and neo-imperialism is that while the former led to the exploitation of the under-developed Asian-African and Latin American countries till Second World War the later came on the international scenario in the post-1945 period. In fact, neo-imperialism is the successor of imperialism.

The imperialism in its classic form involved territorial conquests, whereas neo-imperialism bases itself not on the conquest of new lands or countries, but the expansion and political power by way of establishing control over the economics and political policies of other countries. Neo-imperialism is comparatively more subtle, although it is not necessarily less exploitative than colonialism.

Imperialism was more of a political nature and the economic domination followed it, however, the neo-imperialism that America and certain other developed European countries are practicing is more of economic nature. It means that through the economic instruments they use on many big or small countries and through that assistance they influence the policies of those countries. This is the major difference between imperialism and neo-imperialism. As Morgenthau observed, when it comes to imperialism the economic gain can be one of the motives, it cannot be and it is never the basis or the core of imperialism. Imperialism was a political device which aimed at the extension of national power beyond the territories of the nation following the policy of imperialism. "Imperialism is not determined by economic motives.... economic gains are the bi-products of imperialism.... capitalists per se are not imperialists." On the other hand, the neo-imperialism is more of economic nature. It is concerned with controlling the policies, domestic or foreign, of the underdeveloped nations by means of economic investment and economic assistance. Though in contrast to imperialism the territories are not militarily conquered, i.e., force is not used but the stress is laid on the controlling the minds of those who control those territories. Thus 'influence' is preferred to 'force'.

While the main instrument of imperialism was ‘force’ or ‘military power’ the neo-imperialism use the instrument like influence, hegemonious policies, monopoly over technology, multinational corporations, armament race, foreign aid and loans, control over international trade, perpetuation of economic imbalances between the rich and the poor nations etc. Thus since neo-imperialism is domination over a country at economic front and that too in a very subtle and implicit way, the imperialism was direct control over a country and that too in a very explicit way.

Neo-imperialism in its modern dress aims at economic control, intellectual control and actual physical control by a small but alien community within the nation. It emphasized to use ‘influence’ as the means to meet the goals of promoting national interests of imperialist powers.

3.2.8 INSTRUMENTS OF NEO-IMPERIALISM

Neo-imperialism is practised by the rich and powerful states through a number of well settled definite methods or instruments. The most common method of control adopted by the neo-imperial powers was through economic or monetary means. As most of the Third World countries are backward and did not possess sufficient finance, they were forced to seek financial as well as technical assistance from more advanced states. They are obliged to seek investments from foreign powers. As a result of this enormous investment they not only made huge profits but also exploited their natural and manpower resources. So to understand this fully here we discuss the two most important instruments that are used by the imperial powers in the modern times to extend their control – foreign aid and the multinational corporations

3.2.8.1 Foreign Aid

Foreign aid is in fact a very important instrument that is used by the western countries very frequently to influence the Third World countries that are poor and are dependent on this aid for their survival.

The foreign aid is the most common and the most forceful means adopted by the countries like USA. The economic backwardness of the Third World countries has been a curse in so far as it has kept these economically backward countries, and consequently they are dependent upon their former colonial master and other developed nations. The aid provided by neo-imperialist countries is not free but comes with “strings attached”. On the one hand, the donor country use aid as a means for influencing a desired change in the economy and policies of the dependent nations for their own benefit, on the other hand it directs the development in the poor countries in the direction that is more beneficial to them. The developed countries give developmental aid to the poor countries. However they give aid for those projects which are useful to them in the long run. It means development is made in the direction fixed by the donor country. So, there is no exaggeration in holding that such aid comes at a wrong time goes to a wrong sector and provided for specified interested purpose.

Sometimes the neo-imperial powers extend “multilateral aid” to the Third World countries through international agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation and International Development Association etc. These agencies forced the borrowers to submit to various offensive conditions such as supplying information about their economies, submitting their policy and plans to review and accepting agency supervision of their use of loan etc. In short, it can be said that the benefits of aid to the recipient country have been only marginal and in the long run aid has promoted the interests of the donor by perpetuating the dependence of the recipient countries on such aid.

This is evident from the fact that over period of time the newly independent countries have incurred heavy foreign debts which are estimated to have exceeded 10,00,000 million dollars in 1986. The debt problem arose due to exceptionally high rates of interests which often obliged the newly liberated countries to seek fresh loans and credits to repay their debts. It has been estimated that in 1981 over 92 per cent of the loans taken by the newly

liberated countries were spent to pay off the debts. This trend has persisted in the subsequent years too. On account of this heavy debt burden there has been decline in the economic growth of these countries.

Moreover, a major portion of the foreign aid given by the industrialised nations to the countries of the Third World is neutralised by the element of imbalance in trade. In simple terms, the aid given by the developed nations is swallowed back in the shape of trade deficits and the gap of balance of payments. Consequently, the northern countries are becoming rich while the southern ones becoming poor.

Thus it is true to say that “the foreign capital invested in the neo-colonial states is meant not so much for the development of the less developed areas, as for the promotion of the interests of the developed countries.” Foreign aid is always used as a weapon of promoting national interests of the donor country and is never given without strings. For the dependent and lowly dependent Third World countries the benefit of the foreign aid has been only marginal, it has, in fact, perpetuated the dependence of these countries on the North.

3.2.8.2 Role of Multi-national Corporations

Another very powerful instrument of neo-imperialism is the role played by multi-national corporations (MNC's). This is indeed the ultra-modern method of neo-imperialism under which USA and other western European countries dominate politics and economies of the developing countries. The MNC's have been formed by rich investors of developed states with a view to control economic and industrial enterprises in all parts of the globe. These are international business organisation operating in many countries and acting for monopolising international capital, commerce and production as well as distribution of goods. In other words, MNC's are those commercial corporations which originate from a common centre in the imperialist country but operate in different developing countries by merging in themselves certain firms of the countries of operation also. In this way, through monopoly rights and international plants, these MNC's are in a position to secure huge

benefits for their owners and consequently for the rich states. Thus the capital of the developing countries is getting concentrated in those MNC's which have their origin in the imperialist countries. It is on this account that certain analysts had observed that by this policy of widespread mergers within the country of origin and across national frontiers, the "three hundred giant international corporations will dominate the economies of Third World countries." Thus today more than 40 per cent of the exports of the developing countries are made up of products manufactured by these very firms.

Pursuing a policy of neo-imperialism, the MNC's infringe upon the sovereignty of the poor, under-developed countries of the Third World by imposing unequal agreement upon them. Thus this has posed a big question mark whether political freedom will continue to exist when economic power is getting more and more concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Today the international firms like IBM, General Motors, GEC, Standard Oil etc. have more power than most of the sovereign governments in the Third World. In the recent years the multinationals have become so powerful that their combined total sale is more than the GNP of every country except the USA. Through that strong economic control over the economies of Third World countries, the MNC's are in a position to exert sufficient influence on the political and economic policies of the poor countries.

These MNC's are in this way playing a role in the developing and under-developed countries that goes against the economic, and in the final analysis, political independence of the country concerned.

3.2.9 OTHER FORMS OF NEO-IMPERIALISM

The neo-imperial powers are using many other forms to control their interests. Some of the important forms are discussed below.

Thorough Interference in the internal politics of new states and supporting the formation of puppet governments: In spite of the fact that the imperialist powers have withdrawn themselves physically from the countries they ruled, they see to it that the internal

affairs do not go fully in the hands of any other except the one which is loyal to them. Thus they see that the government that is established thus serve as its puppet. By supporting these puppet regimes and sometimes promoting military and civilian coups in newly independent former colonies, the imperial powers are in a position to exercise control over the policies of these states.

Through the supply of Arms and Weapons: The continued attempts of the former colonies to keep their political independence intact in this tension and conflict ridden world have also promoted neo-colonialism. The desire for security, force the Third World Countries to secure arms and military equipments from the developed and powerful states. Their inability to become independent in respect of their military needs keeps them dependent on the countries of North. Thus the supply or sale of weapons is used as a viable means for exercising control over the countries of Third World.

Transfer of technology: This too is used as an instrument of neo-imperialism since the Third World countries are in need of technical know-how for development.

Brain drain: By encouraging higher education in science and other field in their respective countries they promote brain drain from the Third World countries thereby making them talent-starving.

3.2.10 LET US SUM UP

Imperialism and neo-imperialism are the instruments that had been used by the powerful, developed European countries to promote their national interests at the cost of under developed countries sometime in direct and at other times indirect way. While imperialism in its traditional form has gone, neo-imperialism has taken its place in international relations and continues to characterise the relations between the rich and the poor. Neo-imperialism is imperialism in its new form, in new dress and new outfit. It is as much exploitative as was imperialism but is more subtle and indirect. Thus the curse of exploitation and backwardness continues to exercise its evil effects upon the newly emerged sovereign

states. The rich states are determined to keep up their superior position in international relations by using the various instruments of neo-imperialism.

3.2.11 EXERCISE

1. How do you understand the concept of imperialism?
2. What are the three types of imperialism?
3. Explain the Marxist/Leninist theory of imperialism.
4. Briefly write the motives of imperialism.
5. How do you define neo-imperialism?
6. Write briefly about the origin of neo-imperialism.
7. How do you distinct imperialism from neo-imperialism?
8. Write briefly about the reason for emergence of neo-imperialism.
9. How do you understand foreign aid as an instrument of neo-imperialism?
10. How multinational corporations are became part of neo-imperialism?
11. What other forms of neo-imperialism that are operating in the present day world?

3.3 NONALIGNMENT: RATIONALE AND RELEVANCE

- Mukesh Sharma

STRUCTURE

- 3.3.0 Objectives**
- 3.3.1 Introduction**
- 3.3.2 Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement**
- 3.3.3 Factors Responsible for the Launch of NAM**
- 3.3.4 Role/Rationale of NAM**
- 3.3.5 Relevance of NAM in the Present Context**
- 3.3.6 Let us Sum Up**
- 3.3.7 Exercise**

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:

- understand the policy of non–alignment in context of Cold-War politics;
- know the main factors responsible for the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM);
- comprehend the main objectives behind the launch of NAM by the leaders of Third World Countries;

- understand the rationale and success of non-alignment as a policy to safeguard the vital interests of the countries of Asia and Africa during Cold War period;
- appreciate the relevance of NAM in the contemporary world scenario.

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was the product of the Afro–Asian solidarity movement that was launched by the Third World countries during Cold War period. It was, in fact, a response of newly decolonised countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the division of the world into two rival groups, the capitalist bloc and the communist bloc led by the US and the Soviet Union respectively. Thus, it was a third option for the countries during Cold War i.e., not to join the either of the power alliances. Nehru from India, Josip Tito to from Yugoslavia, Abdul Nasser from Egypt, Sukarno from Indonesia and Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana played the most significant role in laying the foundations of NAM. The first non–aligned summit was held in Belgrade in 1961. It was attended by 25 member states. It is still continuing and has 116 members and 15 nations with observer status.

3.3.2 EVOLUTION OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created after the collapse of the colonial system and with the independence of a large number of countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world during the height of the Cold War.

The Bandung Conference of Asian-African nations is considered as the precursor to the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. This Conference was attended by 29 Heads of States of newly decolonised nations. In 1960, a key role was played in the inception of NAM by the leaders Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, who became the founding fathers of this movement. In 1961, NAM was formally launched during the first summit conference at Belgrade attended by 25 countries.

3.3.3 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LAUNCH OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

NAM was the movement of newly decolonized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who chose to keep themselves away from the power politics of Cold War alliances. This movement was an outcome of three important factors:

1. Cooperation among the Third World countries to develop themselves by making cordial relations with all other nations including the allies of both USA and USSR;
2. Growing Cold War tensions and rise of conflicting situations in various parts of world;
3. Growing insecurity due to arms race and building of weapons of mass destruction; and
4. Birth of a number of new nations especially in Africa as a result of process of decolonization.

3.3.4 ROLE/RATIONALE OF NAM

NAM was launched in 1955 as a result of the policy of non-alignment pursued by newly decolonized countries of Asia and Africa. However, it was not the policy of 'isolationism' or 'neutrality'. In fact, it was a policy aimed to mediate and persuade the two rival alliances of Cold War to promote peace and stability. The NAM members participated even in wars to prevent them or end the wars. The movement gained much significance during the Cold War period and is still relevant at the international level. In short:

- a. It was the policy of not aligning with either of the power blocs, formed during Cold War. Thus, it was a befitting reply to the power politics of rival alliances of Cold War period.

- b. It was a movement to promote the solidarity and cooperation among Third World countries to achieve the goals of socio-economic progress and establishment of peace and security.
- c. It stood for rationalization of international economic order to benefit the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) belonging to Third World through the demand for 'New International Economic Order' (NIEO).
- d. It was based on a resolve to democratize the international system by thinking about an alternative world order to redress existing inequalities.
- e. It contained some core values and enduring principles. These core ideas remain relevant even after the end of Cold War.

3.3.5 RELEVANCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT

In the present scenario, especially since the end of the Cold War, there are serious concerns over the relevance of the policy of non-alignment and Non-aligned Movement. Thus, the movement is passing through a critical phase. It seems to be at the crossroad finding a meaningful path in the course of rapidly globalising world. Thus, it is trying to find its identity, reorient its policies and determine its role in the changed context of international relations.

There is a heated debate about the validity and contemporary relevance of NAM and non-alignment as a foreign policy choice. Its traditional critics maintain that the non-alignment lost its significance since the end of the power politics between the capitalist bloc and the socialist bloc. It is not acting as a response to the rise of bi-polarity during the Cold War period. Presently the international system is no longer bipolar and the Cold War is over, so what is its relevance today is a great question. However, in spite all these

statements, the relevance of NAM in international affairs cannot be overruled. This is because of a number of reasons as mentioned below:

1. The policy of non-alignment was not wholly related to the rise of bipolar world and the Cold War politics between the two super powers and their respective blocs. It was a result of the common understanding between the leadership of the countries of Asia and Africa to build mutual solidarity and cooperation on range issues of their mutual concerns. The declaration of the Jakarta Summit conference in 1992 affirmed NAM's role in ensuring its full participation in the building of the new world order.
2. The issues like disarmament and arms control, rationalising international economic order, South-South cooperation, peaceful resolution of conflicts and human development are still exist and there is a demand for concerted efforts by NAM counties.
3. It provides a common platform to look after the interest of all Third World countries for which the movement was created. The essence of the non-alignment was Afro-Asian resurgence and solidarity for freedom from imperial control. It stood for securing international peace, security and cooperation.
4. Non-alignment provided an identity to the decolonised countries of Asia, Africa and the Latin America grouped as Third World countries. The movement stood for political and economic equality of these countries representing the group of colonised or oppressed nations. This is still very much relevant for the developing and the under developed countries as the members of NAM. Thus, NAM together with the Group of 77 (G77—largely made up of NAM members) succeeded to keep Third World issues high on the agenda at various international levels.

In short, the end of the East-West confrontation and ideological polarization does not mean the end of the NAM. It is still relevant to the changing world scenario. The end of the power

politics between the two conflicting blocs in no way reduces the significance of NAM as a mechanism for political and socio-economic coordination among the developing countries. In fact, the rationale of NAM can be understood from the outcomes of the 14th NAM summit at Havana where the member countries reaffirmed their commitment to the ideals and goals upon which the movement was founded. They agreed to strengthen concrete action, unity and solidarity between all its members and the need to promote actively a leading role for the movement in the coordination of efforts among member states in tackling global threats. They reiterated the main purposes and principles of the movement in the present international scenario as mentioned below:

- a. To promote multilateralism, international cooperation, peaceful coexistence, sustainable development and South-South cooperation.
- b. To serve as a forum of political coordination for the developing countries to promote and defend their common interests.
- c. To maintain international peace and security and settle all international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and International Law.
- d. To encourage to respect and protect of human rights for all.
- e. To strengthen the democratization of the UN and its working especially the General Assembly and the Security Council.
- f. To achieve the goals of disarmament, peaceful use of nuclear energy and non-proliferation.

3.3.6 LET US SUM UP

The non-aligned movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, is called upon to maintain a prominent and leading role in the current International relations. The movement has succeeded to create a strong front on the International level, representing countries of the Third World in the International organizations on top of which the United Nations.

Current Challenges facing the NAM include the necessity of protecting the principles of international law, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective in meeting the needs of all its member states in order to preserve International Peace, Security and Stability, as well as realizing justice in the international economic system.

On the other hand, the long-standing goals of the movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-aligned countries. In fact, NAM has to think of its rejuvenation rather than talking of becoming redundant. It has to redefine its role in the changed international situation i.e. a shift of emphasis in priorities so as it can face new challenges. Hence, the countries of NAM must continue to stay and act together for common thought and action to fulfil three key interests that can pave the way for a more egalitarian mutually benefitting world order. These include: a) Reforming and strengthening the United Nations. b) Encouraging south-south co-operation and c) Consolidating the movement through necessary reforms. Thus the realities of current politics make non-alignment equally relevant today for the developing countries of the world as it was during the Cold War period.

3.3.7 EXERCISE

1. What were the circumstances that led to the rise of Non-aligned Movement?
2. Who were the founding member nations as well as leaders of NAM?
3. What were the main objectives behind the launch of policy of non-alignment?
4. What is the relevance of NAM in the post-Cold War period?
5. Does NAM has become redundant in the contemporary world order?

3.4 PROPAGANDA: TECHNIQUES AND EFFICACY; AND WAR: MEANING, CAUSES AND EFFECTS

- Amit Kumar Sharma

STRUCTURE

- 3.4.0 Objectives**
- 3.4.1 Introduction**
- 3.4.2 Meaning of Propaganda**
- 3.4.3 Objectives and Role of Propaganda**
- 3.4.4 Techniques of Propaganda**
- 3.4.5 Efficacy of Propaganda**
- 3.4.6 Meaning of War**
- 3.4.7 Types of War**
- 3.4.8 Causes of War**
- 3.4.9 Effects of War**
- 3.4.10 Changing Nature of Contemporary Warfare**
- 3.4.11 Let Us Sum-Up**
- 3.4.12 Exercise**

3.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- meaning and definitions and objectives of Propaganda;
- Role, techniques, and efficacy of propaganda;
- meaning and definitions of war;
- the causes that generally led to war between states;

- various effects of war on international community; and
- changing nature of contemporary warfare.

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

International Relations involve the interaction among nation-states. This interaction is influenced by the national interest and the national power of the nation-states. They employ various means to see to it that their interests are taken care of. The advancement in means of transport and particularly of communication has resulted in the development of propaganda as a means of realizing the national interest successfully. So, winning the perception war by influencing the minds of the citizens and the enemies has become more important. The use of propaganda in peace as well as conflicts has become frequent due to the fast developing internet and other means of communication. The invention of television opened the vistas of propaganda. With the invention of internet, propaganda has come to acquire unprecedented utility. In the contemporary times, the fast changing social media platforms like Facebook, Whatsapp, etc. have added new dimensions to the tool of propaganda. During cold war era, the two superpowers made full use of their propaganda machinery to create positive impression about their policies and discredit those of opponent. Even in the post cold war age, the use of mass media and the social media has brought about revolutionary changes in the way propaganda is used as a tool of foreign policy. The non-state actors have also come to develop their own propaganda machinery to create favourable impression on the minds of the target audiences. Though the states and non-state actors continuously resort to influencing the minds of their own citizens and the enemies for favourable outcome, yet its during wars that they need it the most for boosting the morale of the their soldiers and citizens and for demoralizing those of enemy.

The violence has been consistent part of human society. The physical power has been used as political tool to realize the desired ends. It has existed in the ancient times among tribal groups, persisted in the medieval times in kingdoms and continues in more robust and advanced form between nation-states in the modern times. Ever since the

humans organized themselves politically, the violence has taken a more organized form in the form of wars between states and political groups. Every political group or state prepares itself for war in order to defend itself against any attack by the enemy or for expanding its territory for adding to its prestige as well as the resource pool for its subjects or citizens.

3.4.2 MEANING OF PROPAGANDA

Michael Balfour quoted Adolf Hitler's words, 'Propaganda, propaganda, propaganda. All that matters is propaganda.' From Hitler's statement, it can be understood how important it was for his fascist regime to resort to propaganda at the national and international levels. Though propaganda as a policy is aggressively pursued by the authoritarian regimes, yet even the democratic states also use it covertly to promote/achieve their national interest. Before understanding what Propaganda means, it's pertinent that we trace its etymology. The word propaganda is derived from the modern latin word propagare which means to spread or to propagate. In other words, propaganda means that which is to be propagated. As per Merriam-Webster Dictionary, propaganda is defined as ideas, facts, or allegations spread deliberately to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause. Though to begin with, this word was used by the Roman Catholic Church to propagate its faith in non-catholic countries, later in the 19th century it came to be used in the political sphere too. Now, let's comprehend the meaning of propaganda through the following definitions:

According to Richard Alan Nelson, propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions and actions of specified target audience for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages(which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels.

According to Lineberger, 'Propaganda consists in the planned use of any form of public or mass produced communication designed to affect the minds, emotions, or actions of a given group for a specific public purpose.'

Frankel defines propaganda as the systematic, deliberate attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for public purpose.

3.4.3 OBJECTIVES AND ROLE OF PROPAGANDA

Every nation-state seeks to fulfil its own national interest. It uses all the means available to it for the promotion of its national interest. The favourable public opinion at the international level is of utmost importance as far as its national interest is concerned. There can't be better way of influencing the opinion of the other nation-states than propaganda using the means of communication and mass media. Hence, the primary object of propaganda is to secure the goals of national interest by creating support for the foreign policy of the nation and for securing desired provisions in international agreements, treaties and contracts. The use of propaganda at the national and international level is specifically meant to secure:

- a) Desired change in the attitude of other nations towards a particular international issue, problem, dispute or movement.
- b) Favourable environment in international conferences.
- c) Legitimacy and credibility for policies and decisions.
- d) Favourable International agreements.
- e) Desirable view of the ideology of the propagandist state.
- f) Conducive International Public opinion for the promotion of particular national interests of the state.

3.4.4 TECHNIQUES OF PROPAGANDA

Propaganda basically influences the psychology of the people to manufacture the consent or favourable outcome for particular issues. The propaganda seeks to change the way people understand an issue or situation for the purpose of changing their actions and

expectations in ways that are desirable to the interest group. In International politics, the nation- states see to it that communication is controlled in a manner that their own citizens remain motivated while the enemy gets demoralized and the desired objective of forwarding the national interest is duly served. There are diverse ways in which propaganda is used to further ones national interest.

3.4.4.1 Methods of Presentation

In this method of propaganda, the facts are twisted or manipulated so as to achieve a desired goal. By twisting facts and choosing some to the exclusion of other facts, the propagandist seeks to justify his point of view. The historical facts are presented in a manner that a favourable meaning can be attributed to a certain situation and the target population can be made to believe it to be true. With the help of tailored facts and figures, fake letters, documents and self styled references, the propagandist attempts to secure the objectives. Bismak employed this technique for creating a division in his enemies. Hitler propagated the theory of Jews domination as the main cause for the problems of Germans in order to justify his policy of persecuting the Jews.

The techniques of propaganda through presentation of facts is usually used in the following five major ways:

- a) Propaganda through manipulated use of historical facts.
- b) Propaganda in the form of a coloured view of goals of National Interest
- c) Propaganda involving Publicity of true facts
- d) Propaganda through Emotional Appeals
- e) Propaganda involving Condemnation of the Policies of Opponents.

3.4.4.2 Techniques for gaining Attention

The propagandist first of all formulates the purpose and then seeks to attract attention to his cause. The notes, protests, official speeches and declarations of a statesman in power

will reach the government circles of foreign nationals, but other means may be needed to reach the masses of the people. The following techniques are employed by the propagandists to attract the attention of the target group:

- a) **Show of military strength:** This method has been used since ancient times for attraction the attention to a cause. The Roman stunt of parading armies to impress observers has continued in popularity down to the present. The Nazis used this technique a great deal, and the Russians and Chinese Communists also followed the same. Even India also shows its hard and soft power on the occasion of every Republic Day. Since 1945, however, the most awesome demonstrations of power have been the tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The states declare the development of these weapons of mass destruction for calling attention to their increased military strength.
- b) **Use of Special Envoys and Mass Media:** All the nations try to demonstrate their cultural and social life to other nations as part of their soft power. The embassies usually contain certain staff members called cultural attaches who use lectures, travel guides, posters, movies to glorify their home country.
- c) **Official Visits:**
- d) **Timely Decision Making**

3.4.4.3 Devices of Gaining Response

Advertisers rely upon fear of social disapproval, desire for prestige, pride in possession and other normal emotions to gain one response: purchase of goods or services. In a similar manner, the propagandists attempts to appeal to certain basic emotions-patriotism, love for justice, right to self defence, and others-in order to gain special responses. The most common device is the slogan- a catchy phrase used to incite action. The use of slogans like “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” “Workers of the World Unite”, “Freedom for

All”, “No Taxation without Representation”, “Land for the Peasants”, “United We Win”, etc. has been instrumental in securing a favourable response from others. Besides, the symbols like flag, signs, emblems, forms of salute are also used for this purpose. The use of Swastika symbol by Hitler and his Nazi party has been the classic example of using symbols to get the popular support for a cause.

3.4.4.4 Methods of Gaining Acceptance

It is very important that the target population accepts the propaganda by relating to it as their own. According to Palmer and Perkins, the establishment of a rapport or liaison between “propagandee” is one of the successful ways of gaining acceptance for a programme. In the attempt to convince men of his regard for the welfare the propagandist may stress his similarity to them. The Russians expanded their influence into the Balkans during the last two centuries continually cloaked in Panslavism. Hitler’s use of the Aryan myth and Pan-Germanism was also appeal of the same sort.

3.4.5 EFFICACY OF PROPAGANDA

The use of propaganda by a state or a political group has a specific aim that primarily involves the achievement of its national interest. So it becomes very important that the propaganda achieves its objective effectively. Every state employs all the means required to send out the desired communication so that recipients believe it to be true. To be effective, propaganda must be delivered, heard and acted upon. It must be able to engineer the consent of the target population.

- a) Planning: The first prerequisite for the effective propaganda is planning. What is to be achieved and from whom have to be ascertained and the desired communication designed accordingly. The planning must take into consideration the language, culture, politics, geography of the target group and what needs to be included in the communication to be used as propaganda.

- b) Presentation and style: The propaganda communication has to be presented in a manner that it seems true and rational. The audience should not get space to doubt the credibility of the communication. Moreover, the style of presentation should be simple and understandable.
- c) Use of Symbols: Certain symbols are always used as part of propaganda to convey things in a precise and succinct way. The use of Swastika by Nazis in Germany can be seen as the best example as to how symbols affect the minds of the target audiences.
- d) Mass appeal: The propaganda has to be received and accepted by the people for whom it is meant. This objective can be achieved when the propagandist understands the language, culture, geography and politics of the population whose minds he/she wants to influence. The propagandist has to keep the interest of the people in mind while designing the propaganda so as get wider acceptability among the target group.
- e) Persistent Appeals :Joseph Frankel states, ‘ The influence of propaganda greatly increases through its frequency and consistency over a long period of time.’ A propagandist has to repeat the appeals so that the same leave a desirable effect on the minds of the people. Most of the people just focus on the communication without going for deep analysis of the same. Hence, the repeated appeals make indelible impact on target population. The persistence makes the propaganda more effective and acceptable. According to Padelford and Lincoln, effectiveness also depends upon repetition of the theme through various media to impress it on the minds of audience, through seeing, hearing and reading, creating scratches on the mind.’

3.4.6 MEANING OF WAR

War is a form of violence. But what kind of violence it is needs to be understood clearly so as to remove any kind of confusion while comparing it with other forms of violence. There can be conflict between two individuals or small groups of people like gangs etc. Can we call these violent conflicts as war? So it becomes quite important to clearly demarcate as to how war is different from other forms of violence. Let us understand as to what a war is in reality.

War is a form of collective violence and is distinguished from its other forms like murder, crime, gang attacks or genocide in certain ways.

1. Conflict between or among Political Groups: Karl Von Clausewitz, in his work *On War* (1833) defines war as merely a continuation of politics by other means. So, political groups resort to war only to attain their political object through it. Traditionally, these groups have been states which fought inter-state wars over territory or resources. But the interstate wars have become less common and the intrastate conflicts between competing political groups have become more frequent. In other words, the inter-state wars have been replaced by intra-state civil wars with the increased involvement of non state actors such as guerilla groups, resistance movements and terrorist organizations.

2. War is an organized Violence: War is an organized form of violence. In other words, it is carried out by highly trained armed forces or fighters who operate through some strategy as opposed to carrying out random and sporadic attacks. The conventional warfare is a highly organized and disciplined affair governed by laws of war. But the modern warfare has emerged to be less organized in nature involving more irregular fighters who observe no laws of war and even blur the distinction between the military and civilian life.

3. Distinguished by Scale and Magnitude: Every attack on another political group or state can't be treated as war. We have to take into consideration the scale and magnitude of the conflict. If only a handful of deaths occur in a conflict, we can't refer to it as war. The

United Nations defines a major conflict in which at least 1000 deaths occur annually. As per this definition, the Falklands War of 1982 can't be regarded as war though it is universally considered as war.

4. Duration of the Conflict: Along with scale and magnitude, the duration of the conflict between two or more political groups or states also matters when it is to be declared as war. As they involve a series of battles or attacks, wars usually take place over a significant period of time. Some wars are very short such as the Six Day War of 1967 between Israel and the neighbouring states of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. In case of some wars, they are so protracted with intermittent periods of peace that it's difficult to ascertain as to when they started and ended.

3.4.6.1 Definitions of War

Hoffman Nickerson defines War as, 'The use of organized force between two human groups pursuing contradictory policies, each group seeking to impose its policy upon the other.'

According to Oppenheim, 'War is a contention between two or more states through their armed forces for the purpose of overpowering each other and imposing such conditions of peace as the victor pleases.

3.4.7 TYPES OF WAR

Now, we are well acquainted with the meaning of war. Every war is different in its objective and expanse. Certain wars are fought among states with the whole population mobilized to establish hegemony, others are fought between states and non-state actors. Some wars are fought within a state among the different factions to control the levers of institutional power. Some wars are limited to a small portion of a state while others are fought along the entire border including the airspace and the sea area. So it's very important to know the broad typology of wars. Let's try to understand the different types of wars.

Hegemonic War: These wars usually involve a range of states, each mobilizing its full economic and social resources behind a struggle to defend or reshape the global balance of power. In other words, it is a war over control of the entire world order. This class of wars is also known as World War, Global War, General War or systemic War. This kind of war probably cannot occur any longer without destroying civilization.

Total War: A war involving all aspects of society, including large-scale conscription, the gearing of the economy to military ends and the aim of achieving unconditional surrender through the mass destruction of enemy targets. The practice of total war emerged with industrialization, which further integrated all the society and economy into the practice of war. e.g., World War-II

Limited War: This war involves military actions carried out to gain some objective short of surrender and occupation of the enemy. For example, the US led war against Iraq in 1991. Many borders wars are limited wars aiming at occupying desired piece of land and then defending it without further escalation. Raids are also limited wars that consist of a single action- a bombing run or a quick incursion by land.

Civil War: Civil war is basically an armed conflict between politically organized groups within a state, usually fought either for control of the state or to establish a new state. In other words, it is a war between factions within a state trying to create, or prevent, a new government for the entire state or some territorial part of it. The Civil war in US and at present the wars going on many African countries are basically civil wars.

Guerrilla War: It includes certain kinds of civil wars and is a war without frontlines. This kind of warfare is resorted to by a weaker power against the stronger one. Direct confrontation is not an option in this case. The irregular forces operate in the midst of, and often hidden or protected by, civilian populations. The purpose is not to directly confront an enemy army but rather to harass and punish it to gradually limit its operation and effectively liberate territory from its control. In guerrilla war, without a fixed front line there is much territory that neither side controls; both sides exert military leverage over the same places

at the same time. Warfare increasingly is irregular and guerrilla style, it is less and less often an open conventional clash of large state armies. The Vietnamese resorted to guerrilla warfare against the US military forces. The Iraqi Paramilitary forces used such methods during the Iraq wars in 2003-2004.

3.4.8 CAUSES OF WAR

The Wars have taken place in all the ages though with different technology and intensity. In other words, the wars among political groups have been historical constant and have stemmed from specific historical circumstances. The diverse theories have explained each war to have been caused because of the reasons that have their origin in human nature, internal constitutional/governmental structure of a state and the overall structural or systemic pressures. In his monumental work, *Man, the State and War*, Kenneth Waltz expounds three levels of analysis as the reasons for wars depending on whether they focus on human nature, the internal characteristics of the states or the structural and systemic pressures. So let us analyse the different theories incorporating these three level of analysis that push the states or political groups towards wars.

Theories based on Human Nature : The classical realist theory traces the prime cause of war among the states in the innate human nature. The ancient Greek historian Thucydides in his great work *The History of the Peloponnesian War* argued that war is caused by the lust for power arising from greed and ambition. Nicolle Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes and Hans J Morgenthau all have explained human nature to be selfish, aggressive, cunning, ambitious and greedy. The evolutionary psychologists such as Konrad Lorenz have argued that aggression is biologically programmed in humans due to territorial and sexual instincts. Hence, the war is natural and inevitable as it provides a necessary outlet for innate aggression in human nature.

Theories based on Internal characteristics of the State: These range of theories suggest that war is best explained in terms of the inner characteristics of political actors. According to liberals, the constitutional and governmental arrangements of state determine

as to whether it would move towards war or vouch for peace. They argue that democratic states are not aggressive and hence do not go to war against one another. In other words, the liberals have strong belief in the democratic peace thesis. On the other hand, authoritarian states are more aggressive and imperialistic continuously promoting war and militarism. The Social Constructivist theory emphasizes on the social, cultural and ideological underpinning of the war. The neo-realists cite anarchical structure of the International politics as the prime reason for the tendency of the states to enhance their national power for fulfilling their national interest thus increasing the situations of conflict. But the social constructivists argue that it's the individual state and its political elite taking cue from norms, values and ideas shape their foreign policy towards other states.

Theories based on Structural or systemic factors at International level: Unlike the theories (explained above) that emphasize on human nature and internal characteristics of states for the recurrence of war, the theories like Neorealism, Marxism, feminism hold the structural or systemic elements of international system responsible for the aggressiveness of the states. According to neorealist theory, unlike state that regulates the behaviour of the individuals at the national level, there is no similar institution (World Government) at the international level that can regulate the behaviour of the nation-states. In other words, there is condition of anarchy at the international level that shapes the behaviour of the states which then strive to protect their national interests in this self-help system. The anarchic structure of the international system compels the states to continuously enhance their national power so that these can fulfil their national interests. This struggle for power among states leads to conflicts/wars with other states pursuing the same national interests.

The Marxist theory cites the profit based capitalistic economic structure as the reason for the wars among the nation-states. The continuous quest for profit and the ensuing search for new markets bring the states in competition with one another leading to wars. According to Marxist theory, capitalist states will inevitably come into conflict with one another as each is forced to expand in the hope of maintaining profit levels by gaining control over new markets, raw materials or supplies of cheap labour. The wars are thus wars of plunder carried out in the interests of the capitalist class.

The feminists have developed a gender perspective on war. According to Feminist theory, not only are wars fought essentially between males, the conflict in the international politics and the recurrence of violence are the reflection of the masculinist assumptions about self-interest, competition and the quest for domination. Hence, feminists hold the patriarchal masculine power structure responsible for the recurrence of war.

3.4.9 EFFECTS OF WAR

Huge Loss of Human Life: A war involves violent conflict among the groups of human beings involving the use of weapons which cause loss of human life. With the advancement in the technology, the lethality of the weapons has multiplied manifold. The two world wars of 1914 and 1939 caused millions of deaths. The use of nuclear bomb by US against Japan in 1945 caused huge loss of human life and the after effects of radioactivity still persist in Japan.

Economic Effects: The economic cost of the war is huge. The economies of even the great powers after the war have shattered and it took decades to recover the loss due to war. Phillippe Le Billion describes a war economy as a “system of producing, mobilizing and allocating resources to sustain the violence.” A war not only results in the human loss but also causes colossal damage to the property. It shifts the focus of the government towards meeting the requirement of the war ignoring other welfarist schemes including education, health, food, etc. The domestic economy is geared towards manufacturing / purchasing weapons at the cost of other important sectors. The after effects of war like debt trap, inflation, unemployment, increased taxes further burden the economy. The reparation cost imposed on the losing side also affect the economy for a long time to come. For instance, the reparation cost imposed on Germany after the 1st World war further shattered its economy leading to rise of fascist regime under Hitler.

Political Effects: The wars usually end with altering bilateral/regional/global balance of power. The power equations change after the war. It depends on the extent of the war .If the war is between two states, it shifts/retains the power centre to the victors. If its regional

war, it makes the victors as regional hegemon. The world wars have often ended with the decimation of the hitherto great powers and the emergence of the new global hegemon. After the 2nd World war, the US and the USSR emerged as the two superpowers while Britain, France, Japan etc. became weak.

Psychological Effects: The wars are very stressful situations. The regular soldiers fighting the enemies see a lot of bloodshed and the consequent deaths. It leads to a lot of stress among the soldiers even after the wars. They even develop certain psychiatric problems that need medical help. The wars cause human as well as property losses. The civilians lose their kiths and kins during wars. The deadly weapons even destroy the civilian property indiscriminately. These losses have a great impact on their mind thereby causing psychological stress leading to many medical problems in them. The wars and the ensuing treaties hurt the national psyche of certain states. These states then embark on mission of restoring the lost pride and usually resort to militarism and expansionism further creating conditions for war, for instance, Germany and Italy after 1st World war.

Environmental effects: The wars not only kill the humans but also damage the environment endangering the future of the humanity. In the modern warfare, lethality of the weapons has increased manifold thus having the potential of causing irreparable damage to the environment. The warfare has evolved from the use of small arm weapons to the weapons of mass destruction like chemical and nuclear weapons. The oil spills during the 1st Gulf War of 1991, caused a lot of environmental damage in the Persian gulf.

3.4.10 CHANGING NATURE OF CONTEMPORARY WARFARE

The end of cold war era and the ensuing post cold war era has affected the war and warfare. According to Kaldor, modern wars are considered to be ‘new’, ‘post-modern’, ‘post-Clausewitzian wars’ or ‘post-Westphalian’ wars. In the conventional warfare, the westphalian nation-states fight against each other through their regular armed forces. War as an instrument of state policy meant that wars were fought by uniformed, organized

bodies of men-national armies, navies and air forces. There emerged certain rules or laws like formal declaration of war and declarations of neutrality, peace treaties and the laws of war. But in the post cold war era, the way wars are fought has changed. The wars between or among the states are rarity now rather the arena of wars have shifted inside the states due to civil wars among the political groups within a state. The assertion of the identity by the various political groups is the new trend. So the new wars are different from their old counterparts in many ways. Although not all the new wars are the same, they tend to exhibit some, if not all, of the following features:

- a) They tend to be civil wars rather than inter-state wars.
- b) Issues of identity have become more prominent.
- c) These are asymmetrical, often fought between unequal parties.
- d) The civilian/military distinction has broken down.
- e) They are more barbaric than the old wars.

The conventional warfare has taken place between/among the nation-states but the contemporary new wars have been taking place between the nation-states on the one hand and non-state actors like terrorist groups on the other. After the terrorist attack on twin towers of World Trade Centre and other strategically important buildings in US on 11 September 2001, the US waged a War on Terror to eliminate the non-state actors like Al Qaeda who were responsible for the attacks. The US declared that in this War on terror 'either you are with us or against us'. The terrorist hideouts in Afghanistan were the first to be attacked.

3.4.11 LET'S SUM UP

The interaction among nation-states involves both cooperation and conflict depending upon the context. The primary objective of the nation-state is to secure its national interest and for it they always go on enhancing their national power. The communication at the

international level is highly power laden and so the nation-states are very meticulous in the same. Winning the perception war by favourably influencing the minds of their own citizens and the enemy as well becomes the desirable objective. Hence, the role of propaganda has acquired immense importance in international relations. It's useful in peace as well as in conflict. The advancement in the means of communication has enhanced the role of propaganda. It's a continuous tactics that a state generally resorts to safeguard its national interest. Its utility increases manifold during war. War is a collective violence resorted to by the nation-state, political groups and non-state actors for the furtherance of their interest. It has been consistent part of human society. There are various theories that explain the causes of war. These are based on human nature, internal structure of a state and the systemic or structural pressures at the international level. Conventionally, in modern times, the wars have taken place between/among nation-states but the westphalian state system is struggling for its continuance. The emergence of new forces at the national and international level has changed the nature of warfare in the post-cold war era particularly after the inception of war on terror. At present, there are few wars where nation-states are parties. The warfare has shifted its arena i.e., within nation-states rather than between/among them. There are more civil wars. The states are confronting the non-state actors in this warfare. The emergence of non-state actors in the international arena,

3.4.12 EXERCISE

1. What is propaganda? Explain the various techniques of propaganda.
2. How can the propaganda be made effective ?
3. What is the meaning of war?
4. Throw light on the causes of war.
5. Explain the various effects of war.

**4.1 COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND COLLECTIVE
DEFENCE: CONCEPT, MEANING AND DISTINCTION;
COLLECTIVE SECURITY UNDER UN CHARTER:
PROVISIONS, WORKING AND EVALUATION (WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KOREA AND
KUWAIT CRISES)**

- A. Lalitha

STRUCTURE

- 4.1.0 Objectives**
- 4.1.1 Introduction**
- 4.1.2 Meaning and Nature of Collective Security**
- 4.1.3 Development of the Idea of Collective Security**
- 4.1.4 Distinction between Collective Security and Collective Defence**
- 4.1.5 Collective Security provisions under the Covenant of League**
- 4.1.6 Provisions for Collective Defence under United Nations**

- 4.1.7 Collective Security under the UN Charter**
- 4.1.8 Concern for Peace and the Main ways of dealing with Disputes under UN system**
- 4.1.9 Important Provisions of Charter Relating to Collective Security**
- 4.1.10 The Working of Collective Security System**
 - 4.1.10.1 The UN and the Korean Crisis
 - 4.1.10.2 Adoption of the “Uniting for Peace Resolution”

4.1.10.3 Collective Security after the End of Cold War

4.1.10.4 The UN and Kuwait Crisis

4.1.11 Let Us Sum Up

4.1.12 Exercise

4.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the meaning of Collective Security;
- distinction between Collective Security and Collective defence;
- provisions of collective security system under League of Nations;
- the provisions under UN Charter for the Collective Security system;
- the working of Collective Security system under UN with special reference to Korea and Kuwait.

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of Collective Security is one of the cornerstones of international efforts to establish a peaceful order. It is based on the idea that peace in the world can be maintained only by a joint pledge of states to take action against a state which resorts to war. Such a pledge prevents the state from resorting to war and if at all it does resort to war, may compel it to bring the same to an end at the earliest possible opportunity in the wider interest of International peace and Security.

The concern for peace is closely related with International Organizations. If peace is the purpose of International politics, International Organisation is the institutional means of achieving peace. Thus peace provides a link between international politics and international organizations. The basic purpose of international organization is to help in the evolution of peaceful international relations. Among the several ways of attaining international peace and security the method Collective Security is considered to be the

ideal one and such a system can work only through an international organization which is of universal nature. Thus, collective security was not only supposed to be the basis of the League of Nations but also supposed to be the basis of the United Nations. Before proceeding any further we must know the meaning and nature of Collective Security as an objective, approach and method of achieving international peace and security.

4.1.2 MEANING AND NATURE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

While the word “security” represents a goal, the word “Collective” indicates the nature of the means employed for achieving the goal. The underlying principle of the mechanism of Collective security is “One for all and all for one”. George Schwarzenberger defined Collective Security as a “machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order”.

Prof. Inis Claude Jr. defines the concept of Collective Security as follows: “Security represents the end; Collective defines the nature of the means; system denotes the institutional components of the effort to make the measures serve the end. The mechanism is based on the institutionalisation of the overwhelming force of a vast majority of nations to deter any contemplated aggression and frustrate any attempted aggression by a state or a group of states and thereby to impart a sense of security to all peace loving states”.

Thus, seen in this context, co-operation among all the states except the aggressor is the essence of Collective Security. The same kind of co-operation is the basis of International Organization also. Hence, the proper functioning of the Collective Security system is possible only through International Organization. But it must be clearly remembered that all collective action is not collective security, because collective action may mean the collaboration of a few states on an ad hoc basis which is of regional and partial in its nature. Unlike Collective Defence, collective Security is a broader concept and objective which implies far reaching commitment and obligations on the part of majority

of the states of the world including all or at least most of the great powers. Outside the International Organization, co-operation may be available in crisis situations among many or most of the nations, but, it should also be remembered that the co-operation required under Collective Security has to be among all the nations and this is possible only through an International Organization. The more perfect the International Organization becomes, the more it is likely for Collective Security to be effective.

4.1.3 DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The idea of Collective Security is generally taken to have started in the beginning of the twentieth century. Theodore Roosevelt declared in 1902 that it was incumbent on all civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world and appealed to nations to work for a device by which aggression could be checked by the combined forces of all. During the First World War time an international association too functioned at The Hague to promote the idea of Collective Security. In the meantime the idea became an established passion in international life. The unprecedented destruction caused by the First World War made the statesmen and thinkers everywhere to give a serious thought to the question of preserving international peace and security through organised international co-operation. The rapid change in international thinking came to the extent of even questioning the legitimacy of war as an instrument of national policy.

Owing to the special efforts of president Woodrow Wilson (1913-21) the concept of Collective Security was generally accepted in the negotiations after First World War which led to the treaty of Versailles and the creation on League of Nations. The covenant which was an integral part of the peace settlement embodied a Collective Security system of its own for the maintenance of peace and security. Hence, the principle of Collective Security formed the basis for League of Nations and later on its successor United Nations is also found on the basis of same principle. Before proceeding further it is necessary to understand Collective Security in its fullest sense by distinguishing collective security from any other collective action especially collective defence.

4.1.4 DISTINCTION BETWEEN COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE

As it was explained while defining the Collective Security, it should be remembered that all collective action is not Collective security. Ironically, the collaborationist policy represented by collective defence and collective security are often considered identical to such an extent that the term collective security is applied to arrangements of any sort which imply the possibility of joint military action against a state. This is basically due to the following factors. They are:

- In an alliance under both Collective Defence and Collective Security, countries commit themselves to assist others against attack.
- Under both the systems the victim of an attack expects its own defensive strength to be supplemented by certain legal and historical suppositions.
- Chapter VII of the U.N Charter which provides for Collective Security system in one of its articles also recognises collective defence as an inherent legal right of nations.

Despite of the above mentioned similarities and permitting both the provisions in the same Chapter of the U.N Charter, still both are different in the following ways.

- Firstly one should remember that collaborationist policy pursued within the International Organization is defined as collective Security and the collaborationist policy pursued outside the International Organization is identified as collective defence.
- Secondly, Collective Security and Collective Defence are different in their purpose as well as in their assumptions, because under the collective defence the enemy is known in advance to the members that come together in the name of collective defence. Unlike that Collective Security aims at striking against any aggressor any where and it does not provide strength against any specific opponent.

- Thirdly, Collective Defence provides for military pacts whereas, Collective Security do not provide for any military pacts.
- Fourthly, under the system of Collective Defence the danger anticipated can be defined in precise geographical terms because the enemy is known. Such an anticipation is not possible under Collective Security because the enemy is not known.
- Fifthly, the principle of Collective Security requires that states identify their national interest so completely with the preservation of the world order, but the Collective defence calls upon nations to align themselves with each other to meet the threats emanating from common national enemies.
- Sixthly, Collective Security demands for more binding commitment that the states of the world are willing to assume and represents an aggregation of military strength that they can deal with any other power of combination of powers. But such a bindingness is not required in Collective Defence system and it lacks such an aggregation of military strength.

After knowing the distinction between the two concepts now let us proceed to the Collective Security provisions provided under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

4.1.5 COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVISIONS UNDER THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE

The Covenant of the League of Nations provides various provisions related to Collective Security. Articles 10, 11, 16 and 17 of the Covenant deal with Collective Security system envisaged by League of Nations.

Article 10 says that the members of the League of Nations would maintain territorial integrity and political independence of the members if there is an attack by one state against another member state of the League. In case of aggression or threat of aggression the Council was to advise as to how to meet such aggression.

Art. 11 declares that any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not as a matter of concern to the whole League. It also authorises the League to take any action that may be deemed wise and effective to safeguard the peace of Nations. It also provides for the immediate meeting of the Council members.

Art. 16 provides for sanctions by ways of prohibiting trade and financial relations and cutting off of all relations with the people of the state resorting to aggression. There was to be cutting off of financial and commercial relations. If a state violates the cooling off period of three months after referring a dispute for arbitration, judicial settlement and enquiry by the Council then such a state would be considered as an aggressor. An attack against one member of the League would be considered as an attack against all the members of the League.

In case of such aggression the Council of the League would recommend to the member states of the League to deploy military, naval and air force against the aggressor. It was not compulsory and the members were not bound to provide such forces as recommended by the Council. The members also undertook to give passage to the armed forces of the member states to prevent aggression. The League could also expel a member for violating the covenant if the Council passed a resolution to that effect, but it must be concurred by the other members of the League.

Under Art 17, in case of a dispute between a member of the League and a non-member, the latter would be invited to accept the obligations of membership for such a dispute. In case of non-compliance by a non-member then the provisions of Article 16 would automatically apply against such a non member state resorting to war.

The functioning of collective security system envisaged under League was not challenged seriously in its first 9-10 years. Here it can be said that as long as the disputes did not involve the major interests of any of the major powers their settlement did not prove hazardous. This was coincided with the changed international situation. A kind of

European unity too prevailed in the early days of the League to the extent by 1926 Germany too became a faithful and respected member of League of Nations, its reparations were also scaled down.

However, such an ideal conditions did not prevail too long. Between 1929-30, the relations among various countries in Europe started deteriorating rapidly. The disputes that were brought before the League started posing real challenges to the collective security system. When League of Nations failed to address these challenges, it resulted in not only the collapse of League but also led to the eruption of Second World War which caused tremendous destruction entire world.

The inability of League of Nations in making Collective Security successful, however, did not discredit the idea of Collective Security it self. The United Nations which was established after the Second World War determining itself to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of such aggressions adopted the Collective Security system to maintain the international peace and security. However, learning from the League experiences the United Nations also let the member nations to make their own defence and security arrangements till the intervention of the Security Council, by recognising the right of self and collective defence of the member nations.

Now its time for us to look also at the brief history of collective defence and the recognition of the right of individual or collective defence by the United Nations and the various collective defence arrangements made outside the United Nations system.

4.1.6 PROVISIONS FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENCE UNDER UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Article 51, Charter VII of the U.N. Charter reads: “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the UN, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security”.

Article 52.1 says that “Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are in consistent with the purpose and principles of the United Nations”. But Article 53.1 prohibits any enforcement action of regional agencies on their own.

Apart from the three Articles there are several other precautionary provisions in the Charter which are clearly aimed at avoiding the abuse of the inherent right of the individual and collective self defence provided under Article 51. Unfortunately the recognition of this right of the defence has been interpreted too broad and flexible manner. Within one year of the U.N’s establishment there emerged a host of regional security arrangements and collective defence organizations under the above mentioned articles.

4.1.7 COLLECTIVE SECURITY UNDER THE U.N. CHARTER

In the previous sections you have studied the concern for peace is closely related to establishment of International Organizations such as League of Nations and United Nations. Peace is the purpose of present day international politics and international organization is the institutional means of achieving it. The failure of the League of Nations to translate the idea of Collective Security into a working system did not discredit the idea itself. In contrary, the total collapse of the world order produced a more vivid awareness of the need for and more resolute determination to achieve an improved system of Collective Security under the United Nations Organisation.

4.1.8 CONCERN FOR PEACE AND THE MAIN WAYS OF DEALING WITH DISPUTES UNDER U.N SYSTEM

The opening words of the Charter of the United Nations express the determination of the people of the member states “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, and recognise the maintenance of peace and security as the main purpose of the U.N. To

that end, Article 1 of the Charter emphasised two main ways of dealing with specific disputes and situations likely to endanger peace and security. One is to seek a peaceful settlement of disputes and situations by the methods elaborated in Chapter VI of the Charter. The second way is that of taking Collective measures of coercive nature for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of peace. However, these collective measures are to be used as a last resort. It was assumed that the ‘peaceful settlement’ approach will succeed most of the time and collective measures are to be undertaken only when the former approach fails. The set of last resort powers is outlined in detail in Chapter VII of the Charter from Articles 39 to 51.

4.1.9 IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF CHARTER RELATING TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The primary responsibility of the United Nations in maintaining peace and security is given to the Security Council. Under article 39 Security Council is empowered to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of peace, or acts of aggression. Article 40 of the Charter authorises the Council to call upon the parties to take provisional measures to prevent the aggression of the situation.

If the situation is serious enough and calls for the use of methods of coercion, the Security Council is authorised to enforce Article 41 which outlines the measures ‘not involving the use of armed force’. Such actions include the severance of economic and diplomatic relations. If these measures found to be inadequate then the Security Council may take military action by air, sea and armed forces against an aggressor under article 42 to restore international peace and security.

To ensure that effective forces will be kept at the disposal of the Security Council, all members undertake “to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance and facilities that are necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security (Art. 43).

To help the Security Council in preparing plans and for providing strategic direction to the armed forces Article 47 provides for a Military Staff Committee consisting of the chiefs of staff of the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

The famous Article 51 recognises ‘the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the U.N. It also makes it clear that ‘the measures taken by members in the exercise of this right...shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council’. Chapter VII of the Charter clearly envisages collective action of far-reaching nature and the members of U.N by adhering to the Charter, accepted a commitment to abide by and give full support to the decision of the Security Council.

4.1.10 THE WORKING OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM

With all its inherent and caused weaknesses the U.N Collective Security system began to work right from the 1946. Though the Spanish Question (1946), the Greek Question (1947), the Indonesian case (1947) and the Palestinian case (1948) were brought for the consideration of Security Council under the provisions of Chapter VII, these cases are of not much significance. Until the Korean crisis developed in 1950, the potentialities of the U.N for the collective action against aggression were largely untested.

4.1.10.1 UN and the Korean Crisis

As it was told the real test of Collective Security under the United Nations came in 1950 when the United Nations took action to halt the North Korean attack on South Korea. The attack was launched on 25 June, 1950 and the matter was referred by USA to the Security Council that the North Korean action constituted a breach of peace under Art. 39. The Security Council decided in the absence of Soviet Union that a breach of peace had occurred and asked the North Korea to withdraw beyond 38th parallel.

On June 27 Security Council passed a resolution inviting all its members to render very help to the United Nations in preventing the aggression. A few hours before the second meeting of the Security Council on the same day the U.S government announced that it had ordered American air and sea forces to help South Korea in the execution of the June 25th resolution. Out of sixteen member states that accepted to send forces only USA, Canada and Great Britain contributed substantial forces. US, South Korea provided about 90 per cent of the forces, other members took no active participation.

The US action, with the assistance of its allies was carried forward in the name of the UN. The UN persuaded its other members to join the collective action, but the main lead was taken only by USA. Thus the Council demonstrated that even through it had no armed forces at its disposal, it was not impotent in face of any open aggression. But the self-imposed absence of Soviet Union and the part played by the US in the UN action leads us to an important question whether it qualifies for Collective Security or not?, because in this Korean crisis North Korea was backed by Soviet Union on the one hand and US participation in collective action against North Korea on the other hand was designed to check the expansion of the Soviet bloc.

Further, the intervention of China in support of North Korea and Soviet Union's indirect support to North Korea transformed the character of the Korean War, which was started as a collective security war into a traditional one. However, the war was an inconclusive, because complete defeat was not possible on both sides, and a complete stalemate developed.

4.1.10.2 Adoption of the “Uniting for Peace Resolution”

Considering the overall situation and the lessons the international community learnt during the Korean War, to strengthen the Collective Security system, the famous “Uniting for Peace” resolution was adopted in the fifth session of General Assembly on November 3, 1950 at the initiative of Dean Acheson, Secretary of State of the United States.

This resolution authorised the General Assembly to move quickly into consideration of a crisis situation if such a consideration were not possible in the Security Council, because of the lack of unanimity among permanent members. It asserted the two-thirds majority of the Assembly to name the aggressor and recommended collective action against the aggressor. It was also recognised that enduring peace will not be secured solely by Collective Security arrangements and urged the members of the United Nations to cooperate in other important ways.

It was also urged the Security Council to devise measures for the earliest application of Articles 43, 45, 46 and 47 of the Charter regarding the placing of armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council by the member states of the U.N and the effective functioning of military staff committee. The members of Security Council were also recommended to “meet and discuss collectively or otherwise...all problems which are likely to threaten international peace and hamper the activities of the UN in this direction.

While many scholars like Inis. Claude Jr. believe that Uniting for Peace Resolution as a conscious effort to develop and implement the security provisions of the UN Charter, there are other scholars who maintain that it only represented an effort to develop a plan which resembled a Collective Security arrangement only superficially.

Since 1988 there has been a dramatic increase in the number of peacekeeping operations undertaken by the UN. The UN forces have become involved in a series of qualitatively new tasks, ranging from electoral assistance and human rights monitoring to the protection of humanitarian relief operations and the disarmament, cantonment and demobilization of armed forces.

4.1.10.3 Collective Security after the End of Cold War

The end of Cold War and the improvement in East-West relations have contributed to a considerable revitalization of the U.N Security Council. For the first time in the Council’s history, the five Permanent Members had begun to work regularly together for the solution

of major problems and such a cooperation yielded impressive results. Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, independence of Namibia, Cuba's withdrawal from Angola are the examples of such co-operation.

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on 2 August 1990 once again challenged the Security Council in its original and primary function dealing with threats to the peace and acts of aggression. The Council's response and the forced withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait were a unique exercise in collective action and enforcement under the previously little used Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

4.1.10.4 The UN and the Kuwait Crisis

The 1991 Gulf War was not a UN operation but a UN-backed operation. Most military experts examining that war believe it was one of the most effective in history. In response to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, the United Nations Security Council condemned a Member state as an aggressor for only the fifth time in the 45 year history. For the second time in the history, the Security Council authorized the deployment of armed forces to stop an aggressor nation.

Pursuant to Article 39 of the Charter, the Council determined that the invasion constituted a breach of international peace and security and demanded Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal. The second Security Council Resolution came on August 6, 1990. Through this resolution, the United States proposed that the United Nations ban all imports from Iraq and Kuwait, and all exports to the countries, except for medicine and supplies of a humanitarian nature. Resolution 661 also specified the Council's determination to restore Kuwait's sovereignty. The Security Council declared that States were to take measures not involving the use of armed force to coerce Iraq into compliance with the Council's call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

When Saddam Hussain announced Iraq's annexation of Kuwait on August 8, 1990, the Security Council adopted its third resolution declaring Iraq's annexation of

Kuwait was null and void. Over the next several months, the Security Council passed several more resolutions with regard to Kuwait crisis. In general, these concerned: 1) Iraq's taking third State nationals hostage, 2) the closing of diplomatic missions in Kuwait, and 3) the provisions for foodstuffs and medical supplies.

On November 30, 1990, the Security Council passed one more resolution authorizing the use of armed force. The will and dominance of United States America prevailed in passing this resolution. Sitting as President of the Council for the session, American Secretary of State James Baker III said that if the UN not authorised the force it will meet the same fate as the League of Nations. When Saddam Hussain failed to comply with the Security Council resolutions, the multinational forces led by America carried out military assault upon Iraq. Iraq finally surrendered and terms for a permanent cease-fire were worked out by the Security Council.

The legality of the action was less clear, however. President George Bush's administration relied on Security Council Resolution 678, which authorized using "all necessary means" to evict Iraq from Kuwait. Critics charged that the military action against Iraq did not fall within the scope authorized by Resolution 678 and that the Security Council violated the U.N. Charter by giving Member States overly broad authority.

Many of these critique argue that the U.N. Charter scheme regarding the use of military force is aimed at minimizing force. One method of minimizing force is to organize against aggression. However, aggression must be met with the least possible counter-force. In the Persian Gulf situation, the United States and its allies used force that was not clearly necessary and thereby failed to abide by the basic norms of the Charter. The United States and its allies exceeded Resolution 678, and the resolution itself did not provide a lawful basis for action.

They further say that the United Nations also equally bears responsibility for authorizing force in violation of the Charter. The United Nations is a legal entity capable of bearing legal rights and obligations. It is responsible for the wrongs it commits and its

powers are only those indicated in the Charter. If the United Nations acts to the detriment of a state, outside the powers conferred in the Charter, it violates the rights of that state

The Security Council initially imposed sanctions and eventually authorised the use of force. But it should be remembered that the use of force was not inconsistent with the letter of Chapter VII of the Charter. The Security Council, lacking any mechanism for enforcement, chosen to achieve its goals that were consistent with the Charter through improvised means that is by authorising US led coalition to use force.

4.1.11 LET US SUM UP

Dear learner, we hope you understood the meaning of the Collective Security and the distinction between Collective Security and Collective Defence. The incorporation of these two systems of security in the UN has given a space for different interpretations to the Charter. Extensive reliance by states on Collective Defence Organizations rendered the central Collective Security Structure of the United Nations weak and ineffective. Increasing deadlocks in the council and the inability of the Council to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security have eroded the confidence of member states in the efficiency and impartiality of the universal Collective system.

In the end it should be mentioned that there is no doubt that Collective Security System is an ideal to be achieved and collective enforcement measures were envisaged only as a last resort in case of the failure of other methods. Under the U.N system the excessive use or success of other methods do not discredit the idea of Collective Security. Rather the use and success of these methods like peace-keeping and pacific settlement of disputes indicate the existence of relative peace and security and the insignificant nature of the disputes for which the Collective Security system need not be abused to discredit it. However, ideal conditions must be created for the use of the method for the achievement of the ultimate goal.

4.1.12 EXERCISE

1. What do you mean by Collective Security?
2. What is the underlining principle of Collective Security system?
3. Which system provided basis for the League of Nations?
4. Differentiate between Collective Security and Collective Defence.
5. Which article of the League Covenant provides for sanctions and what are they?
6. Which article of the League Covenant deals with the dispute between a member and non-member states?
7. Briefly write collective security provisions under League of Nations. Which organ of the U.N is given the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security?
8. Which article provides for the Military Staff Committee and Why?
9. What are the countries that have largely contributed for the collective forces during the Korean War?
10. Whose intervention and indirect support to North Korea transformed the character of the Collective Security war into a traditional War?
11. Critically evaluate the working of UN collective security system in Kuwait crisis.

4.2 BALANCE OF POWER: MEANING, DEVICES AND IT'S CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

-A. Lalitha

STRUCTURE

- 4.2.0 Objectives**
- 4.2.1 Introduction**
- 4.2.2 Meaning of Balance of Power**
- 4.2.3 Evaluation of the Concept**
- 4.2.4 Assumptions of Balance of Power**
- 4.2.5 Types of Balance of Power**
- 4.2.6 Methods of Balance of Power**
- 4.2.7 Critical Evaluation**
- 4.2.8 Relevance of Balance of Power**
- 4.2.9 Let us sum up**

4.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this Lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the meaning of balance of power;
- evolution and basic assumptions of balance of power;
- various types and methods of balance of power;

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

As you have studied in the previous unit, “Power” is one among the most crucial concepts of International politics. While studying the limitations of power you have also studied that “Balance of Power” itself as one of the limitations of power. It simply means ‘containing power with power’. As Hans J. Morgenthau puts it, the aspiration for power on the part of several nations automatically leads to a condition called “Balance of Power” and those aspiring powers adopt numerous policies with the aim of preserving such balance.

The traditional relations among independent nations are often explained in terms of balance of power. This is a widely held theory with equal number of critiques as well as defenders. If some scholars like Inis Jr. Claude considers that this concept has so many meanings, the scholars like Schleicher calls it as virtually a meaningless concept. Hence, it is necessary for a student of International Politics to study the theory of Balance of Power to make a correct assessment of it.

4.2.2 MEANING OF BALANCE OF POWER

As you have studied in the earlier unit, a large number of nations with varying degree of power exist in the world and each one of these nations also try to maximise its power. In order to achieve this (maximising power) various nations form into different groups. To ensure that no single group of nations become strong enough to dominate the other group of nations the power of one group is balanced by the other opposing group. An analogy of a balancer with a pair of scales helps us in understanding the concept in a better way, as so long as the weights in the two scales remain equal, there exists the balance. It is believed that as long as there is a rough equilibrium of power between groups of nations there is peace in the world, the independence of small nations is protected and war is the test for the existence of disequilibrium.

The term Balance of Power meant differently for different scholars. Some considered it as an international political condition; some others like Hans J. Morgenthau

considered it as a policy which can check the erring behaviour of other states. A few others like Martin Wright considered it as a system of international politics; for them Balance of Power is a kind of arrangement for the working of international relations in a multi-state world. Many others used this as a mere symbol of realism in international relations and considered Balance of Power nothing but a corollary of power factor in International Politics. Attempts have been made by different scholars to define Balance of Power.

4.2.2.1 Definitions

According to Prof. Fay, Balance of Power is “Just equilibrium in power among the members of the family of nations to prevent any one of them from becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon the others”.

Hartman defines it as “a system in the sense that one power bloc leads to the emergence of other and ultimately leads to a network of alliances”.

Hans J. Morgenthau describes that “it is an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among several nations with approximate equality”.

The theory of Balance of power is nothing but an application of checks and balances to international politics. Thus the concept of balance of power rests on the basic assumption that excessive power anywhere in the system is a threat to the existence of other units and that the most effective antidote to power is power.

4.2.3 EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

The concept of balance of power can be found in some form or the other in ancient time especially among the states of China, India and Greece. However, the development of the doctrine and its practice was possible from the fifteenth century onwards among the Italian city-states. Bernardo Rucellai and Machiavelli contributed for the theoretical formulation and the enunciation of this doctrine. In sixteenth century the concept was applied to a

larger theatre of European States. Its rise to prominence coincided with the growth of nation-state system and the age of discoveries. The period beginning with the second half of seventeenth century (the peace of Westphalia) till 1789 (French Revolution) is considered as the first golden age for classical balance of power. The eighteenth century formally recognised the balance of power in legal processes in Europe and the concept found expression even in the writings of Edmund Burke and David Hume. In 19th century, the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte disturbed the balance of power in Europe. The Congress of Vienna (1815) sought to establish a new balance of power on the principles of legitimacy and status quo. This century also marked the extension of the theory and practice of balance of power on a world wide.

In the twentieth century the Europe was divided into two camps namely Triple Entente and Triple Alliance, when the existing balance of power was disturbed in 1914; it led to the First World War.

During the period between the two world wars the doctrine was followed only in theory because it was incompatible with the concept of Collective Security system embodied in the League of Nations. But the weakness of League of Nations strengthened the balance of power system. Alliances and counter alliances were formed in the name of balance of power, which ultimately led to the most destructive war in the history of humankind. The post-war period the balance of power ceased to perform its rational role. However, it does not mean that balance of power is non existent. It exists in the form of various regional arrangements like NATO, SEATO AND CENTO.

4.2.4 ASSUMPTIONS OF BALANCE OF POWER

There are certain assumptions of balance of power which operate as conditions affecting the stability of the balance. Quincy Wright has enumerated five major assumptions. They are:

- (1) States are committed to protect their vital interest by all possible means including war. However, it is up to the state to decide for itself which of its rights and interests are vital and which method to be adopted to protect them (generally such vital interests are independence, territorial integrity, security and like wise).
- (2) The vital interests of states are or may be threatened. This assumption is a corollary of the first assumption, because, if the vital interests are not threatened, then there should be no need for a state to try to protect them.
- (3) The balance of power helps the protection of the vital interests either by threatening other states with committing aggression or by enabling the victim to achieve victory in case an aggression occurs. It means that states are not generally likely to commit aggression until and unless they have superiority of power.
- (4) The relative power position of various states can be measured to a great accuracy and that this measurement can be utilized in balancing the world forces in one's own favour.
- (5) Statesmen formulate their foreign policy decisions on the basis of intelligent understanding of power considerations.

Though it was not mentioned as an assumption by Wright it is also generally assumed that there will be one balancer maintaining splendid isolation and ready to join the side of the scale of the balance which becomes higher at any given point of time. Such a state will have neither permanent enemies nor permanent allies in the world. Its only interest is to maintain the balance of power.

4.2.5 TYPES OF BALANCE OF POWER

Scholars of international politics described various types of Balance of Power. Some of them are discussed below.

(A) Simple and Multiple Balance of Power: If power is concentrated in two states and or in two opposing camps, then the balance of power is said to be simple. In this type balance of power is said to be simple since the states or groups of states are divided into two camps, power distribution between these states is almost equal. The U.S and the former USSR individually and the blocks led by them are examples of simple balance.

If power is widely dispersed among states and a number of states or groups of states balance each other, then it is called *multiple or complex balance*. This kind of balance may or may not have a balancer. This multiple balance may turn into a simple balance. The newly emerged multi-polar system is an example for this.

(B) Local, Regional and Global Balance of Power: In terms of geographical coverage balance of power can be described as Local, Regional or Global. If balance of power seeks to check only one power of state which poses a threat to the freedom of other neighbouring states it is considered to be local. If the balance of power aims at maintaining balance in a particular geographical or political region, say Europe or Asia, then it is regarded as regional balance of power. The balance of power is regarded world wide or global if it concerns more than one region and all the countries are participating in it through a network of alliances and counter-alliances.

(C) Flexible and Rigid Balance of Power: The balance of power is regarded as rigid if two groups of states take a particular stand and are not willing to deviate from that stand. On the other hand if the member states change their alignments and seek fresh alliances due to changed circumstances, the balance of power is regarded as flexible.

After knowing about various types balance of power now you will learn about various methods or techniques of balance of power.

4.2.6 METHODS OF BALANCE OF POWER

Since balance of power is not a natural phenomenon, over a period of time certain techniques, methods and devices have been developed by states through which it can be achieved and maintained. They are explained below.

(a) Armament and Disarmament: The main technique or method of achieving balance is through armament. Whenever a nation increases its strength, its rival left with no other alternative enters into arms race. In such case if the first nation is still able to preserve its strength, the balance of power is considered to be upset. But if the rival nation could also consolidate its power through arming itself, then the balance of power is considered to be preserved. The above can be said same with a group of nations also. Just like armament disarmament can also destroy or restore the balance of power. The rival states may agree on proportionate reduction in their arms, so that balance of power may be stabilized.

(b) Alliances and Counter-Alliances: The most commonly used method of the balance of power system has been the alliances. It has been the traditional method to strengthen one's position vis-à-vis the opponent. When a state feels that it is not in a position to defend itself against another big state, it enters into alliance with another weak or powerful state for achieving its goal. States have always endeavoured to make, abandon and remake alliances depending upon their interests. Alliances can be offensive as well as defensive. As many scholars argued, offensive alliances must be condemned because they breed counter alliances and the general outcome is war. On the other hand defensive alliances aim at restoring the balance. These alliances are built up out of necessity of common interests and are directed against a common enemy. These alliances may break up after the objective is achieved.

The essentials of a stable and long lasting alliance are generally requisite power to achieve the purpose either through aggression or defence; common interest between or among the states that form an alliance; common ideology, geography and strategy and things like wise.

As it was said, alliances result in counter alliances. For example, the Triple Alliance of 1882 was countered by Triple Entente (1907). In the same way Axis formed in 1936 was a counter balance against the alliance between France and East European nations. The ultimate result of these alliances was Second World War. In the post Second World War era the U.S with its allies formed NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the former USSR countered them with the Warsaw pact.

(c) Compensation and Partition: Compensation and partition are also commonly used methods for maintaining a balance of power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both are of territorial nature. When a state enhances its power by acquiring new territories and tilts balance in its favour, the rival nation takes immediate steps to increase its own power through compensation in order to preserve the balance. This means when a powerful nation occupies the territories of small nations, the powerful rival nations cannot tolerate this act. They do place a condition either to share the occupied state or territory with them or to allow them to compensate themselves elsewhere. In such a condition the powerful rivals divide small nations and swallow their share. The partition of Poland and later its division between Russia, Prussia and Austria in the history is considered as a good example of compensation and partition. If you remember, soon after the Second World War Germany, Korea and Vietnam too were partitioned in the same manner. It should be remembered that this method involves redistribution of a territory in such a way that the general international balance of power is not disturbed in any manner.

(d) Intervention and Non-intervention: Intervention and Non-Intervention are the methods which are used usually as a last resort. Intervention is nothing but interference in the internal affairs of another country by a powerful nation in order to extract some specific concession. Germany and Italy's intervention in Spanish civil war between the inter war period, U.S intervention in Cuba can be cited as examples for this method. The method of non-intervention involves neutrality, or efforts to localise war or to protect the rights of neutral in the time of war. This method is usually followed by main states or by great powers which are satisfied with the existing political order. Hence the method of non-intervention also helps in keeping the balance of power.

(e) Divide and Rule: This is the most time tested technique and adopted by many nations that wanted to keep their competitors weak by dividing them or keeping them divided. This was adopted by Romans to keep their control over scattered peoples. Britain often used it to keep her large empire under control. In the post Second World War period Soviet Union was interested in the disintegration of Western Europe, the USA was interested in creating rift in the East European countries led by Soviet Union. They further continued this policy also to bring the maximum number of non-aligned states under their influence.

(f) Buffer States: Setting up of a buffer state is another method of Balance of Power. Buffer state is usually a weak state situated between two powerful neighbours which keeps the rivals safely apart and contributes for peace and security by maintaining balance of power. Afghanistan had been a traditional buffer state between Imperial Russia and British India. In Europe Belgium and Holland remained as buffer states between France and Germany. In the post Second World War period the 38th parallel in Korea or the 17th parallel in Vietnam and various cease-fire zones throughout the world indirectly serve the cause of a buffer state.

(g). Domestic Methods: Apart from the above mentioned methods which are practiced at international level a state adopts certain domestic methods when it feels that balance has been tilted in favour of its rival. As a part of those methods it tries to become more powerful by improving its elements of power domestically like acquiring more powerful weapons, developing related industries or allocating more money to the defence budget and so on.

After studying about the basic assumptions, types and various methods of practicing balance of power, now we proceed further for the critical evaluation of the theory and practice of Balance of Power concept.

4.2.7 CRITICAL EVALUATION

As it was mentioned earlier, the theory and practice of balance of power has been a subject of great debate. Scholars disagree on the points of its value and advantage. If the realists hail it, the idealists criticise it for its relationship with power politics. Let us now look at the utility and pitfalls of balance of power.

4.2.7.1 Utility of Balance of Power

Balance of power has greatly contributed to the preservation of peace in the absence of Collective Security system. E.H. Carr and Harold Macmillan attribute prevalence of peace in Europe in the 19th century largely to the practice of balance of power.

In the absence of any effective machinery for enforcement of International Law it exhorted its obedience to international law. L. Oppenheim considered Balance of power as an indispensable condition for the very existence of international law. He further argued that there is no and never can be a central political authority above the sovereign states that could enforce the law of nations. Hence, only a balance of power could prevent any member of the family of nations from becoming omnipotent. Many other scholars agree with this argument.

The third utility of Balance of power is that it contributed to the preservation of modern state system by guaranteeing independence of small states. This was ensured by preventing any single state or group of states becoming too powerful as to threaten the existence of smaller and weaker states. While guaranteeing the existence of small states, it contains hegemony and universal imperialism.

4.2.7.2 Criticism of the Theory

Though the balance of power system is hailed by many scholars as served the cause of peace, justice, law and independence of small countries it was greatly criticised by several other scholars for its wrong assumptions and its close relationship with power politics, which can be explained as following.

The critics of Balance of power argue that it does not necessarily bring peace. Rather it encouraged and encourages war. The critiques argue that nations resort to war only when the two are equally matched. It is also argued that by pursuing the policy of preventive war and intervention, balance of power may serve the cause of war. The theory was criticised for its wrong assumption that all actions of states are motivated by the consideration of increasing their power. Even though power is one of the goals of a state it is not the only goal. The economic and cultural interests of the states also influence their actions. It is also criticised for wrongly assuming states as static units. The states increase their power not only through alliances, armaments and conquests, but also through industrialisation, improvement in national character and such methods.

The assumption that states are naturally hostile political entities is difficult to accept in today's world. It is also wrongly assumed that states shift their sides according to their own will. But it ignored that states are often motivated by the consideration of their national interest, they might change sides temporarily but generally they are tied to their friends by political, economic and psychological interests. Similarly, the assumption of the existence of a balancer has also been criticised by a number of scholars. As Organski puts it there is no such thing as balancer and never has been. There is no single nation that is motivated only by the desire to maintain the balance.

The techniques like alliances and counter alliances were also criticised on the ground that they divide the world into two rival camps inflicted by mistrust and suspicion. In such a divided world even a local conflict will have the tendency to become a big or a world war. This theory was also criticised for negating all norms of international morality and justice and attaching more importance to self-interest. Some scholars also argued that it is difficult to measure power position of states and declare that balance of power exists. There is no yardstick to measure the political power. The only way of assessment is through a war which is non-conducive to peace.

4.2.8 RELEVANCE OF BALANCE OF POWER IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES

The critics argue that now Balance of Power it is not a relevant principle of international relations. The big changes in the international system as well as in the balance of power system have made it almost an obsolete system. On the basis of above arguments, the critics of Balance of Power advocate its total rejection.

Undoubtedly, in contemporary times the balance of power has lost its utility and much of its importance due to changes in the international system. However it cannot be denied that it continues to be an important factor in the regional power relations among the states of a region. It is used by nations for assessing the nature of power relations at the regional level. As Palmer and Perkins pointed out, “As long as the nation-state system is the prevailing pattern of international society, balance of power policies will be followed in practice, and in all probability, they will continue to operate, even if effective supranational groupings on a regional or world level are formed”.

In contemporary times, Balance of Power has lost much of its utility due to several changes in the international relations. The following changes in the international relations as well as in the traditional balance of power system have adversely affected the role and relevance of Balance of Power as a device of power management in International politics.

(1) End of the era of European Domination and the dawn of era of Global Politics: The structure of international politics has undergone a radical change from the classical period. From a narrow European dominated international system it has come to be a truly global system in which Asian, African and Latin American states enjoy a new and added importance. Today Europe is no longer the centre of world politics. European politics constitutes only one small segment of international politics. This changes has considerably reduced the operation ability of balance of power.

(2) Changes in Psychological Environment: The characteristic moral and intellectual consensus that characterised European nations during the classical period of Balance of

Power (1815-1914) has ceased to exist. Each major power now seeks to protect its interests as universal interests and hence tries to impose these upon others. The use of propaganda and ideology as instruments of national policy has increased manifold. This development has further checked the importance of balance of power.

(3) Rise of Propaganda, Psychological and Political Warfare as instruments of National Policy: Previously, diplomacy and war used to be the chief means of conducting foreign policies. The decline of diplomacy, rise of new diplomacy and the new fear of war as a means, have brought into operation two new devices- Propaganda and Political warfare, as the instruments of national policy. These have in turn reduced the popularity and role of balance of power principle in international relations.

(4) Emergence of Ideology as a Factor of International Relations: The new importance of ideology and other less tangible but, nevertheless, important elements of national power have further created unfavourable conditions for the operation of balance of power.

(5) Reduction in the Number of Major Powers: The most obvious structural change that has seriously limited the role of balance of power has been the numerical reduction of the players of power-politics game. For its operation, Balance of Power needs the presence of a number of major power actors. The presence of two superpowers during 1945-91 discouraged the operation of balance of power and now there is present only one super power in the world.

(6) The Bipolarity of Cold War period and the new era of Unipolarity: The bipolarity (presence of two super powers and their blocs) that emerged in the Cold War period reduced the flexibility of the international system. It reduced the chances of balance of power whose working requires the existence of flexibility in power relations, alliances and treaties. Presently unipolarity characterizes the international system.

(7) The End of the Era of Colonialism and Imperialism: Another big change in the structure of balance of power has been the disappearance of imperialism and colonialism:

It has limited the scope for the exercise of power by the European powers, who in the past always worked as the key players of the principle Balance of Power.

(8) Disappearance of the “Balancer”: The rise of two super powers the disappearance of the “holder of balance” or the “balancer” considerably reduced the chances of balance of power politics during 1945-91. Traditionally, Britain used to play such a role in Europe. The sharp and big decline in the power of Britain in the post-war period compelled it to abandon its role of balancer between the two super powers. No other nation or even a group of nations was successful in acting as a balancer between the USA and the (erstwhile) USSR. The absence of a balancer further reduced the role of balance of power in post-war international relations.

(9) Change of Concept of War into Total War: The emergence of nuclear weapons and other revolutionary developments in war technology has produced a big in change the nature of war. The replacement of war by Total War has made war the most dreaded situation in international relations. This has forced nations to reject war as an instrument of balance of power which rests upon the assumption that nations can even go to war for preserving or restoring the balance.

(10) The Emergence of Global Actors: The rise of the United Nations and several other international and regional actors in international relations has given a new looked to the international relations of our times. The presence of the UN has made a big change in the structure and functioning of the international system. With a provision for collective security of international peace and security, the United Nations constitutes a better source of peace. Due to all these changes in international relations, Balance of Power has come to suffer a big decline. It has definitely lost much of its relevance.

In contemporary times, Balance of Power has ceased to be a fully relevant and credible principle of international relations. However, it still retains a presence in international relations, more particularly, in the sphere of regional relations among states. Some scholars observe:

- “The idea of balance of power is still the central theoretical concept in international relation.”—Snyder
- “The Structural changes in international politics of post-war period have not greatly affected the principle of Balance of Power. It still holds good in respect of regional relations among nations.”—Arnold Wolfers

Although Balance of Power has lost most of its relevance as a global level device of power management, it is still being used by the states of a region to maintain a balance in their power positions. Several scholars admit its continued presence:

Indeed the concept of Balance of Power is bound to continue so long as the struggle for power among nations continues to characterize international relations. Even the staunch critics of Balance of Power like, Martin Wright and Friedrich admit that Balance of Power is still a basic element in international relations. Balance of power is neither totally obsolete nor dead. Its role, however, has changed from a global device to a regional device of power management.

4.2.9 LET US SUM UP

Despite of great criticism and the inherent defects of balance of power system, it remained as a universal pattern of political action of states in history. It did contribute to preserve the independence of a nation and to prevent any nation from becoming over powerful. As many scholars felt it has survived not only the passage of time, but also the League of Nations, United Nations and the nuclear age. It is still considered to be a valid concept in international politics and practiced to some extent or the other by various nations if not directly through indirect means in today’s world.

In the end it is appropriate to conclude with the observation of Palmer and Perkins that “as long as the nation state is prevailing pattern of the international society, balance of power politics will be followed in practice, however roundly they are condemned in theory.

In all probability they will continue to operate even if effective supranational groupings on a regional or world level are formed”.

4.2.10 EXERCISE

1. How is international peace maintained under Balance of power system?
2. How Balance of Power meant differently to different people?
3. What is the basic assumption of the Balance of Power system?
4. Which period is considered as the golden age of classical Balance of power?
5. Summarise the basic assumptions of Balance of power system as enunciated by Quincy Wright.
6. How balance of power can be described in terms of geographical coverage?
7. What do you understand by multiple balance?
8. Why Alliances and Counter Alliances are considered to be the most commonly used methods of Balance of power?
9. Write about the significance of Armament and Disarmament as methods of Balance of power.
10. Prepare a brief note on the utility of Balance of Power?
11. Briefly write how the basic assumptions of the Balance of Power doctrine are criticised.

4.3 DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

- Suneel Kumar

Attempts to control or abolish the use of force are nearly as old as the war itself, and they have taken the form of trying to limit both the ends sought through war and the instruments of violence.

- K. J. Holsti, 1977: 345

STRUCTURE

4.3.0 Objectives

4.3.1 Introduction

4.3.2 Defining Disarmament

4.3.3 Distinction between Disarmament and Arms Control

4.3.4 Types of Disarmament

4.3.5 Need for Disarmament

4.3.6 Major Efforts for Disarmament

4.3.7 Difficulties in Achieving Disarmament

4.3.8 Let us Sum UP

4.3.9 Exercise

4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- how various people defined Disarmaments;
- Difference between Disarmament and Arms Control;
- Various types of Disarmament;
- Major Efforts for Disarmament;
- Difficulties faced by international community in achieving disarmament.

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

If armament and armaments race are a manifestation of disturbed international relations, then disarmament and arms controls demonstrate enthusiasm for peace among the states. In the last hundred years, nature and pattern of conflicts and use of weapons have changed dramatically. Earlier, only a few countries had maintained large armies and active combatants had been killed in the different conflicts. But, in the twentieth century battles often encompassed entire societies. Two world wars engulfed nearly the entire globe. Hence with the passage of time states have developed and used weapons of indiscriminate destructive power including chemical and biological weapons. Today in the twenty first century, as Melissa Gills reveals, most conflicts are fought primarily with small arms and light weapons, which account for 60 to 90 per cent of direct conflict deaths, some 250,000 each year.

Despite all this, in 2008, the world's governments spent an estimated US \$1,464 billion to arm themselves. This figure amounts to \$216 for each person in the world. The United States alone accounts for \$607 billion or nearly 42 per cent of the total amount spent on arms. All these exhibit the destructive and anarchic tendencies of international relations. Nevertheless, parallel to armament and development of the weapons of mass destruction, bilateral and multilateral efforts have also been made by the community of nations towards the disarmament and arms control. Primary objective behind such efforts is to accommodate the divergent national interests and transform the international relations

by eliminating the destructive and anarchic tendencies to achieve the peace. Hence, present lesson explains the term 'disarmament' while distinguishing it from arms control. This chapter also discusses the types of disarmament and efforts made by League of Nations and United Nations towards the disarmament.

4.3.2 DEFINING THE TERM 'DISARMAMENT'

The word 'disarmament', as commonly used, invariably lacks precise meaning. In fact, it is a subject to careful qualification. Often, it is taken to mean total elimination of weapons of mass destruction. However, generally, it is viewed as an act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons in international relations. Hans J. Morgenthau, while defining the term 'disarmament' in his book *Politics Among Nations* says: "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armaments race". Morgenthau opines that armament and armaments race are one of the most important manifestations of struggle for power on international scene and by doing away with this arms race, one can do away with the international anarchy and war which are the typical effects of that struggle.

The term 'disarmament', according to Jeffrey Larsen is "...used to indicate the full range of endeavours to reduce and restrict military weapons and forces through a wide variety of means, from cooperation to imposition." While explaining the term Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe argue that "disarmament in its absolute sense requires the global destruction of weapons and the disestablishment of all armed forces". Martin Griffiths and Terry O' Callaghan say that disarmament is an "...attempt to eliminate or radically reduce armaments".

In nutshell, from the above given definitions, one can argue that disarmament is an attempt to reduce or eliminate weapons and troops maintained by a state to preserve international peace and security. Protagonists of disarmament have a basic assumption that "arms cause wars." These are the centrepiece of war behaviour and of whole military

mentality of the mankind. Hence by eradicating the expectations and instruments of war, disarmament prevents war at local, regional and global level. Philosophically, disarmament can also be viewed as a form of demilitarization or a process to reduce and eliminate weapons systems. Thus, it can be a part of a set of other strategies, like economic conversion that may aim to reduce the power of war making institutions and structures.

4.3.3 DISTINGUISHING THE DISARMAMENT FROM ARMS CONTROL

Disarmament is different from arms control. As Hans J. Morganthau opines, “while disarmament is the reduction or elimination of armaments, arms control is concerned with regulating the armaments race for the purpose of creating a measure of military stability”. Austrian scholar Hedley Bull says:

... disarmament is the reduction or abolition of armaments, while arms control is restraint internationally exercised upon armament policy – not only the number of weapons, but also their character, development, and use.

Therefore, arms control essentially refers to the act of limiting arms rather than eliminating them. It includes treaties made between potential adversaries that reduce the likelihood and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability. Although disarmament always involves the reduction of military forces or weapons, arms control does not. Proponents of disarmament have an overall goal of reducing or eliminating the size of military, budgets, destructive power and other aggregate measures.

Jeffrey Larsen considers arms control both a process as well as a result. On the one hand, it involves the conscious and dedicated efforts by two or more parties to negotiate an improved security relationship and on the other, it is often manifested by an agreement to regulate some aspect of the participating states’ military capabilities or potential. The agreement can apply to the location, amount, readiness or types of military forces, weapons

and facilities. Arms control agreements ban certain types of weapons and weapons systems. It also place upper limits on the number of weapons that states may possess. It can also limit the size and destructive power of weapons. It can ban the production of weapons that may increase the possibility of war, stop or at least slow the development of technologies. It also includes new methods of communication, verifications and compliance. Hence, according to Griffiths and Callaghan, the purpose of arms control is purely regulatory. Its goal is not to construct a new world order, but to manage the existing one. Sometimes arms control agreements allow for the increase of weapons by one or more parties to a treaty. Arms control has focused on the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and problems related to the anti-ballistic missiles system and reducing the frequency of nuclear tests around the world.

4.3.4 TYPES OF DISARMAMENT

Types of disarmament have been discussed as below:-

1. **Imposed and Voluntary Disarmament:** When after a war disarmament is imposed on the defeated states by victorious states, it is called 'imposed disarmament'. For example after the end of First World War, in 1919 through the Treaty of Versailles, victorious states had forced Germany to limit its army to 100,000 troops. A similar restriction was imposed on Germany and Japan after the end of Second World War. Voluntary disarmament, as Griffiths and Callaghan say, is an attempt of the states in which they seek to negotiate a mutually acceptable framework within which all the parties will reduce the size of their military establishments.
2. **Unilateral Disarmament:** Unilateral disarmament is a policy option for the states to renounce weapons without seeking equivalent concessions from one's real or imagined rivals. This concept was used in the twentieth century in the context of unilateral nuclear disarmament, a recurrent objective of peace movements in countries such as the USA and the UK.

- 3. General and Complete Disarmament:** General and complete Disarmament refers to the removal of all weaponry, including conventional arms. General and complete disarmament is often piously held among negotiators to be the final objective. But in practice, states have usually concentrated on the less utopian goal of seeking agreement on partial measures intended to cover particular categories of weapons, or applying to designated geographical areas as in the case of nuclear-weapon-free zones. And in this kind of strictly limited context the goal has sometimes been abolition, sometimes limited reduction and sometimes a freeze. Michael G. Roskin and Nicholas O. Berry argue that as long as security threats exist, general and complete disarmament is either a utopia dream or a fraud. Thus, first of all security problems should be eliminated then states will disarm themselves. This type of disarmament is associated with extreme idealism. In 1986, General Secretary of Former Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan had accepted a plan for the elimination of all nuclear-armed ballistic missiles by 1996. This plan was never implemented.
- 4. General and Local Disarmament:** General disarmament refers to a kind of disarmament in which all the states concerned participate. For example Washington Treaty of 1922 was signed by all the major naval powers. Similarly all the states had participated World Disarmament Conference of 1932. These are example of general disarmament. Local disarmament occurs when only a limited number of states are involved. The Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 which was held between the United States and Canada is an example of local disarmament”.
- 5. Regional Disarmament:** This seeks to reduce or eliminate the weapons from a specific geographical area. Over the period of time, various plans have been proposed for regional disarmament especially to create nuclear weapons free zones (NWFZ). Due to such efforts Latin America, Antarctic and Central Asia have been declared as Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ).

- 6. Quantitative and Qualitative Disarmament:** Quantitative disarmament aims at an over-all reduction or elimination of armaments of most or all types. This was the goal of the World Disarmament Conference of 1932. Qualitative disarmament envisages the reduction or abolition of only certain specific types of armaments such nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. Examples of SALT Agreements (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) and START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) between the United States and Soviet Union can be given in the context of quantitative disarmament.
- 7. Conventional and Nuclear Disarmament:** The conventional weapons and forces constitute the bulk of the global military build-up. These weapons figure prominently in assessments of the military power of states. Thus, conventional disarmament deals with the reduction or elimination of all sort of conventional armaments and armed forces, except atomic weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear disarmament refers to act of reducing or eliminating nuclear weapons and create a nuclear-free world where nuclear weapons are absolutely eliminated. Supports of nuclear disarmament argue that it will reduce the probability of nuclear war occurring, especially accidentally. However, critics of nuclear disarmament opine that such attempts would weaken deterrence. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Green Peace and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War are the major groups which are asking for nuclear disarmament at global level. These groups have organized a large number of anti-nuclear demonstrations and protests in the various parts of the globe. For example, on June 12, 1982, one million people demonstrated in New York City's Central Park against nuclear weapons which was the largest anti-nuclear protest in the world history.

4.3.5 NEED FOR DISARMAMENT

Protagonists have given various arguments in support of disarmament and arms control. These arguments are given as below:-

First of all, protagonists say that armaments and subsequent armaments race is a primary reason of war. Possessions of weapons and armament race among the states ultimately instigate the states to go for war which, otherwise, can be avoided in the absence of weapons. Hence, disarmament can be an effective means to prevent the war.

Secondly, war, in modern times, is destructive and extensively indiscriminate slaughter of innocent civilians. War industry is economically unsustainable. If mankind will continue to be on this path, as John Barrow writes, human civilization will self-destruct. Sir Martin Rees also believes that mankind has only fifty per cent chance of reaching the end of the 21st century if it will not change its path. Historically states have glorified war. Now, war is increasingly focused on innocent civilian populations. In First World War, of the over 20 million dead, five per cent were civilians. In the Second World War, the civilian death toll was 50 per cent. In the Vietnam War the civilian death toll rose to 90 per cent. During the recent Iraq war the civilian death toll was higher than 90 per cent. Thus, as a result of the reduction or elimination of some of the weapons, as the supporters of disarmament think, can reduce the destruction of war.

Thirdly, armaments and armaments race put a huge burden on the state budget. Amount which can be utilized for the welfare of the people generally goes waste in the procurement of weapons. As Greg Mello opines, the weaponry is spiralling out of control at enormous potential human, social and economic cost. In the industrialized countries, annual expenditures for defence average over 500-billion dollars a year. And in newly industrializing countries military spending is increasing day by day. In the United States, the nuclear arsenal, alone, has cost in the neighbourhood of 7 trillion dollars. The average lifecycle cost for each nuclear weapon is around one hundred million dollars. The possession of nuclear weapons has not prevented war. Hence, instead of spending huge amount on

the construction or purchasing of weapons, states can use amount for the welfare of its citizens and other peaceful purposes. In the other words, disarmament may help to resolve the problems of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and housing.

Fourth, apart from the human, social and economic cost, armament race is a threat for environment as various types of experiments are done to manufacture the weapons. Besides, use of weapons especially chemical, biological and nuclear can lead to environmental hazards. Hence, disarmament is a better option from this perspective as well.

In nutshell, human, social, economic and environmental cost of war and use of weapons in it makes it necessary to think about the disarmament so that vast destruction to be caused by the prospective war can be avoided.

4.3.6 MAJOR EFFORTS FOR DISARMAMENT

Historically, numerous efforts have been made by the statesmen and academicians to support the argument of disarmament. Hence, disarmament has a story of many failures as well as successes. Immanuel Kant in work “Perpetual Peace in 1795 had given stress on perpetual peace while urging for disarmament. Kant said that perpetual peace can be achieved through the elimination of standing armies by the states. In 1816, the Czar of Russia made a proposal of simultaneous reduction of the armed forces to the British Government. In 1831, 1863, 1867 and 1869, similar types of proposals were made by France. Britain did the same in 1870 followed by Italy in 1877. First successful attempt of disarmament was held through the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 between the United States and Canada to limit the naval forces in the Great Lakes to three vessels of equal tonnage and armament for each. After that efforts to limit armaments by general international agreement were made at conferences held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 but no positive results were achieved.

4.3.6.1 Disarmament under the League of Nations

After the end of First World War, much more serious were the efforts made under the patronage of the League of Nations. Negotiations involving most countries and ostensibly covering all categories of weapons reached a climax when the World Disarmament Conference opened in Geneva in 1932. By 1935 the Conference was, however, seen to have failed due to rising tensions among the great powers. But perhaps failure was in any case inevitable given the complexity of striking a fair balance among the force structures of a great variety of states with differing security concerns. More successful were negotiations in the same period for naval arms limitation. The Washington Conference was held among the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy in 1922 in which the parties agreed on the size of their battleship fleets. In 1930 at the London Conference the United States, Great Britain and Japan extended the deal to cover all fighting vessels. Nevertheless, in 1935 Japan abandoned its support for these treaties and hence a new naval arms race began. Ultimately the efforts of the League went in vein as the Second World War broke out.

4.3.6.2 Disarmament Efforts after the Second World War

After the end of Second World War, the UN Charter also provided for disarmament. Great powers also agreed on the basic principles for disarmament. THE UN Disarmament Commission was constituted in 1952. But even then, post-war disarmament and arms control negotiations came to be dominated by the Cold War alliances. There was much insincere posturing on both sides until the USSR achieved nuclear parity with the Americans in the late 1960s. Thereafter negotiations, particularly concerning nuclear weapons, became more serious and notable agreements have been signed ranging from the SALT Treaties of the 1970s to the START Treaties.

Though importance of the limitations was not achieved, but there certainly have been financial savings. Since the disintegration of Soviet Union, nuclear arms race between Moscow and Washington appears to have ended. Russia have recently been troubled in

October 1999 as the US Senate voted down ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Besides, US President George W. Bush had announced its unilateral withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 in order to pursue a National Missile Defence programme designed to reduce vulnerability to missile attacks from so-called 'rogue states' in December 2001. Even then, efforts have continued to control the proliferation of chemical weapons under the Chemical Weapons Convention of 1993 and to keep in place the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972. But confidence in such measures of arms control, especially when unaccompanied by extensive means of verification, has not been strengthened by the revelation that the Soviet Union in its last years successfully concealed consistent and systematic cheating on its obligations under the Biological Weapons Convention. Even United States underlined the fear that the threat of the use of biological and chemical weapons may now come more from non-state actors than from sovereign states. Some of the important treaties and agreements on disarmament are being listed as under:-

- Washington Naval Treaty, 1922-1939
- Geneva Protocol on Chemical and Biological Weapons, 1925
- Antarctic Treaty, Signed 1959, entered into force 1961
- Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), signed and entered into force 1963
- Outer Space Treaty, signed and entered into force 1967
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), signed 1968, entered into force 1970
- Seabed Arms Control Treaty, signed 1971, entered into force 1972
- Treaty of Tlatelolco (Latin America and the Caribbean), signed 1967, entered into force 1972
- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-I), signed and ratified 1972, in force 1972-1977
- Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty), signed and entered into force 1972, terminated following US withdrawal 2002
- Biological Weapons Convention, signed 1972, entered into force 1975
- Threshold Test Ban Treaty, signed 1974, entered into force 1990
- SALT-II signed 1979, never entered into force.

- Environmental Modification Convention, signed 1977, entered into force 1978
- Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, signed 1980, entered into force 1983
- Moon Treaty, signed 1979, entered into force 1984
- Treaty of Rarotonga (South Pacific), signed 1985, entered into force 1986
- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed 1987, entered into force 1988
- Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, (CFE Treaty) signed 1990, entered into force 1992
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-I), signed 1991, entered into force 1994, expired 2009
- Chemical Weapons Convention, signed 1993, entered into force 1997
- START-II, signed 1993, ratified 1996 (United States) and 2000 (Russia), terminated following Russian withdrawal 2002
- Treaty of Bangkok (Southeast Asia), signed 1995, entered into force 1997
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), signed 1996
- Treaty of Pelindaba (Africa), signed 1996, entered into force 2009
- Ottawa Treaty on Anti-Personnel Land Mines, signed 1997, entered into force 1999
- Open Skies Treaty, signed 1992, entered into force 2002
- Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT), signed 2002, entered into force 2003, expires 2012
- Treaty of Semipalatinsk (Central Asia), signed 2006, entered into force 2008
- Convention on Cluster Munitions, signed 2008, entered into force 2010
- New START Treaty, signed by Russia and the United States in April 2010 entered into force in February 2011

4.3.7 DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES IN ACHIEVING DISARMAMENT

There are numerous hindrances in the way of disarmament which has been enumerated below:

First major in the way of disarmament is fear, insecurity and mutual distrust among the states. Every country tries to acquire more and more weapons to ensure its security while linking the possession of weapons with its security from any potential aggression. Moreover, hostile bilateral or multilateral relations of a country vis-à-vis others also discourage a country to go for disarmament. Adding to this, lack of mutual trust among the states also does not help the cause the disarmament. Many times, proposal for disarmament made by the one state is rejected by another state(s) because of the mutual distrust among them. On various occasions, this happened between US and USSR.

Second major obstacle in the way of disarmament is weapons industry. Armament industry both official and black is booming at global level. Arms industry lobby has huge influence on the policy-makers and executors. This lobby considers disarmament a threat to their business. Therefore, whenever, moves for disarmament are taken by the states, arms' industry related lobbies act to influence such steps. Thus, the industrialized powers, particularly the US, Russian, United Kingdom, France and Italy have power lobbies related to arms industry which is a major obstacle for disarmament.

Third important obstacle to disarmament is the ratio of reduction of armaments. When states decide to go for disarmament especially in bilateral cases it becomes difficult to make consensus on the ratio of weapons to be reduced or eliminated by the concerned parties.

Fourth, states always give preference to their national interest. Sometimes, states believe that by involving in disarmament, they must not compromise with their national interest. Hence they try to avoid being a part of disarmament efforts.

Fifth, bilateral and multilateral political disputes or power politics enhances the chances of armament race and decrease the scope for disarmament. This happened during the Cold War period especially between the US and the USSR.

Sixth, sophisticated weapons are considered as the status symbol by the states. To enhance the reputation at international level, various states are trying to manufacture the nuclear weapons and Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). Therefore, this trend is also a hurdle in the way of disarmament.

To sum up, insecurity, mutual distrust, dispute over the ratio, assumption of weapons as status symbol by the states are the problems for the disarmament.

4.3.8 LET US SUM UP

In brief, it can be said that disarmament is efforts of the states to reduce or eliminate the possession of armaments to the mankind from war and other conflicts. Weapons are the instruments of war. Due to the existence and destructive nature of the weapons, it necessary to think about the disarmament so that vast destruction to be caused by the prospective war can be avoided. Despite all the difficulties and obstacles in the way of disarmament, a remarkable progress has been by the nations in the context of disarmament. A remarkable bipartisan consensus has also emerged in Washington regarding nuclear security. The new US nuclear agenda includes renewing formal arms control agreements with Russia, revitalizing a strategic dialogue with China. This agenda also includes redoubling efforts to reduce and secure fissile material that may be used in weapons. During the 2008 presidential campaign, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, William Perry, and George Shultz had successfully encouraged both candidates of major political parties – Barack Obama and John McCain – to embrace the idea of a world free of nuclear weapons. In the past, US President Obama has made the goal of disarmament as a priority for his administration.

4.3.9 EXERCISE

1. The word 'disarmament' lacks precise meaning. How do you understand this?
2. Philosophically, disarmament can be viewed as a form of demilitarization or a process to reduce and eliminate weapons systems. Explain.
3. Disarmament is different from arms control. Elaborate?
4. The purpose of arms control is purely regulatory. Do you agree with this?
5. How do you make distinction between imposed disarmament and voluntary disarmament?
6. Write briefly about general and complete disarmament.
7. What is the difference between Quantitative disarmament from Qualitative disarmament?
8. How conventional disarmament is different from nuclear disarmament?
9. What are the reasons mentioned for pursuing disarmament?
10. Write a note on disarmament efforts under the league.
11. What are the initiatives for disarmament taken after the Second World War period?
12. Write a brief note on problems or hindrances faced by international community in achieving disarmament?

4.4 EMERGING GLOBAL POWER STRUCTURE: FROM COLD WAR TO POST-COLD WAR ERA

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

1.4.0 Objectives

1.4.1 Introduction

1.4.2 Power Structure during Cold War Period

4.4.2.1 Bipolarity in International Politics

4.4.2.2 End of Bipolarity

1.4.3 US Centric Unipolarity – A Shorter Phenomenon

4.4.3.1 The UN Dominance in G-7, P-5 and N-5

4.4.3.2 Marginalisation of the South

1.4.4 Unipolarity to Multipolarity or Polycentrism

4.4.4.1 Russia's Assertiveness

4.4.4.2 Rise of China

4.4.4.3 Increased Role of Regional and Extra-Regional Organizations

1.4.5 Let us Sum UP

1.4.6 Exercise

4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- global power structure in the Cold War period in general and on bipolarity in particular;
- disintegration of the USSR and emergence of the US centric unipolarity;

- impact of assertiveness of Russia and China to global power structure; and
- movement from unipolarity to multipolarity or policy centrism with the rise of regional and extra-regional organisations;

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The major issues in world politics arise from inequalities in the distribution of power and from major changes to this unequal distribution. Even distribution of power among major states is a rare phenomenon. Uneven processes of growth lead to the emergence and eventual decline of preponderant states. Theories of hegemony and power transition try to explain these major power shifts.

The Second World War had a greater impact on power structure in international relations. The heavy losses suffered by the major powers, i.e., Britain and other countries, developed a power vacuum which encouraged both USA and USSR to fill that gap. However, the attempt on the part of the two countries to extend their respective areas of influence resulted in the Cold War whereby there was a division of world into two hostile power blocs each led by a superpower. This situation was termed as the rigid bipolarity which remained on the international scenario for only a decade but this bipolarity in its loose sense continued to dominate the international relations for a long time since World War II. The last months of 1991 brought an end to the bipolarity due to disintegration of USSR which eventually led to the US led unipolarity. For many scholars, this unipolarity also very short phenomenon, the world has already moved towards multipolarity with rise in China's power in contemporary international politics and emergence of many regional or extra-regional organizations.

In this lesson, you will study the changes occurred to global power structure from the Cold War period to post-Cold war to gain better sense of contemporary international politics and various dimensions associated with it.

4.4.2 POWER STRUCTURE DURING COLD WAR PERIOD

The post World War II period was characterized by a peace, but in its negative way. This peace was of a temporary nature since it was a shaky, risky and tense one because it was accompanied by the end of war-time cooperation between communist USSR and capitalist West. Though the war-time cooperation between East and West had given rise to the hope that this cooperation between East and West would continue and a long and enduring peace will be maintained. However, this proved to be visionary idealism as towards the closing years of the war itself, there emerged strong differences between the USSR and the Western powers. Thus the post-World War era was marked by the Cold War which was a war of nerves in which no blood was shed but tension was kept up and the world was made to live on the brink of war.

4.4.2.1 Bipolarity in International Politics

One of the characteristic features of the Cold War was the division of the world into American and Soviet Blocs. The consolidation of these two blocs through a solid network of alliances and counter alliances created bipolarity in international politics, i.e., the world was divided into two mutually hostile groups each led by a superpower. Bipolarity means a situation at global level whereby there is existence of only two major powers, whose capabilities are generally comparable and are far beyond and more than those of any other state and each of which holds a power structure which is the opponent of the other power structure. Bipolar system involves two opposing states or blocs and in which each regards the other as an adversary and each sees the other as the one which threatens its security. In its initial phase the bipolarity was so rigid that almost all the states at global level were involved and associated with one or the other bloc.

4.4.2.2 End of Bipolarity

The disintegrations of the USSR into various independent nations changed the international power structure and made it more polycentric. Though since 1955 itself bipolarity began

suffering a decline, however, the disintegration of USSR played a major role to the end of bipolarity in international politics.

The big change that came into the international system under the impact of the socialist Revolution in Soviet Russia in 1917 again underwent a big change in the December 1991 when the Soviet Union got collapsed and disintegrated. USSR which continued to be a superpower during 1945-91 failed to maintain itself as a single integrated state due to internal political and economic pressures. Initially the three Baltic states – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – secured their independence from the USSR later on other republics also started declaring their independence. In November 1991, all the republics declared their independence and Russia came to be recognised as the successor states of the USSR. The disintegration of the USSR completed the process of the end of Cold War and also bipolarity in international relations.

4.4.3 US CENTRIC UNIPOLARITY – A SHORTER PHENOMENON

The unipolarity or a unipolar world is characterised by the existence of only one major power whose capabilities and sphere of influence in all respects is far beyond those of any other state. The rapid changes that took place in USSR and the Eastern European countries created a situation in which a unipolar system began emerging in the international politics. With the disintegration of USSR and the termination of Warsaw Pact, the USA became the sole surviving superpower in the world and a virtual unipolar power structure came to develop in international relations.

Despite the decline in America's share in the world Gross National Product (GNP) since 1945 (when it was 40 per cent), the United States ranks number one in GNP which is slightly less than 25 per cent of the world total. The United States ranks number one in military expenditure in the world with around 35 per cent of the world total. The United States is the biggest arms exporter in the world, and ranks number three in arms imports,

after Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Military expenditure in the United States constitutes around 20 per cent of the central government expenditure.

Towards the end of 20th century, the ability of USA to keep NATO intact as a military bloc and the unwillingness of almost all the major countries like Britain and France to challenge the role of USA, for one or the other reason, contributed to bring unipolarity to the international politics. The increase in US control over the United Nations and more specifically in the Security Council and its continued military, economic, industrial and technological superiority all continued to strengthen the US power in world politics. Consequently the unipolar system came to characterise the international system.

A significant development during this period is the ideological unification of the world because of the universal acceptance of the principles of democracy, decentralisation, market economy, globalisation, denuclearisation, demilitarisations and development.

4.4.3.1 The US Dominance in G-7, P-5 and N-5

The United States in the maintenance of its dominance has the support of industrially advanced countries of the world and together they control the political and military power structure in the post-Cold War international system. This is the second important feature of the post-Cold War world. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was the chief contender of the United States. After the Cold War, the Russian Federation and China both became collaborators of the United States for many purposes, in the interest of their own military and economic security.

The G-7, which is led by the United States and includes the seven most industrialised countries of the world, tends to lay down macro-economic policy for the whole world. The North-centric approach of the G-7 (G-8 after with Russia's join in 1997) is obvious from the fact that the summit meeting of the Group held in June 1995 in Canada recommended a radical review of individual UN agencies, and singled out the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and United Nations Industrial Development

Organisation (UNIDO) as bodies whose mandate required re-assessments in the light of changed economic circumstances and the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The G-8 has of late tended to use its economic clout to pressurise the rest of the world, particularly the countries of the South, on political and strategic issues too.

The P-5, i.e., the five permanent members of the Security Council have also tended to adopt similar attitudes in the Security Council on most political issues pertaining to international peace and security since the end of the Cold War. The foremost example were the resolutions pertaining to the Gulf war in 1990-91 which tended to serve the strategic interests of the United States. Their views on expansion of membership of the Security Council are also more or less the same, i.e., the time is not yet ripe for expansion of membership, in both permanent and non-permanent categories.

The five permanent members of the Security Council are also the N-5, i.e., the five recognised nuclear weapon powers. With the United States as their leader, they are the statusquoist states in regard to the global power structure in military terms. Even though by implication, they became permanently entrenched in the privileged category of nuclear-haves as against the rest of the world which was obligated to abdicate the right to unchecked nuclear growth. These five powers are opposed to nuclear non-proliferation on a non-discriminatory basis.

In the post-Cold War and post-Gulf war era of international relations, the UN role has got reduced. The USA dominated in all the decision-making systems of the UN. Almost all the UN Security Council decisions on Iraq, Libya, Bosnia, Serbs, Human Rights, creation of nuclear free zones, the UN General Assembly vote that Zionism is not terrorism – all reflect the unchallenging superiority and dominance of the USA. In fact, this situation is described as “UNO is behaving as a USO” by many analysts of international politics.

4.4.3.2 Marginalisation of the South

Another defining feature of the post-Cold War world is the fragmentation and marginalisation of the South. Although the process of fragmentation of the South had begun in the 1980s, the countries of the South (mostly NAM countries) stand completely disunited and marginalised in world politics of today. The heyday of the unity of the South was the 1960s and 1970s. After the demise of the Soviet Union, its countervailing strategic and diplomatic support was no longer available. The leading countries of the South felt increasingly dependent on the support of the United States alone.

Besides, the economic success of the East Asian and South-East Asian states based on liberalised market oriented export-led models made it necessary for countries of the South to look toward the USA, Western Europe and Japan for investments, trade, and multilateral financial support. The leading countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia allowed themselves to be subjected to politico-economic pressures from the industrial North and were dissuaded from adopting unified positions on critical global issues. This was evident from the results of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations concluded in Marrakesh in April 1994, the NPT Extension Conference concluded in New York in May 1995, and the negotiations on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) concluded in New York in September 1996.

The dismal performance of the South in these conferences was a testimony to the decline and failure of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the G-77, the main institutions of the South formed and nurtured since 1960s. The economic plight of the South as a whole has continued to deteriorate and has become no better after the end of the Cold War, despite the fast economic growth of the East and South-East Asian regions. The Human Development Report of 1994 (UNDP) painted a grim picture of the South which is inhabited by the poorest of the world. According to this report, the gap between the rich and the poor of the world has tended to widen.

4.4.4 UNIPOLARITY TO MULTIPOLARITY

As international history has condensed at the turn of the centuries, with far ranging events occurring with increased dynamics, scholars and policy makers are having a difficulty in fully grasping the evolving dynamic. Role of the United States of America was constantly being reassessed – given its position as the still dominant but gradually weakening power. In the context of the post-9/11 global war on terror, as well as in the context of power shift to the East and elsewhere many started seeing contemporary international politics with what Fareed Zakaria identified as “the rise of the rest”.

In addition to deep political changes in the USA, and perhaps even deeper crisis in the EU, Chinese economic and Russian military assertiveness, as well as the Middle Eastern collapse, seem to perfectly encapsulate all the presented changes. Different orders are produced and sustained on basis of systemically shaped identities and interests.

4.4.4.1 *Russia's Assertiveness*

There is general agreement that the foreign policy of the Russian Federation has become much more assertive in the past decade. Russia has signalled that it seeks greater stakes in the international system and would no longer accept the status of a West's junior partner it was during the 1990s. In addition to its desire to capitalize on its energy competitiveness and break into Western economic markets, Russia no longer views the old methods of preserving stability and security as sufficient. While maintaining an essentially defensive security posture, it believes that a more assertive strategy provides a better defence of national interests. Putin's speech at the Munich Conference on Security Policy became a high point in Russia's new assertiveness and was extremely critical of U.S. “unilateralism.” Russia's president then accused the United States of “disdain for the basic principles of international law” and having “overstepped its national borders in . . . the economic, political, cultural and educational policies it imposes on other nations.”

The new assertiveness in Russia's foreign policy is grandly visible when it forcefully annexed Crimea from the Ukraine. When President Vladimir Putin decided to send Russian

troops to Syria in September 2015, many scholars marked it as a beginning of new Cold War. For Russian President Putin, the Syrian intervention was a big gamble. He sensed that the US administration was indecisive despite its threats against the Assad regime and that the rebels were divided. His immediate plan was to salvage the regime, bolster Russia's position in West Asia and send a message to his rivals in the West. The inability of the US to stop Russia's intervention in Ukraine and Syria cracked its status as a super power in Unipolar world.

4.4.4.2 Rise of China

At the end of the Cold War, some analysts proclaimed that "geo-economics" had replaced "geopolitics." Economic power would become the key to success in world politics. Carrots were becoming more important than sticks. In a similar vein, today some equate the rise in China's share of world product as a fundamental shift in the balance of global power. These analyses fail to consider other dimensions of power, while ignoring the role of symmetry in the creation of coercive power in economic interdependence.

Symmetry refers to the relative balance in dependence between two parties. Being less dependent can be a source of coercive power, as long as both sides value the interdependent relationship, and manipulating the asymmetries of interdependence is an important dimension of coercive economic power. Perfect symmetry is quite rare, so most cases of economic interdependence also involve a potential power relationship.

Take, for example, the economic relationship today between the United States and China. America accepts Chinese imports and pays China in dollars, while China holds American dollars and bonds, in effect making a loan to the United States. China has amassed more than \$3 trillion of foreign exchange reserves, much of it held in U.S. Treasury securities. Some observers have described this as a great shift in the global balance of power because China could bring the United States to its knees by threatening to sell its dollars. But in doing so, China would not only reduce the value of its reserves as the price of the dollar fell, but it would jeopardize American willingness to continue to import cheap

Chinese goods, resulting in job loss and instability in China. If it dumped its dollars, China would bring the U.S. to its knees, but might also bring itself to its ankles.

This resulted in visible assertiveness of China not only in East and South East Asia but in entire Indo-Pacific region, especially in South China Sea. China also attempting to establish military bases in various countries in Asian and African region to increase its political, military and economic clout.

4.4.4.3 Increased Role of Regional and Extra-Regional Organizations

For many scholars the world of 21st Century is groping for a new equilibrium, a new balance of power. What it amounts to is a struggle for a new distribution of power—political, economic and military. The struggle has taken the form of a conflict between the statusquoist attitude of those states which dominate the global power structure and the revisionist attitude of those which are excluded from these power structures. In effect, it is a quest for consolidation and legitimisation of the existing distribution of power on the part of some states. The rest of the world is quietly engaged in a struggle to alter the status quo and to bring into existence a just world order. The challenge of our times is whether this redistribution of power can be brought about by a peaceful consensus, or it must take place through a number of conflicts and convulsions, international and intra-national.

According to these scholars, the 21st century will not be China's century alone nor will it remain America's. The geopolitical and geoeconomic conditions that enabled Britain to become 'Great' in the 19th century and that enabled the U.S. to emerge as the dominant world power of the 20th century do not exist for China or anyone else today. The "unipolar" world of the British and American empires was a historical aberration. European scholarship wrongly viewed all great powers in history as "global powers". The global moment of many of them was short-lived. At best they were all continental powers. Multipolarity or polycentric dispersal of power and prosperity defines the normal state of the world.

An important question for all IR theorists is whether current and future power shifts will push states to band together in “regional groupings” that themselves become ‘poles’. But the world’s most advanced regional bloc – the EU – has obviously fallen on hard times. Meanwhile, systematic forms of inter-regionalism remain embryonic and still do not represent veritable loci of power. For all the talk about the BRICS, with their summits and plans for a new development bank and an extended use of the Chinese renminbi in their mutual trade, they hardly constitute a cohesive bloc. Their economies are widely different and their political systems more so, ranging from China’s controlled capitalism to India’s (fragile) established democracy, Russia’s ‘czarist’ political system and Brazil and South Africa’s consolidating electoral democracies.

However, In the economic domain, however, multipolarity is clearly on the rise. Together, the BRIC countries wield significant power. In 2010 their economies amounted to \$11.2 trillion GDP, close to that of the US (\$14.6 trillion) and the EU (\$16.2 trillion). In the environmental domain, the profound interconnectivity between climate change, biodiversity degradation, management of hazardous waste, and food security bolsters the case for multipolarity, and has induced the EU to seek to strengthen multilateralism.

The global power shift and the emergence of warrant a critical reassessment of the existing multilateral system and its potential for containing conflict and orientating great power interactions towards cooperation. It is accepted wisdom among students of IR that when major power shifts occur, the potential for conflict increases. Kupchan insists that “the past makes amply clear that transitions in the balance of power are dangerous historical moments; most of them have been accompanied by considerable bloodshed”. In the present circumstances, a natural prescription is to try to deepen and extend multilateral cooperation so that both emerging and established powers play by clearer and more binding rules.

4.4.5 LET US SUM UP

The very definition of international system is a problem that has long occupied attention of political scientists. It is, at the beginning, crucially important to stress that what is meant by “international system” does not comprise of all the sectors of international life – however indisputably intertwined they may be. International system is actually international political system where centres power determines its functioning.

What determine the ‘power’ in international politics is the capabilities of a country. Distribution of capabilities is nothing else than differentiation of states according to their power and possibilities to project it. The outcome of such a differentiation is that some units are relatively easily defined as great powers and these are the core elements of a system’s polarity. When changes at the systemic level of international politics are discussed, it is by definition an issue of changes in the system’s polarity – from multipolar, to bipolar, to unipolar.

Students of International Relations (IR) live in interesting times. First, there seems little question that power is shifting from established powers to emerging ones. The Western powers that established the institutions of post-World War II global governance and successfully entrenched within them their dominance of IR are facing demands to rebalance international institutions to reflect the rise of new powers: particularly, the so-called BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China). As a result, the global power structure which is bipolar during Cold War period, unipolar after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in post-Cold War period is now shifting towards multipolarity where regional and extra-regional organizations like European Union, BRICS, NAFTA, IBSA, etc. are becoming major players.

4.4.6 EXERCISE

1. How do you describe global power structure during the Cold War period.
2. Briefly state the reasons for end of the Cold War.
3. What are the characteristics of post-Cold War US-dominated unipolar world order?
4. How do you understand the marginalisation of South in the post-Cold War period.
5. In your understanding is this world moving from unipolarity to multipolarity.
6. How influential are the regional organizations in contemporary International Relations ?