M.A. (Political Science)

FIRST YEAR

MAPOLS-402

INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
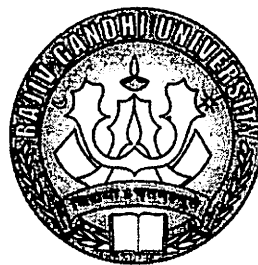**IDE**
Rajiv Gandhi University

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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MA [Political Science]

First Year

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RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY
Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

International Politics

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The demise of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact drastically altered the global power balance in favour of the West. Consequently, there was a major change in the global paradigm in the post-Cold War world, in which the US has emerged as the sole superpower, with the European Union as its appendage. The present world order has been rightly described as 'a multipolar world with a unipolar disposition'. Today, the new world order is in the throes of a fast changing scenario and the coming years are going to witness re-alignments, which might seem quite sweeping as well as surprising. Friends of the Cold War days are strangers now, if not estranged, and enemies of yesteryears are becoming friends. To be sure, the era of exclusive relationships is over. Now, every major player on the international scene is interacting with everyone else. No wonder, Russia and the US are 'partners in peace' and no longer adversaries and both India and Russia are seeking extensive cooperation with the western powers led by the US.

This book explains complex details of international politics in a lucid style. It introduces the concept of international politics and its evolution as a discipline; theories in international politics and also deals with the concept of power and how it brings about international conflicts. It delineates the importance of foreign policy and balance of power.

This book —*International Politics*—has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and **Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units:

Unit 1: Looks at the dynamism of international politics as a discipline since the 16th century till date, its scope and nature, and the influence of global affairs on world politics.

Unit 2: Examines the approaches and theories of international politics, such as, idealism, realism, system theory of Kaplan, and the decision-making theory.

Unit 3: Discusses the concept of international politics and foreign policy, and their determinants and dimensions. It also analyses the concept of balance of power and what is meant by old and new diplomacy.

Unit 4: Introduces you to the genesis of Cold War, its pattern and phases, and international relations during the period.

Unit 5: Describes the concept of globalization, its origin, the role of the state and WTO, and finally the impact of globalization.

Unit 6: Analyses the major debates surrounding the new world order. It looks into the arguments regarding theories, such as, clash of civilizations, and unipolar and multipolar world system. It also gives a brief insight to nuclear disarmament.

Unit 7: Studies the philosophy and factors which influenced the formulation of India's foreign policy, assess the process of decolonization, and non-aligned movement.

Unit 8: Discusses India's relation with major powers, such as, the US, the UK, Russia, China and Japan.

Unit 9: Describes India's relation with regional organization, such as ASEAN, SAARC, the European Union and BRICS.

Unit 10: Covers the foreign policies of three great world powers— the USA, UK and Russia.

UNIT 1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCIPLINE

Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 International Politics: Meaning
    1.2.1 Origin and Evolution of International Politics
    1.2.2 Scope of International Politics
    1.2.3 Nature of International Politics
1.3 Concepts of International Politics and International Relations
1.4 World Politics and Global Affairs
    1.4.1 Difference between International Politics and World Politics
    1.4.2 Difference between International Politics and World Affairs
1.5 Summary
1.6 Key Terms
1.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.8 Questions and Exercises
1.9 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

International politics is a dynamic discipline that keeps changing with the changing equations between international agents.

The 21st century saw the nations coming together through the natural process of fights and cooperation. The national boundaries which were set up between the 16th and the 19th century were losing relevance. By the Treaty of Westphalia a new order had come into place in western Europe. This was the beginning of a new era, not only in the European continent but also in other parts of the world. In the 20th century, there were multiple efforts to explain the reasons behind the divisions and how they can be overcome. Today, scholars are questioning the nature of international politics in the 21st century, the challenges it would face etc.

This unit makes an attempt to look into this dynamism and discusses its evolution as a discipline in the 19th and 20th centuries.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Define international politics
- Analyse the scope of international politics
- Evaluate the changing nature of international politics
- Explain the concept of international politics and international relations
- Assess how global affairs are influencing world politics

1.2 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: MEANING

Global politics as a discipline focuses on global issues. It studies the political and economic networks and patterns of behavior throughout the world, including relationships between cities, provinces, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations and international organizations. It has assumed different names at different periods: diplomacy, world politics, international politics and international relations.

The oldest name of such relations was 'diplomacy'. It was conducted at the official levels and above the heads of the citizens and subjects of the governments. It was after World War I that new depths were added to the discipline under the impact of popular participation at different levels. The general name given to the discipline was 'world politics'. With the involvement of peoples in their states' affairs the concept of 'international' politics arose. This happened precisely at the end of World War I, with the establishment of the League of Nations.

It is a fact that the concept of power dominated the relations of states for a pretty long time. Still later, it was realized that relation of states went beyond the equations of power. There were trade, business, cooperation in production, education, culture and various other fields in which states can, and do, cooperate and compete. Therefore the term 'International Relations' has gathered increasing acceptance.

Though international politics literally meant the study of politics among the nations, today it is also referred to as International Studies or International Relations, which is a multi-disciplinary quest.

According to Palmer and Perkins (authors of several books on International Relations and Politics), however, some, particularly those who specialize in the study of political behavior, hold that there ought to be a distinction in the usage of the two terms, and the failure on the part of the writers and practitioners of international affairs and diplomacy to make a distinction has contributed to semantic confusion in the study of International Relations today.

These writers insist that international politics should deal with the politics of international community in a narrow sense, that is, diplomacy and politics, whereas International Relations is a term embracing the totality of the relations among peoples and groups in the world society.

Specimens of such differing views are given below:

According to Charles Schleicher (the author of *Introduction to International Relations and International Relations: Cooperation and Conflict*), 'All inter-state relations are included in international politics, through all the inter-state relations are not political.'

According to H.J. Morgenthau (the author of famous book *Politics among Nations*), 'International politics includes analysis of political relations and problems of peace among nations.' Further, he writes, it is 'a struggle for and use of power among nations'.

On the other hand, Trevor Taylor (the author of *Approaches and Theory in International Relations*, 1979) defines International Relations as 'a discipline, which tries to explain political activities across state boundaries'.

According to Ola Joseph (the author of *The Concept and Practice of International Relations*, 1999), 'International relations are the study of all forms of

interactions that exist between members of separate entities or nations within the international system.'

Seymon Brown (the author of *International Relations in a Changing Global System: Toward a Theory of the World Polity*, 1996) defines international relations as 'the investigating and study of patterns of action and reactions among sovereign states as represented by their governing elites'.

Stanley Hoffman (the author of *The Political Ethics of International Relations*) writes, 'the discipline of international relations is concerned with the factors and the activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided'.

According to Quincy Wright, "The problems of international relations usually concern the divergence of the subjective truths accepted by different society and regarded by each to be objective truths." (*The Study of International Relations*, p 20) Wright demands that International Relations should tell the 'truth about the subject', i.e., how such relations are conducted and, as discipline, IR should treat them in a systematic and scientific manner.

It is now an accepted fact that International Relations has its focus on the study of all relations, political, diplomatic, trade, and academic relations among sovereign states, which constitute the subject matter of the discipline. The scope of IR should include study of various types of groups—nations, states, governments, peoples, regions, alliances, confederations, international organizations, etc., which are involved in the conduct of these relations.

Since 1919, world history has witnessed many phases of ups and downs ranging from World War I and II to the creation of the League of Nations and the United Nations. In the last hundred years, the world has moved ahead. Boundaries between the nation states are disappearing. As a result, the nature of discipline has also undergone many changes. The study of nation states is no more the focal point of analysis in the discipline. Apart from individuals and nation states, a third layer of political actors is emerging in politics.

The entry of the nation/people into the politics of states was, somewhat ambiguously acknowledged in the covenant of the League of Nations (1919) which was signed by the 'high contracting parties' and which retained the essence of the old diplomacy in respect of the internal jurisdiction of states. The charter of the United Nations Organization (1945) removed much of the ambiguity with the declaration, 'We the people….'.

A significant phenomenon is the broadening of the world of politics. After World War II liberation of former colonies led to the creation of new states of different sizes so much so that the United Nations Organization that started with 50 member states now has about 200 members. Many of them are politically insignificant. In the economy and culture, however, they are very active. They have significant role to play in the world system. The difference between International Politics and International Relation is disappearing. Thus, with the changing nature of relations among the nations and the emergence of new nations, the nature of discipline has undergone significant changes. Broadly, the term international relations indicate only the relations among the nation-states.

The term 'world politics' or 'international politics', on the other hand, indicates a more unified and coherent politics at the global level. Global politics is a more

recent phenomenon which indicates the deeply interdependent and interconnected world as a global village.

1.2.1 Origin and Evolution of International Politics

Conventionally, the focus of the discipline of political science has been the way individuals or groups interact with each other. The objective of such interactions is to regulate the social life of individuals and to draft certain accepted norms. With the evolution of individual efforts to develop such norms, the most efficient and widely accepted model was the model of the nation state. The nation state developed as a defined political space where political activities took place. This marked the beginning of international politics. Broadly, there are three stages of evolution of the discipline of international politics (Figure 1.1).
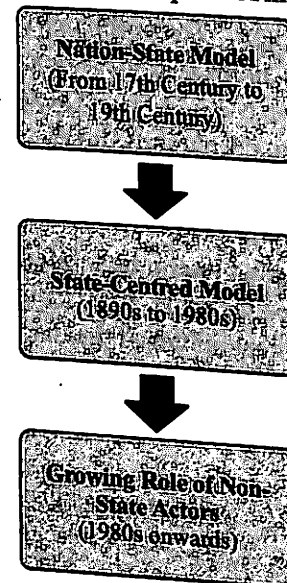
Fig. 1.1 Evolution of the Discipline of International Politics

Nation-state system and politics

The emergence of the modern sovereign state system is usually associated with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The objective of this treaty was to establish peace among the European nations. Prior to this, the European state system was based on religious principles governed by the church. The European nations were engaged in civil wars for a long time. To end wars, the nations of West Europe came together and signed the peace treaty in Westphalia.

Under this treaty, for the first time in history, the nations agreed upon the principle of state-sovereignty. It was decided that every nation would respect the sovereignty of other nations and not interfere with the others' internal affairs. The existing boundaries of the nations were also recognized as the states' boundaries.

After the French revolution of 1789, Europe was swept by nationalism and the era of nation state began. This was followed by the age of European nationalism. In the age of colonialism, the European nations got into conflict with each other over the issue of the control of colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The focus of conflict started shifting from Europe to other parts of the world. Besides, two nations, which were buried in modern Europe, started rising—Germany and Italy. Under the leadership of Mazzini, several individual states, most of which were dominated by foreign powers, started uniting. On the other hand, thanks to the efforts of Garibaldi, the German nations started unifying. Such unification was not possible without the sense of 'we-

ness' among the Germans or the Italians. The cultural unification and slogan of 'one common nation' helped in the unification process of these nations. Apart from emerging as strong nations, these states were also ambitious to join their neighbours in the race of colonialism.

Consequently, the politics of Europe got deeply intertwined with the internal politics of these newly emerging nations. Besides, these new nations also started posing serious threats to the power and supremacy of the existing powers of Europe like Persia and France. The changing equations among the nations in Europe became more complicated due to the sharp diplomatic endeavours of Bismarck of Germany against France. Bismarck made all efforts to isolate France in Europe as it was considered an immediate threat to the emerging German nation. It was natural that such efforts would threaten the peace of Europe sooner or later. However, nobody expected that it would result in such a massive war that took the whole world in its grip. The First World War was the consequence of such events.

This was the phase when the idea of the nation-state started getting politicized. The issue of state sovereignty, its expansion and forceful implementation were a few features of the new emerging states. Although the creation of these states was inspired from the concept of nation and nationalism, its expansion to other parts of the world, especially in Asia and Africa was more political and administrative in nature. Gradually, this phase of imperialism got ugly and there was increasing conflict among European nations over the control of the colonies. This reached its peak during World War I, which not only involved European continents but also other states of the world. This phase of international politics lasted till the emergence of the League of Nations.

State-centred model

Till the first half of the 20th century, the state was the dominant actor over others. In the countries which were being governed by a socialist or military regime, the state was only a political actor. However, the state was also the most crucial economic actor as it had the responsibility of running the industries, governing the economy and also catering to other distributive functions.

In the structural realist theory, Kenneth Waltz placed the states in the central position of his analysis of international relations. According to Waltz, it is only the states which go to war against other states. Besides, only the states decide the foreign policies. Similarly neo-liberal institutionalism, in which cooperation and institutions were given a primary role over conflict and war, also agrees that only the states are the representative units in various international organizations. The constructivists also give a prominent role to the state in international politics. Alexander Wendt argues that the system of anarchy—meaning no central authority over the states in international relations—is also being defined and determined by it. According to him 'anarchy is what states make of it.'

The overpowering role of the state in international relations was widely recognized in the theories of international politics as well. The core assumption of the realist theory was that states are the central actors in international politics. States try to maximize their national interest which is defined in terms of maximizing the power.

From the theoretical standpoint, according to David A. Lake there are three reasons why scholars still consider state-centred theories as a useful tool of analysis. Firstly, the concept of national interest can be explained in a more coherent manner only if interpreted as in the state's interest. He argues,

> '... analysts can safely abstract from the pushing and hauling of domestic politics and assume that the state is a unitary entity with a collective preference or

identity interacting with other similarly unitary entities.' (2008:43). Secondly, states are the only authoritative actors in domestic politics as they can enforce their decisions on the citizens even against their wishes. And finally, in the evolutionary system-level analysis of international relations, states are naturally considered as the most significant units since states are the most crucial elements of the international system. The system-level analysts study the factors which affect the state behaviour most as they tend to explain the state as central units of analysis.

(Lake in Smit and Snidal, 2008).

However, with the changing nature of politics at the domestic as well as at the global level, it was realized gradually that the state alone cannot perform so many functions. An 'overburdened state' cannot perform its functions efficiently. Besides, the resources of the state were also not adequate enough to fulfill the various demands of its citizens. A welfare state was dependent on larger bureaucratic paraphernalia for its functioning. Ironically, it also made the state functioning more complicated as well as economically burdensome. Consequently, the major challenge before the world was how to develop a system in which the state should perform its functions efficiently without compromising on its 'minimalist functions.' For this purpose, the non-state actors, especially the market forces, were given considerable space in economic matters, including economic decision-making. The market was recognized as a major reason behind technological innovation, economic growth and prosperity in the Western countries. With the decline of socialism, the market-centred economic model became popular worldwide. Different countries, which had either socialist or mixed economies, gradually switched over to the Western type capitalist mode of production.

In reality, the nature of states is not as homogenous as it used to be during the era of monarchy. The state has become a complex phenomenon. Scholars like Joel Migdal argue that the states are no more static entities. Rather, they are always in the process of 'becoming.' This process has become more complex due to the growing complexities of a capitalist global economy, a democratic polity and interdependence amongst the states. States have a larger responsibility of managing many actors which have been demanding their share in the state affairs. The growing role of non-state actors in international politics is also a reflection of this complex phenomenon.

Problems with state-centric theories

Below are described the two problems of the state-centric approaches of international politics as discussed by David A Lake in his book *The State and International Relations*.

Domestic politics: The realist theory defines 'national interest' as a driving force in international relations. However, there is no such thing called 'national interest.' Arnold Wolfers in *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* criticized the idea of national security saying that it is possibly a dangerous concept, more of a theoretical device used by few seeking support for particularistic policies than a real, concrete attribute of the nation as a whole. The idea of national interest also suffers from the similar problems as most policies are redistributive or have differential impacts on the groups even in the same country.

Many scholars highlight the importance of (and focus on) domestic political interests and institutions in order to identify and explain what states desire from international politics. Different issues create and mobilize different political leanings

within societies. Countries are driven by internal leanings—both material and normative—that mobilize citizens differently across different contexts. Different political institutions aggregate alternative sets of domestic interests with varying degrees of bias.

As per this new research methodology, in order to understand what states want, analysts must pay attention to how competing and disparate groups are mobilized into the common political processes and how institutions then transform interests into policy. However, this criticism has few limitations. Firstly, the decision of authoritative states are binding on all citizens; and regardless of how divided individuals may be on the issue, the policy, once enacted, binds everyone equally.

Secondly, in many international political scenarios, domestic politics explains what states want (and not what they do), i.e., it may explain the preferences of a society in relation to an international issue, but it cannot explain why that society adopts the specific policy or achieves the outcome that it does. One of the most interesting puzzles of international politics is the strategic interaction not only of groups within countries, but also the interactions of states themselves.

Transnational relations: Another significant criticism of the state-centric theory is that the states do not have control over private non-state actors who can mobilize and move actors across national borders. These actors could be cosmopolitan individuals, multinational corporations or transnational advocacy networks. Even if a state-centric theory might have earlier provided an explanation for international politics, the erosion of state sovereignty and the emergence and growth of transnational forces have now made this explanation a less attractive wager (Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* 1972; 1977).

Transnational actors began to be studied under international relations in the early 1970s. Though certain transnational actors, such as the Catholic Church, have been in existence since the birth of modern state systems, it is the more recent emergence of multinational corporations (MNCs) that has threatened to check the state sovereignty. However, this argument is not free from criticism. Some analysts argue that states are actually sovereign and, contrary to the perception that they are being challenged by non-state actors, they in fact allow such actors to encourage and exert an influence on world politics. The question arises: Why do states allow the growth of transnational actors? The explanatory power of state-centric theories cannot remain constant.

So is the case with the ability of the states to control transnational actors. There are various explanations to this point. Firstly, the transnational relations appear most developed in liberal states. This is partly a function of interdependence which creates additional outside options for actors, but is also a product of the nature of the larger private spheres of actions in liberal democracies. Technology has also helped in increasing transnational relations.

The new communication tools and technologies enable alignment of transnational groups and permit them to circumvent state control. While states have the right to regulate their behaviour, transnational actors can exploit technology to gain an even greater autonomy. New technologies enable multinational corporations to develop global networks that could undermine the ability of states to regulate or tax production. The greater the autonomy of transnational actors, the more impactful will be their role in international politics, and the less useful state-centric theories will be.

Non-state actors

The second half of the 20th century witnessed a significant surge in numbers and importance of non-state actors in the world political system. With growing interdependence and communication between countries and societies, a large variety of new organizational structures, operating on a regional and global basis, have been established. The rise of these organized non-state entities and their involvement in world politics challenge the assumptions of traditional approaches to international relations which assume that states are the only important units of the international system. We will study some of the known non-state actors here.

- **Transnational companies:** In the last fifty years, there has been an upsurge in the number of transnational actors. The Transnational Economic Corporations or TNCs have a very strong network across the world. Technological empowerment has further helped in strengthening their activities. In fact, the yearly turnover of many companies is much bigger than the budget of many states in the world. Certainly, this provides them a very strong position in determining economic policies of such smaller states. Few decades ago, such TNCs were being based in the developed countries. However, in the past few years things have changed. In fact many emerging companies are not from the developed world but either from developing economies or transitional economies like China, Russia, India, and Venezuela.

- **International organizations:** The emergence of the United Nations was the beginning of a new era in international politics. Unlike the League of Nations, the UN was a more representative body of super powers. As a result, it has successfully survived as an international organization. It has played a more active role in the non-political matters. Its sister organizations like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), etc., have played a significant role in the developing and least developed countries of the world. These organizations have also been actively involved in humanitarian activities in different countries, especially in the poor ones.

- **Non-legitimate groups:** Many sub-state violent actors have also emerged across the world especially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The dominant agenda of such groups is either separatism from one country and merging into another or spreading a particular religious doctrine. The age of clash of political ideologies seems to be over. These groups are not like any other political group or movement. Such groups not only have strong financial network across the world but also have access to modern warfare technology. There are other types of non-legitimate groups which too are operating, like the criminal gangs that are involved in organized crime.

- **Non-governmental organizations:** These have also affected global policy making in a very significant way. These organizations have been quite active in the fields of human rights protection, environmental safeguards, poverty reduction, etc. The non-governmental organizations have also been involved in fighting for the restoration of democracy in many authoritarian regime governed countries.

First World War and League of Nations

This can be categorized as the beginning of the second phase of international politics. For the first time so many nations were engaged in war with each other at such a large

scale. Besides, the war was not only confined to Europe but also spread over to the colonies of European powers, like Asia, Africa and so on. A lot of sophisticated military technology was used in this war and at least nine million soldiers were killed. The war also repercussion had a serious economic and social. Europe was devastated. Other areas of the world were also affected. It generated a serious humanitarian crisis the world over. Finally in 1918, the war came to an end with the acceptance of American President Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points for peace.

In these points Wilson mentioned the need for the creation of an international organization in order to ensure territorial integrity of the states. Since these points also became the basis for the Peace of Paris after World War I, the nations also decided to form a forum for nation-states in order to discuss various matters related to world peace and progress.

These events prepared a background for a more organized evolution of the discipline of international relations, with 'I' and 'R' in capital letters. In 1918, in the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, a Woodrow Wilson Chair for the study of International Relations was established. Besides, for the first time a Ph.D. in International Relations was offered by the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.

Since then the discipline of international relations has witnessed many phases of evolution. In the initial phase, its objective was to understand the causes of war. As the major factor of conflict was inter-state in nature, focus area of the discipline was how to resolve inter-state disputes, especially territorial disputes. The first phase of theorizing in the discipline began with the conventional ideas of normative aspects of politics. The focus was more on what 'ought to be' rather than what exists.

Achieving world peace was the major objective. This utopia of world peace collapsed very soon as the League of Nations, which was formed in 1919, collapsed and resulted in the World War II. The intensity of this war was much more than the World War I. This was a wakeup call to the scholars of international relations. The earlier focus on peace and normative principles shifted to the incorporation of the harsh realities of politics and war. A more realist theorization of international politics was advocated unlike the normative one. The need to have a more effective and strong international organization was felt, and the United Nations and many other new economic institutions like the Bretton Woods institutions came into existence.

This was the period which gave birth to realism as the dominant strand of international relations. The most popular work in the field was published in 1960 by an American scholar Hans J. Morgenthau, titled *Politics Amongst Nation.* Realism laid emphasis on viewing the world as it really is and not how it ought to be. Realism sought to provide an explanation of the dynamics during the Cold War era. The entire system of nations was seen to be functioning around two power centres or blocs. This was also the era of behavioural revolution in social sciences that emphasized on the scientific study of social phenomena. As a result, a number of approaches which sought to give scientific precision to the phenomena of international relations emerged.

Foreign policy analysis or foreign policy decision-making emerged as a new branch of study. It sought to give detailed explanations of the decisions taken by the policy-makers in the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The dynamics of the Cold War conditioned the study of international relations.

1.2.2 Scope of International Politics

The third phase of international relations is more about the emergence of multiple actors in the international arena. Apart from states-actors, many non-state actors like multinational corporations, transnational corporations, international organizations and voluntary organizations emerged. These actors are not really determined by the states, but by the state policies and politics. These forces are working at two fronts—(i) from outside the state, and (ii) within the state boundaries. The forces which are working inside the state are forcing the states to look outwards, as shown in Figure 1.3, and the outside forces are forcing the states to look inward and develop more efficient, democratic political and economic systems, as illustrated in Figure 1.2. As a result of both pressures, the states are under great strain of survival.
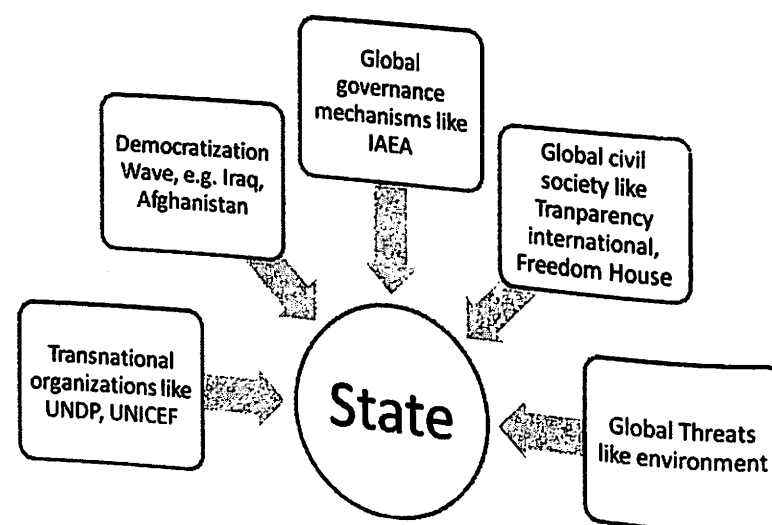
Fig. 1.2 Pressures on the State from Outside
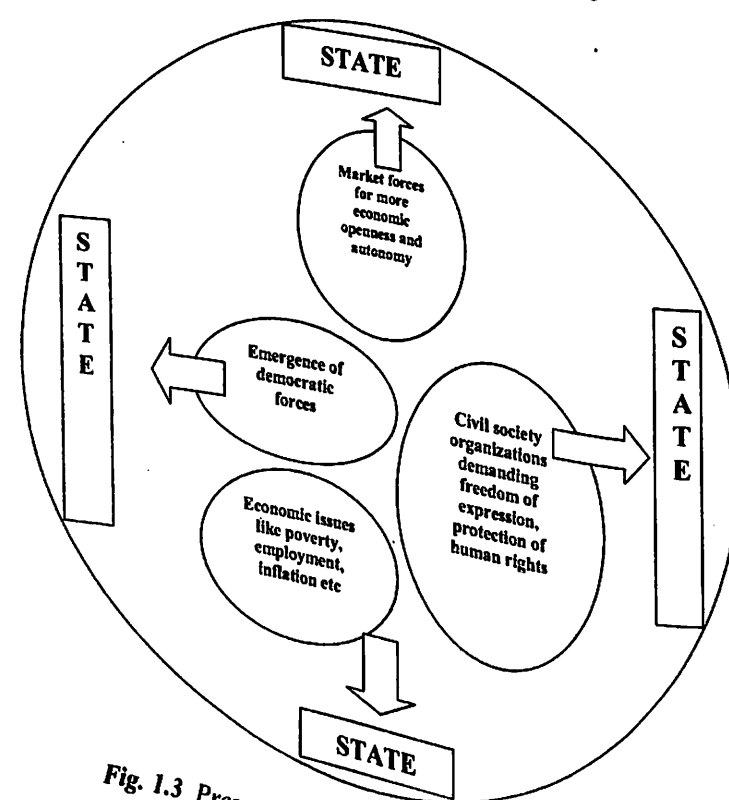
Fig. 1.3 Pressures on the State within its Boundaries

Besides, politics in the form of diplomacy is no more a dominant activity in international politics. Economic relations or cultural ties have emerged either as equally significant or at times as a more important part of relations among the states. Individuals living in a particular state, for example, Indians or Americans, are not only being affected by the policies adopted by their own governments; their lives are also being influenced from the politics and economies of other countries.

Consequently, many scholars prefer changing the name of international politics to world politics.

1.2.3 Nature of International Politics

A very significant example to explain the way international politics has changed over the past few decades is the problem of terrorism in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is neither a superpower like the US or the UK, nor an emerging regional or economic power like China, India or Brazil. It has always been a state with internal controversies and tribal warfare. It has not been able to take the shape of modern statehood. Afghanistan is politically the most significant issue for study and analysis among the world nations. It was found that the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 were planned in Afghanistan. The mastermind of these attacks, leader of a terrorist network called Al-Qaida, was operating from the Afghanistan. It significantly affected Pak–US relations.

Meanwhile, the developments in Afghanistan were being felt in almost every nook and corner of the world. The US attack on Afghanistan after 9/11 was not simply an attack by a superpower on another country, but retaliation to the attempt to expose the vulnerability of the only existing world power by a group of non-state actors who defied the conventional mode of state aggression.

The nature of warfare which took place in Afghanistan was also different, and fully utilized modern and sophisticated technology. Though the mission was led by the US, the forces were multinational in nature. A new series of strategic relationships started emerging between different countries of the world.

1.3 CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

World affairs is an all-embracing phrase referring to the situation and happenings all over the world that newspapers and magazines report. When that is segmented in terms of discipline we get subjects like world geography, world economy and world politics.

Politics of the countries of the world as a whole is called world politics. When this politics is conceptualized in terms of exchanges the discipline of international politics emerges.

International politics is a discipline which has about 400 years of history. It began with the diplomatic exchanges in Europe since the beginning of the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In the academia this early discipline was known as the history of diplomacy. However, as K.M. Panikkar wrote diplomacy was taking over the lead of the people. It was essentially an official and a bi-lateral affair among governements. It formed a sub-set of the multi-disciplinary international affairs or international studies. From the 1930s International Relations has been in use as a

more or less similar discipline. In 1937 E.H. Carr wrote *International Relations since the Peace Treaties*. In 1948 began the famous journal, *World Politics*. From the 1950s world politics was termed, in a narrower sense, as international politics. The evolution of these names indicates the trend of the discipline:

The difference between International Relations and international politics rests in the scopes of the two disciplines. Politics is essentially a matter of power. It relates to war and peace, conflict and bargain, control and dominance. 'Relations' is a generalized phenomenon encompassing people to people relations in trade and cooperation, cultural exchange and scientific collaboration and various other things along with the political relations of states. This realization comes through the behavioural revolution in social sciences in general and politics in particular and render a greater theoretical and policy depth to the subject.

While diplomacy, world politics and international politics are largely descriptive disciplines, international relations is an analytical one with focus on policies, decision makers and actors.

According to Kenneth Waltz, in international politics scholars usually pay more attention to the collection of facts and information. From these facts, they try to draw some trends. Usually these trends are given the name of theories or concepts. According to him, such trends are merely law and not theories. Theories further provide an explanation as to why such trends occur. He says, 'Rather than being mere collection of laws, theories are statements that explain them. Theories are qualitatively different from laws.'

Due to the complexities of international politics, theorization has remained a difficult task. Martin Wright writes that due to the dominant role of states, the nature of theorization in international politics remains difficult. Unlike domestic politics, there is no coherence in international politics. The realm of international politics is a 'society of states'. States always try to maximize their own gains causing ambiguity in international politics.

David Singer argues that the major challenge before scholars of international politics is to resolve the problem of levels of analysis. According to him, an international system, as the only level of analysis, assumes that all states or sub-system units are homogenous in their action.

The initial focus of theories in international relations was on normative questions. Ranging from the nature of polarity to the role of community relations, theorization has developed in the discipline. Some of the theories in international relations such as rationalism and liberal institutionalism, feminism and critical theory are complementary to each other; whereas others are quite distinct or rather 'hostile', for example, realism and liberalism; rationalism and post-modernism.

Smith and Snidal identify three features of theorizing in international politics. Firstly, theorizing is about 'international' political universe. Secondly, the theoretical assumptions in international relations are about what is important in the 'international' political universe. And finally, theorizing involves logical argument. A theory loses its relevance if it is internally incoherent or suffers from illogical formulations.

Recent theories in the discipline are making efforts to make the discipline more like natural sciences. Hence, the larger focus is on empiricism, using mathematical techniques and sound methodologies. As a result, the normative part of the theories is

losing its significance. The question of what 'ought to be' is almost sidelined in the recent decades. Smith and Snidal argue that there is a need to bridge the gap between the normative and empirical theories. All theories have some element of both normative and empirical character and there are many areas of convergence between the theories. However, development of one should not be at the cost of the other. They have identified certain areas of convergence between various theories.

However, there have been severe criticisms of the discipline's theoretical ability to explain the system. There have been some questions on the discipline's explanatory capacity, which came into being with the loss of its meaning at the end of the Cold War and the failure to predict the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. Of late, attention has also been directed to the disorder and the violence that has erupted within, and between, the successor states of empires.

It is the contention of a growing number of scholars at the margins of international relations that processes on the ground, in these societies, challenge Western imagery of a world being set right by the working of the market, the promotion of democratization, and the commitment to development. One indication of the fact as to how the established scholarly thinking is unrelated to the actual ground situation of the world is the construct of the 'emergencies' which present recurrent breakdowns as somehow exceptional rather than the norm.

A major criticism of the theories of international relations has been ignorance of the world. Except Europe, the story of international relations has been told as the internationalization of a system of thought and practice that arose within Europe, the foundational event being Westphalia. International relations have been a narrative of progress: a reading of the reordering of relations between politics in one part of the globe that were then transposed to cover the world. Such theorizing has been criticized arguing that the settlement of 1648 was not the signal point in the emergence of the modern state system—as has become almost scriptural. Rather, the Westphalian system was characterized by distinctly non-modern geopolitical relations, rooted in absolutist pre-capitalist property relations.

In addition to this, Katzenstein and Sil (2009) argue that the theorization in international relations has been focusing on the paradigms and not on the problems. They say that for most of the past three decades, international relations scholarship has typically been embedded in discrete research traditions, each proclaimed by its adherents to be either inherently superior or flexible enough to be able to subsume the others. Competition among discrete research traditions is certainly one motor for intellectual vitality within a given tradition of international relations. However, vitality within particular traditions does not necessarily constitute the basis for the field of international relations as a whole.

As Gunther Hellman (2002) notes: 'Although the sort of professionalization which Waltzian "realists" and Wendtian "constructivists" have helped to bring about in international relations has rightly and widely been hailed as a blessing, it must not be mistaken for intellectual progress.'

Like in the discipline of political science, there are various theories of international relations. One may identify certain broad theoretical categories in the realm of international relations, which are mentioned in Figure 1.4.

Realism	• Power Politics • States as the actors
Liberalism	• Cooperation • Non-state actors as significant players
Marxism	• Economic base decides the superstructure • Hegemony and dominance are the characteristics of international order
Constructivism	• Society structures the Ideas • Norms are diffused in order to gain more legitimacy
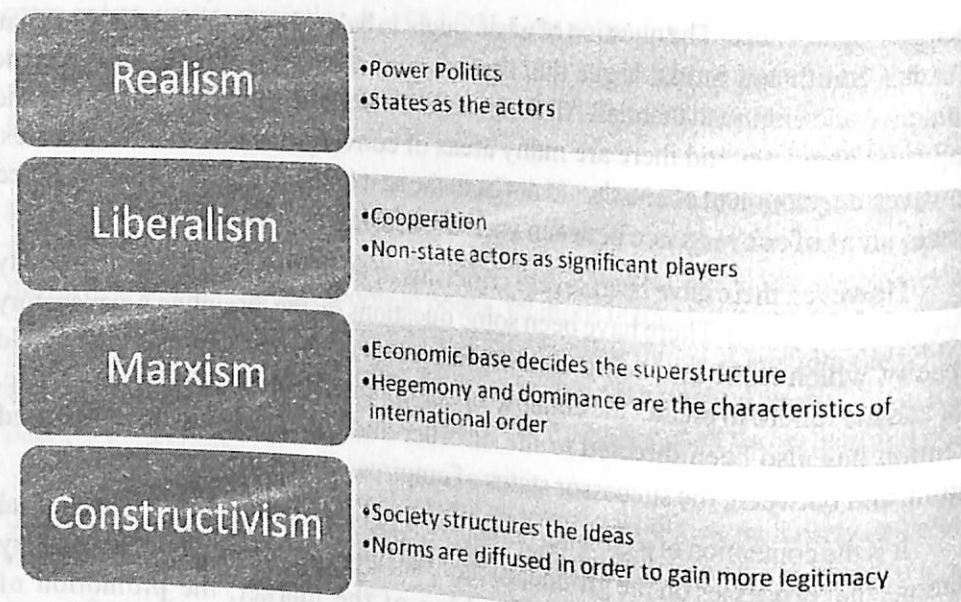
Fig. 1.4 Broad Theoretical Categories of International Relations

All these theories explain the nature of international relations in various ways. Realism is more about competition and self-interest. Liberalism, on the other hand, emphasizes on cooperation and peace. Realism emphasizes on lack of order. New variants of liberalism, in contrast, focus more on the emerging institutionalism in international relations. Marxist theories attempt to explain the nature and strategies of domination in international politics.

DID YOU KNOW?

• Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the US President who was a major force in setting up the League of Nations after the World War I, had difficulty reading. It may have indicated dyslexia. But as a teenager he taught himself shorthand. He studied at home under his father's guidance and took classes in a small school in Augusta.

1.4 WORLD POLITICS AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS

1.4.1 Difference between International Politics and World Politics

The term 'world politics' belongs to the age when sovereignty was considered absolute and the states were more or less like islands. They could occasionally interact at the political level, but a stable relationship based on cooperation was not possible. Besides, the 'world' was narrow and virtually confined to Europe. It was only after World War I that world politics began to grow into international politics. International politics seeks to understand political relations between nation-states, and thus has a narrower but more compact scope than International Relations. World politics, in contrast, refers to relationships among states and other interest groups, such as global institutions, corporations, and political activists.

International relations, which seeks to understand general economic and political relations between nation-states, is a narrower field than global politics. It focuses on how countries relate to each other or organizational players at national level.

World politics transcends all borders and is not confined to territories but involves the system, and politics at all levels, such as the regional, national and international. According to Andrew Heywood, global and international politics should coexist as they complement each other and do not stand on opposite axis.

1.4.2 Difference between International Politics and World Affairs

International paradigm has traditionally formed the basis of world affairs. States were called nations, which formed the building blocks of world politics. That is to say, international affairs or world affairs, which were dictated by world politics, also dictated international politics or international relations. A better understanding of how nation-states dealt with other states defined the guidelines for international politics. Heywood, in his book Global Politics, tries to straddle these rival paradigms.

A series of developments has transformed 'international' politics into 'world' politics. New global actors have emerged along with state and national governments who are regulating and watching world affairs through a regulatory framework. This has increased interdependency and interconnectedness.

During World War II, Wendell Willkie, a liberal Republican American politician, wrote a book, One World. The scenario of a global civilizational unity was emerging since the establishment of the United Nations. Whereas International Relations is essentially a bi-lateral or multi-lateral affair, world politics came to be viewed as based on the entire world system. The world systems theory of Immanuel Wallerstine contributed the sinews of this theoretical paradigm, but the ground was provided by the trend towards globalization. Globalization is simply defined as a process of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one part of the globe affect peoples and societies far away from each other.

Globalization has been viewed from different theoretical angles but it calls for subordination of individual nations' interests to the need for international collaboration and progress. It should not mean a global control by one super power or even by a cartel of great powers. The liberal view of globalization dictates the relations of the states on an equitable, if not equal, basis. This may look like a new version of idealism; but there is no alternative to this way in view of the rapid development of technology and science in the world.

ACTIVITY

Find out from the Internet how global security is changing international relations among nations.

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- International politics originally meant the study of politics among nations. Today, it also refers to international studies.
- With the changing nature of relations among nations, and newer forms of nations, the nature of international politics as a discipline has undergone significant changes.
- Conventionally, the focus of the discipline of political science has been the way individuals or groups interact with each other.
- The First World War and the emergence of League of Nations can be categorized as the beginning of the second phase of international politics. For the first time so many nations were engaged in war with each other at such a large scale.
- The third phase of international relations is more about the emergence of multiple actors in the international arena. Apart from the states-actors, many other non-state actors like multinational corporations, transnational corporations, international organizations and voluntary organizations have emerged.
- Kenneth Waltz writes that usually in international politics, scholars pay more attention to the collection of facts and information. From these facts, they try to draw some trends. Usually these trends are given the name of theories.
- International relations have been a narrative of progress: a reading of the reordering of relations between politics in one part of the globe that were then transposed to cover the world. Such theorizing has been criticized that the settlement of 1648 was not the signal point in the emergence of the modern state system—as has become almost scriptural.
- The growing interconnectedness in world politics and global affairs has been defined in multiple ways. Giddens defines it as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distinct localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'.
- According to Anthony McGraw, globalization is 'a historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents'.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **European Union:** It is an economic and political union of 27 member states that are located primarily in Europe.
- **International relations:** The political relations among the nation-states
- **Nuclear proliferation:** It is the widespread use and availability of nuclear weapons, fissile material, and weapons-applicable nuclear technology and information to nations not recognized as "Nuclear Weapon States" by the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, also known as the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty or NPT.
- **Regionalism:** It refers to a political ideology that focuses on the interests of a particular region or group of regions.

- **Westphalian World Order:** The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 led to the emergence of a new world order called the Westphalian World Order.

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Nation-state developed as a defined political space where political activities took place.
2. Westphalian World Order
3. True
4. Smith and Snidal (2008) identify three features of theorizing in international politics. Firstly, theorizing is about the 'international' political universe. Secondly, the theoretical assumptions in international relations are about what is important in the 'international' political universe. And finally, theorizing involves logical argument. A theory loses its relevance if it is internally incoherent or suffers from illogical formulations.
5. Katzenstein, Sil
6. False
7. False
8. False

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How did the collapse of the League of Nations changed the international political scenario?
2. How does regionalism influence international relations?
3. How is nuclear proliferation challenging global politics?
4. Why is theorization important in international politics?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by international politics? Describe its evolution.
2. Discuss the changing nature of international politics. Also assess its scope.
3. Explain the theories regarding international politics.
4. How are world affairs influencing international relations?

1.9 FURTHER READING

Curtis, M.; *The Great Political Theories, Vol. 2.*, Harper Collins, New York, 1976.

Hoffman, J & Graham, P.; *An Introduction to Political Theory*, (2nd ed.), Longman, New Jersey, 2009.

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UNIT 2 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Structure

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the concept of international politics, it nature and scope, and the influence of global affairs on world politics.

Since the emergence of the discipline, there has been an attempt to theorize the behaviour of states vis-à-vis other states. Although scholars have been involved in giving a more scientific shape to the discipline, due to the growing complexities of relations among states, the task has been extremely challenging. The theories of international politics are greatly influenced by the changes at the states' domestic levels and interaction among each other. Sometimes the two converged sometimes they are opposed to each other. The nature of these changes also brings in more complexities.

Beginning with idealism, the attempt was the creation of certain institutions or encouraging certain practices which can promote international peace and prevent of wars. But with the occurrence of Second World War II and later the Cold War, the premises of idealism were strongly criticized by a new emerging theoretical school: realism. Realists emphasized power politics and the states' focus on national interest. Meanwhile, another significant school of thought, which was influenced by idealism but was more practical in its assumptions, emerged. This was the liberal school of thought. Liberalism emphasized the emergence of international institutions as a symbol of growing cooperation among states. Besides, it questioned the dominant role of states and emphasized the role of non-state actors. They also argued that states are not always in competition with each other, as realists argue. However, realists as well as the liberals have shown flexibilities when it comes to explaining international politics. In the form of neo-realism, realists have accepted that states also cooperate with each

other though the motives are to ensure higher gains for themselves. Similarly, neo-liberals have also accepted that states are significant actors in international relations and they decide the nature and level of cooperation in international politics.

These schools of thoughts were countered by the Marxist and constructivist theories.

This unit will be introduce you to the major theoretical tenets of international politics, the meaning of theory and why theorizing is necessary. You will also learn about the major principles of these theories and understand their criticisms.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain idealism as a theory of international relations
- Describe realism as a theory of international relations
- Assess Mortan Kaplan's Systems theory
- Interpret the decision-making approach
- Analyse John Burton's Theory of decision-making

2.2 IDEALISM AS A THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Defining a theory is the first and foremost task before understanding the various theories of international politics. Here we will first deal with idealism. Idealism is the first dominant academic theory of international relations that has emerged from a desire to prevent catastrophic wars that cause mass destruction and untold human miseries. In the study of international relations, idealism refers to the school of thought that has been personified in the American diplomatic history by Woodrow Wilson, and is sometimes referred to as Wilsonianism or Wilsonian Idealism. Idealism in the Wilsonian context refers to a state making its internal political philosophy as the goal of its foreign policy and, therefore, places the concept of morality and values as a central core of politics. That is why Idealism gives prominence to the role that international law and international organizations can play in its conception of policy formation. It was the idealistic thought in Wilson that was embodied in his 'Fourteen Points' speech and led to the creation of the League of Nations.

The idealist tradition of thought in international relations has evoke interest and generated study among scholars such as Sir Alfred Zimmern, Norman Angell, John Maynard Keynes, John A. Hobson, Leonard Woolf, Gilbert Murray, Florence Stawell, who is also known as Melian Stawell, Philip Henry Kerr, the 11th Marquess of Lothian, Arnold J. Toynbee, Lester Pearson, David Davies, S. H. Bailey, Philip Noel-Baker, David Mitrany in the United Kingdom, James T. Shotwell, Pitman Potter, and Parker T. Moon in the United States.

Idealism (as an approach of international relations) is based on the assumptions that human nature believes in progress as a concept of positivity and change. In short, they have an optimistic view of human nature that values the concept of peace through

cooperation and peaceful co-existence between different nations in the world. In short, the system of international relations could be transformed into a fundamentally peaceful and just world order. It is this optimism that the idealist believed in even when the world witnessed strife and conflicts during World War I, that an enlightenment could be spread through the growth of 'the international mind' by awakening democracy and cooperation could be sought to remove the human sufferings and miseries by building institutions.

Idealism proper was a relatively short-lived school of thought, and suffered a crisis of confidence following the failure of the League of Nations and the outbreak of World War II. However, subsequent theories of international relations would draw elements from Wilsonian Idealism when constructing their world views.

Critiques of idealism

The main critique of the idealist has come from the realist school of thought. The realist views international relations through the prism of power that the state has or seeks to build. The optimism with which the Idealist perceives international relations being based on economic interdependence has not helped in preventing violent conflicts between states as the world witnessed the world wars. Besides, they regard the institutions as a stage of a theatre where the power play unfolds.

The other argument that the realist critique on the idealist is that democracies does not change the nature of the relations between the states. The core argument being that there is a persistence and permanence of anarchy due to which insecurity flows from it.

2.3 REALISM

In the discipline of international relations there are contending general theories or theoretical perspectives. Realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflictual side. It has been the dominant approach in international relations theory for long. It gained its acceptance as a discipline during and after the World War II, yet its existence precedes this event. For, it has evolved out of a long historical and philosophical tradition. It can be seen in the writings of classical philosophers such as Sun Tzu, the ancient Chinese military strategist who wrote the *Art of War*, Chanakya, the ancient Indian statesman who wrote *Arthashastra,* Thucydides, an ancient Greek historian who wrote the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Niccolo Machiavelli, the Italian political theorist who wrote *The Prince,* and Thomas Hobbes, the English philosopher who wrote the *Leviathan.*

Assumptions of realism

Realism is not a single idea but a worldview which is based on several integrated assumptions. These assumptions are based on certain basic ideas of human nature and how they influenced the political world. They have a pessimistic view of human nature, endorsing Hobbesian concept of man— selfish and brutish and, therefore, any effort towards international relations is conflicting and resorts to war. Therefore, national security is of utmost concern for state survival which can only be ensured through power.

Check Your Progress

1. In the Wilsonian context, what does idealism refer to?
2. The main critique of the Idealist has come from the Liberal school of thought. (True/False)

Realism as an approach of international relations has the following basic assumptions:

- The international system is anarchic with no authority that is capable of regulating the capability of state and their interactions.
- The principal actor in the international system is the sovereign states while the other entities such as international institutions, non-governmental organization, multinational corporations or other such entities are subservient to state.
- States are rational and move towards their growth by building alliances with other states or building their own capabilities.
- The overriding 'national interest', each state is its national security and survival.
- The relations between states are determined by their comparative level of power derived mainly from their military and economic capabilities.

2.3.1 Strands of Realism

A comprehensive understanding of the approach of realism logically leads to the delineation of its different type according to its period of the thinkers and the main strands of thought that they seek to postulate. A number of thematic classifications have been offered to differentiate realism into a variety of distinct categories as mentioned below:

(i) Classical realism

Classical realism can be traced to the writings of the classical writers such as Thucydides who assumed power politics as a law of human behaviour—drive for power and will to dominate. The behaviour of the state is as a self-seeking egoist is, therefore, a reflection of the characteristics of the people that comprise the state.

Hans J. Morgenthau has been the most vocal exponent of the realist theory of international relations post-World War II. He has expounded six principles of political realism in his book *Politics among Nations* which are as follows:

- Politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology. It is because of these objective laws of human nature that political phenomena can be understood.
- Morgenthau laid emphasis to the concept of national interest, which he defined in terms of power. That is why; politics need to be understood on the basis of rationality and not in terms of morality or emotions.
- According to Morgenthau, interests are not fixed and are moulded by the environment. The idea of interest is not fixed as circumstances of time and place can keep on changing due to which the political and cultural context changes in which the policy is formulated.
- Morgenthau asserts that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the action of the states in their universal formulations; therefore, they need to be modified according to the circumstances of time and place. The state is not expected to observe the same standards of morality which an individual observes. For a state, there is no similarity between the moral laws that govern the universe and the moral aspirations of a nation, asserts Morgenthau and, therefore itself all political actors should pursue their national interests. That is how a nation protects from committing political folly and moral excess.

- There is autonomy of the political sphere just as it is for economist or lawyer or the moralist, according to Morgenthau. The political actors think in terms of interest just as the economist thinks in terms of utility and the lawyer thinks in terms of conformity of action with moral principles.

Criticism of classical realism

Realism reached its zenith as a means of ordering reality as it had a deep influence in the public policy of international relations in the post the second world war period, especially in US. The US policy of 'containment', which led to the Cold War, is based on the policy recommendations of the realist theory as both George Kennan (chairman of the state department's policy planning staff in late 1940s and later US ambassador to Soviet Union) and Henry Kissinger (scholar, foreign policy advisor and secretary of state to President Nixon and Gerald Ford) had been deeply influenced by Morgenthau.

Post-Cold War, international politics has questioned many tenets of realism and has been under criticism under the following grounds:

- The theory has been criticized as it suffers from ambiguity since it is inconsistent with reality as it did not offer any universally acceptable psychological relationship among states. In reality the relationships among states is quite complex and, therefore, it makes the concept of power all the more complex.
- According to Morgenthau, all states seek their national interest in terms of power. This statement deflects from the reality of international relations being conducted with elements of mutual co-operation among the member states in the international community.
- Morgenthau gives too much importance to power as the most important determinant of relations among states. In reality, other components besides power such as culture, and ideology influence the actions of the state.
- Morgenthau fails to explain the presence of non-state actors such as the United Nations which in a way determine the actions of the states through the introduction of international law and regimes such as human rights.
- Critics have emphasized the growing importance of multinational corporations (MNCs) as an important actor in international politics. The rising trend of globalization has witnessed that many states has an economy that is smaller than many of these multinational corporations and is increasingly influences the politics both in the domestic international politics.
- Morgenthau's theory of realism has been severely criticized when he asserted autonomy of politics. He contradicted himself in his later book when he argued that politics must play the roles of the common integrating core in his other book *Dilemmas of Politics* assigning a normative role to politics.

To sum up, one cannot deny that both the proponents and the critic of the theory of realism by Morgenthau, offers the best explanation of international relations as it is supported by the historical experiences after World War II, which caused both economic and security climate of the world to deteriorate. The theory is persuasive and has given a jolt to scholars inspiring to re-evaluate their own assumptions and has given rise to many counter theories of realism.

However, the end of Cold War, the collapse of the bipolar world system and the rise of globalization, particularly its economic and technological aspects, have thrown the greatest challenge to the realist theories.

(ii) Structural realism

Structural realism seeks to reformulate the traditions classical realism had. It has been developed within the American political science tradition by neo-realists such as Kenneth Waltz, Robert Jervis, Stephen Walt, John Mearsheimer and Robert Gilpin. They seek to focus on the international system rather than human nature with the state as the principal actor.

Neo-realism or structural realism is a theory of International Relations which has been outlined by Kenneth Waltz in his book *Theory of International Politics* (1979), which is considered as the fundamental text of neo-realism.

Kenneth Waltz explains international relations from the perspective of the international system which he says is anarchic and forms the most important unit of study. The structure of international system is anarchical and not hierarchical because of the absence of a central authority. It is because of the anarchical nature that fosters fear, jealousy, suspicion and insecurity among states. That is why it leads to a self-help system where states compete for survival and security through military power, regardless of whether they want it or not.

The functional differentiation of the anarchic system is such that each state is separate and an autonomous unit, forced to realize its interests on its own.

The distribution of capabilities of a state assumes deep importance as it defines a state's position in the system, as it is unequal and keeps shifting. This shift defines the relative power of the states and variation in the balance of power.

2.3.2 Neo-Realism

What has made realism the most popular scientific theory of international politics is the theory of 'structural realism' propounded by Kenneth Waltz. His theory was published in his book, the *Theory of International Politics*. In this, Waltz argued that it is possible to form a scientific theory of international relations only with the help of a system-level analysis. System is made of structures and units. The interaction between these units determines the way the states behave with each other. His theory was influenced by the behavioural revolution in the analysis of domestic politics where the focus was on political system in place of the state. According to him, a system-level analysis may distinguish international politics from others like economics, social, etc. in international domains.

In order to explain the international system as an independent domain, Waltz draws a distinction between the domestic political system and the international system. He says that in a domestic political system, a hierarchy amongst the various units exists. The units—institutions and agencies—stand vis-à-vis each other in relations of super and subordination. The ordering principle of a system gives first, and basic, information about how the parts of a realm are related to each other. In a polity, the hierarchy of offices is by no means completely articulated, nor all ambiguities about relations of super and subordination removed. Nevertheless, political actors are formally differentiated according to the degrees of their authority, and their distinct political functions are specified. It means that a broad agreement prevails on the tasks that various parts of a government are to undertake and on the extent of power they legitimately wield. Such specification of roles and differentiation of functions is found in any state, more fully as the state is highly developed. The specification of functions of formally differentiated parts gives the second structural information.

The placement of units in relation to one another is not fully defined by a system's ordering principle and by the formal differentiation of its parts. The standing of units also changes with changes in their relative capabilities. In the performance of their functions, agencies may gain capabilities or lose them. A domestic political structure is thus defined, firstly, according to the principle by which it is ordered; secondly, by specifications of the functions of formally differentiated units; and thirdly, by the distribution of capabilities across those units. The functions of various political units, institutions and actors are broadly specified and defined in domestic politics. Capabilities of various units in the domestic political structure keep changing from time to time. In other words, there are three specific features of domestic political system—hierarchy, functional differentiation and relative capabilities. Waltz tries to apply these formal principles of organization of domestic political system in the realm of international system. Beginning with the first principle of order amongst various institutions, he argues that unlike the domestic system, there is no central authority in international systems and all units are equal to each other. The parts of an international system stand in relations of coordination.

Formally, each is the equal of all the others. None is entitled to command; none is required to obey. International systems are thus decentralized and anarchic. The ordering principles of the two structures are distinctly different, and indeed contrary to each other. Domestic political structures have governmental institutions and offices as their concrete counterparts. International politics is the 'politics in the absence of government'. International organizations do exist, as liberals argue.

Supranational agencies are able to act effectively; however, they themselves acquire some of the attributes and capabilities of the states. Whatever elements of authority emerge internationally, they are tightly linked to the capabilities that provide the foundation for the appearance of these elements. Authority quickly equates to the level of capability. In the absence of agents with a system-wide authority, formal relationships of superior and subordinate are unable to develop. However, the problem is how to explain a system without an order of organizational effects where formal organization is lacking.

Waltz draws an analogy between the market phenomenon in microeconomic theory and international relations. According to him both systems, i.e. the market and international system, are without any defined orders. Selfhelp and survival are the governing principles in the market amongst various firms; similarly these principles also define the nature of international politics.

States are just like firms in the market who compete with each other for survival.

The most dependable strategy amongst various units is self-help.

International political systems, just like economic markets, are created as a result of the combination of actions of self-regarding units. International structures are defined in terms of the primary political units of an era, whether they are city states or otherwise. No state desires to support the formation of a structure within which it (and others) will be restricted. International political systems, 'like economic markets, are individualist in origin, spontaneously generated and unintended'. In both systems, structures are formed by the combination of actions, or co-actions of their units. Whether those units live, prosper, or die, depends on the efforts that they themselves make. Both systems are formed and maintained on the principle of self-help that applies across the units. While explaining the character of the units, Waltz

argues that states are the only units in international politics. Continuing with classical realisms' logic, Waltz also accepts states as the most prominent actors and hence should be accepted as the units of analysis in an international system. He also accepts that there are multiple actors emerging worldwide that challenge the state sovereignty.

However, despite the emergence of these actors, he argues that states continue to remain as the most important actors. Again bringing in the analogy of firms in the market system, he says that in a market system, there are many factors which challenge the existence of firms. Firms keep coming and going in a market system. Despite these threats, the market system is interpreted in the form of firms. Similarly in an international system, despite various challenges to the state authority, the state continues to remain the dominant actor. Besides, history shows that the rate of decline of states is very low. States survive for quite long. According to Waltz, 'To call states 'like units' is to say that each state is like all other states, in being an 'autonomous political unit.' However, saying that a state is sovereign does not imply that states are able to do whatever they please to. There will certainly be many challenges before the states to take the actions which it desires to do. In a micro theory pertaining to international politics or to economics, the motivation of the participants is automatically assumed rather than realistically described. It is assumed that the states set out to ensure their survival. This assumption is a radical simplification which is made to enable the construction of a theory.

Beyond the basic survival motive, states' aims and desires could vary endlessly; they may range from the ambition to be all-conquering, to the desire of being left alone. Survival is a basic prerequisite to achieve any goal that states may be willing to achieve. The survival of the state is taken as the ground of action in a world where the security of states is always under threat.

The second term in the definition of domestic political structures specifies the functions performed by differentiated units. Hierarchy establishes the relationships of the superior and subordinate within a system and highlights their differences. The states that form a part of the international political systems are not officially or formally differentiated by the functions they perform. Anarchy comprises of the coordination activities among a system's units, and that implies their likeness or commonalities. However, the crucial issue pertains to the question of states being taken as the units of the system. Although states are not the only actors in the arena of international politics, other structures are not defined by the actors. Only the major actor is taken into consideration while defining a structure. The way the structure of a market is defined is by the number of firms competing. Many argue that the analogies drawn between the market and international politics are not really useful. Because of the interpenetration and intermingling of states, they are unable to control the outcomes of their actions, and because large and growing multinational corporations and other non-state actors are not easy to regulate, they often indulge in rivalry with other states in terms of the influence they wield. However, Waltz argues that this argument is not valid.

According to Waltz, that the economists and economically-minded political scientists have thought this is ironic. The irony lies in the fact that all of the reasons given for scrapping the state-centric concept can be restated more strongly and applied to firms. Firms competing with numerous others have no hope of controlling their market, and oligopolistic firms constantly struggle with imperfect success to do so. Firms, interpenetrate, merge and buy each other at a fast pace. Moreover, firms are constantly threatened and regulated by 'non-firm actors.' Some governments encourage concentration; others work to prevent it. The market structure of parts of an economy

may move from a wider to narrower competition or may move in the opposite direction, but whatever the extent and the frequency of change, market structures generated by the interaction of firms are defined by them.

States are the units whose interactions form the structure of international political systems. The death rate amongst states is remarkably low as compared to the life of multinational corporations. To call states 'like units' is to say that each state is like all other states in being an autonomous political unit. It is another way of saying that states are sovereign. The error in the concept of sovereignty lies in linking the sovereignty of state with its ability to do as it desires. Just because a state is sovereign does not mean that it can do as it pleases, that it is free of other's influence, or that it is always able to get what it wants. Sovereign states may be hard-pressed and constrained from acting in ways they would like to. The sovereignty of states has never meant that they are insulated or indifferent from other states' action. To be sovereign and yet to be dependent is not a contradictory situation. Sovereign states typically lead free and easy lives.

What then is sovereignty? A sovereign state decides for itself how it will address its internal and external situations and problems, including whether or not to seek assistance from others (and thereby limit its own freedom by making commitments to them). Sovereign states develop their own strategies, chart their own courses towards progress and decide how to go about meeting their needs and desires. Just as free individuals often make decisions under the heavy pressure of events, similarly, sovereign states are always constrained and often tightly so. States vary from each other in size, wealth, power and form. And yet states are alike in the tasks that they face (most of which are common to all of them), though not in their abilities to perform tasks. Each state duplicates the activities of other states to a considerable extent. Each state has its agencies for making, executing, and interpreting laws and regulations, for raising revenues, and for defending itself.

The parts of a hierarchic system are interrelated in ways that are determined by their functional differentiation as well as by the extent of their capabilities. On the other hand, the units of an anarchic system are functionally undifferentiated. The units of such an order are therefore distinguished primarily by the degree of their capabilities (greater or lesser) for performing similar tasks. The great powers of an era have always been marked off from others by practitioners and theorists alike. The structure of a system changes in line with changes in the level of capabilities across the system's units. Also, changes in structure leads to changed expectations as to how the units of the system will behave, and the outcomes their interactions will produce. Domestically, the differentiated parts of a system may perform similar tasks. Internationally, units sometimes perform different tasks. Why they do so and how the likelihood of their doing so varies with their capabilities? There are three problems associated with this. According to Waltz, the first problem is: Capability tells us something about units. States are differentiated by the power they possess. This is because power is estimated by comparing the capabilities of a number of units. Though capabilities are the attributes of units, the distribution of capabilities across units is not—this distribution of capabilities is a system-wise concept. The second problem is how states form alliances. Nationally, just like internationally, structural definitions deal with the relationships between agents and agencies in terms of the organization of realms, and not in terms of the accommodations and conflicts that may occur within them, or the groupings that may form from time to time. These are relations that form

and dissolve within a system rather than structural alterations that mark a change from one system to another. In order to understand the nature of the international system, it is important to understand the capability of states.

State capability indicates the ability or power of a state to perform any task similar to others. What decides the nature of the international system is the distribution of capabilities amongst the great powers. The way the capability of these units changes, the nature of international system also changes accordingly. Waltz further argues that in order to understand the international system, the primary task of a scholar of international politics is to look at the state in terms of its capability. Other factors such as the nature of government, habits, culture and other factors are not taken into account. After the publication of Waltz's book, there have been various modifications in structural realism. A significant version of it is the offensive and defensive realist theories propounded by John Mearsheimer, an international relations theorist.

DID YOU KNOW?

- Containment was a United States policy to prevent the spread of communism. A component of the Cold War, this policy was a response to a series of moves by the Soviet Union to enlarge Communist influence in eastern Europe, China, Korea, Africa, and Vietnam. It represented a middle-ground position between appeasement and rollback.

2.4 MORTAN KAPLAN'S SYSTEMS THEORY

The systems approach is a product of the behavioural revolution in the social sciences. The revolution reflected the quest among the social scientists to arrive at a general body of meaningful knowledge through scientific analysis and interdisciplinary approach, i.e., bringing together relevant concepts from various disciplines of social sciences. It was observed that compartmentalization of phenomena within orthodox disciplines prevented their meaningful integration into coherent knowledge. Therefore, behaviourists emphasized the meaningful integration of knowledge acquired from various disciplines through a scientific method.

This in turn demanded devising new concepts which could perform the much desired function of meaningful integration and generating reliable knowledge. One of the main concepts developed in this regard is the 'system'. However, there is no unanimous definition of the system and it has been defined differently by various scholars and also the approach has been applied to various disciplines. The basic assumption in most cases has been that certain features of relationships are common to systems of all kinds.

The systems approach was first applied to international politics by Mortan A Kaplan as a tool for investigating the reality in international relations in his work *System and Process*. He sought to explain how the forces of international system affect the behaviour of states. The approach takes the international system as a unit of analysis. Depending upon the distribution of power, he said that normative systems would come into being that would orient nations' leadership groups to the reality of

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that power distribution. For example, when power is distributed among three to five dominant actors, a 'balance of power' system would emerge, e.g., fight rather than for go an opportunity to increase your power, but negotiate rather than fight, and cease fighting if an essential actor is threatened. Other systems that Kaplan describes are: unit veto system, loose bipolar system, tight bipolar system, multi-polar system, hierarchical and universal systems.

In Kaplan's work, a system is defined as a collection of elements related by some pattern of behaviour and actions. Therefore, the approach aims to comprehend international relations as a set of observable patterns between the actors which constitute the elements of the international system. As Kaplan defines, 'A system of action is a set of variables so related, in contradistinction to its environment, that describable behavioural regularities characterize the internal relationships of the variables to each other and the external relationships of the set of individual variables to combinations of external variables'. This is to say that a system having certain regularities in its behaviour that form its internal dynamics, operates in an environment which is distinct from the system.

According to Kaplan, it is not possible to predict individual action in international politics because the interaction among multiplicity of components gives rise to complicated problem making generalized explanations impossible. However, a macro-structural theory of international politics is possible. Such an approach uses the concept of system and seeks to explain behaviour of international systems on the basis of their different alignment patterns.

2.4.1 Equilibrium

Use of this concept makes it possible to describe the state of the system, and to delineate the requirements for its continued existence. Processes contributing to these requirements are functional. The system is by definition in equilibrium. Differences in types of equilibrium help to provide an understanding of differences in different types of systems. He explains two types of equilibriums: locally stable equilibrium and generally stable equilibrium. The former is stable only in favourable environments while the latter can withstand a larger range of environmental disturbances. The regularities observable in its operation provide the limits of the equilibrium. A disturbance in the equilibrium is a sign of the disbanding of the system; in case the previous elements which were the characteristic factors of the system are no longer present, the system cannot be distinguished from its environment.

Kaplan comes up with six major models of international system which are macro-models of the international politics. These are based on five sets of variables. These variables are: the essential rules of the system which state the behaviour necessary to maintain equilibrium in the system, and the transformation rules which state the changes that occur as inputs across the boundary of the system. These changes move the system toward either instability or stability of a new system.

The six models of international system that Kaplan describes are: The balance of power system, the loose bipolar system, the tight bipolar system, the universal actor system, the hierarchical international system and the unit veto system. Only the first two of these models had actually existed in the history of international relations. The rest are only hypothetical models.

(a) Balance of power system

The balance of power model roughly corresponds to the 18th and 19th century state system of the West. The basic characteristics of this model as delineated by Kaplan are:

- The nation-states are the only actors in this system (it gives no role to organizational bodies like the League of Nations or Danube Authority).
- The objective that they pursue is optimization of their security for surviving as major nations, and do not strive for hegemony.
- Non-nuclear weaponry exists in the system.
- There should be at least five major actors in the system necessary for equilibrium to prevail.
- Each state is likely to require allies to attain its objective.

The above-mentioned characteristics lead to the following essential rules of the system:

- Actors/states act to increase their capabilities but through negotiations rather than war.
- The actors are responsible to ensure their security even at the risk of war, if necessary; fighting should be stopped rather than eliminating an essential actor.
- Any coalition or a single actor that seeks to obtain a position of predominance should be opposed, national actors should constrain those who seek to subscribe to supranational principles, and; defeated or constrained national actors should be allowed re-entry into the system and all essential actors should be acceptable as role partners.

The balance of power system existed in the 18th and the 19th centuries when it enjoyed the status of having universal applicability. The conditions which can make such a system unstable can be: an actor which does not follow the rules necessary for the stability of the system, an actor who formulates rules at the national level so as to favour the setting up of a supranational organization or aims at supranational hegemony, and failure in the decision-making systems of the national actors. An unstable balance of power system is bound to transform into a different system having a different set of rules altogether. The emergence of totalitarian actors or a world war might lead to such a transformation.

According to Kaplan, the balance of power system is most likely to transform into a loose bipolar system.

(b) Loose bipolar system

This model contains two blocs, each led by a leading bloc actor. In addition to bloc members, there are nations that are not attached to the blocs as well as universal organizations such as the United Nations. The system has nuclear weaponry which is an essential element of the system. The existence of nuclear weaponry serves as a deterrent to prevent any one bloc from overwhelming the other in the system.

The essential rules of the system can be listed as follows:

- The blocs strive to increase their relative capabilities.
- The blocs are willing to take some amount of risk to eliminate the rival bloc.

- The blocs tend to take action to prevent the rival blocs from attaining predominance and for this they can engage in a major war.
- The blocs try to subordinate the objectives of the rival bloc to that of the universal actor and that of the universal actor to their own.
- Non-bloc actors tend to support the universal actor as against the bloc rivalry.
- The non-bloc actors also try to mitigate the dangers of war between the rival blocs and try to remain neutral except where issues of serious concern to them or the objectives of the universal actor are involved.
- Blocs are tolerant to the status of non-bloc actors nevertheless they try to expand their membership and include the latter within their sphere of influence.

The existence of non-bloc actors and the supranational actors distinguishes this system from the balance of power system. The supranational actor/universal organization serves as a major support to the interests of non-bloc actors. This system corresponds to the Cold War period wherein the US and the Soviet bloc competed for dominance in the international system. The main political military actors were the NATO and the Warsaw Pact, with the USA and the USSR as their respective leaders. There were non-aligned countries, the geographical territories of which became an arena of competition and conflict for the two blocs. The United Nations was the universal actor whose functioning was most of the times paralyzed by the conflict between the power blocs. However, the existence of non-aligned countries and the United Nations made the power of the two blocs loose.

The tendency in this system towards wars is unlimited. Therefore, it has a considerable degree of inherent instability. The activities of the non-bloc actors or the universal actors are rarely of decisive importance. The loose bipolar system can be transformed into a tight bipolar system, into a hierarchical international system, into a universal international system, or into a unit veto system.

(c) Tight bipolar system

According to Kaplan, the tight bipolar system is one in which the non-bloc actors disappear and the two blocs are the main decisive actors in the system. For the system to remain stable, the two blocs should be hierarchically organized otherwise the system can again develop the characteristics of a loose bipolar system. The universal actor is either eliminated or loses its role, as it fails to mediate between the two blocs, and there is an absence of the function of supporting the interests of the non-bloc actors because of their disappearance.

(d) Universal international system

This system, according to Kaplan, could develop as a consequence of the extension of functions of the essential actors in the loose bipolar system. In such a system, the universal actor/supranational organization like the United Nations expand its function to try to prevent conflict or war among the national actors. Such a role on the part of the supranational organization is really effective in this system. The national actors become members of such a supranational organization yet maintaining their individuality and trying to keep maximum powers with themselves. However, they try to attain their goals in conformity with the international system, that is to say, in comparison to international problems, national problems get a secondary position. For the settlement of international problems, the national actors resort to peaceful ways and methods such as negotiations and other dispute settlement mechanisms

based on discussions. However, there is considerable instability during the period where such a system actually comes into concrete existence.

(e) Hierarchical international system

The fifth model of Kaplan's international system is the hierarchical international system. Under this system, one actor subsumes within its fold practically all the national actors. It means that it practically brings the whole world under its influence. This hierarchical international system can be either directive or non-directive.

A directive system is one which comes into existence through world conquest by a national actor system, for example, the Nazi system. On the other hand, it is non-directive when it is based on democratic principles. In a directive system, there is a probability of great tension whereas in the non-directive system, one has lesser tension.

(f) Unit veto system

The sixth and the last system in Kaplan's scheme of international systems is the unit veto system. Under this system, the existence of powerful destructive weapons is sufficient enough for a national actor to destroy the enemy actor before getting destroyed itself. Kaplan presents a Hobbesian environment in this system where the interests of all actors are opposed to each other. It is also presumed that the actors are capable of destroying each other. In this system, all actors are at par with each other with the general acceptance of the principle of sovereign equality. The universal actor cannot exist in such a system. Since every actor is powerful enough to destroy the other, it, as a result, acts as a veto against the activities of the others. The required condition for such a system to exist is the possession of lethal weapons by all actors.

The unit veto system can develop from any other international system and can remain stable only when all the actors are ready to resist threats and retaliate in case of an attack failing which the system can undergo profound transformation.

However, Kaplan revisited his six-model scheme of international system of 1959 owing to the changing situation and added four new categories of international systems, which are: very loose bipolar system, the détente system, the unstable bloc system and the incomplete nuclear diffusion system.

Apart from Kaplan, many others like Charles McClelland, Stanley Hoffman, Kenneth Boulding and Harold Guetzkow have also emphasized the significance of the systems approach. Kaplan is more associated with this theory because he has made a comprehensive attempt at a rigorous, systematic and highly abstract thinking on the subject.

Criticism

Kaplan's theory has been criticized on several grounds. It suffers from serious drawbacks of fact as well as logic. Kaplan's six models are based on two criteria:

(i) Description of the actual and the possible, the balance of power system and the loose bipolar system match this criterion.

(ii) Criterion of progression, i.e., there is a tendency in them to pass from the first to the rest. The last four models subscribe to this criterion. They reflect Kaplan's attempt to study the possible international systems of the future and consequently to evolve a general theory of international systems.

Kaplan's prediction of a loose bipolar system transforming into a tight bipolar system when the non-bloc members align themselves to either blocs proved to be fallacious and untrue. The non-aligned countries, instead of joining either bloc, struggled hard to maintain their sovereignty, integrity and independence. The important role of these actors in the international system was even recognized by power blocs. In fact, the role of United Nations also did not completely recede into insignificance and on many issues, its role was rather appreciated. Thus, Kaplan's predictions proved to be far from reality.

Kaplan envisaged that the universal actor system will transform into the hierarchical international system in which only one nation will be left as the universal actor. Such a transformation is possible only on the revival of imperialism and colonialism and to entertain the possibility of such a revival would mean misunderstanding the entire process of international politics.

Perhaps it is the unit veto system that makes greater sense in so far as the soundness of Kaplan's systems theory of the future is concerned. The transformation of the unit veto system, which will come into existence when all or nearly all nations are able to acquire nuclear weapons, has clearly been inspired by the totally destructive character of these weapons. In this system, every nation will have at least the deterrent capacity and, therefore, the potentiality to destroy any other. In view of the prevailing drive towards the expansion of the nuclear club, the emergence of such an international system cannot be ruled out.

Besides, any theory of behaviour of states must include the dynamics of value formation. Kaplan does not discuss either the dynamics or the forces which determine the scale of nations' behaviour. The study of international politics in terms of international system, whether partial or total, is the study of state behaviour as groups. Therefore, no study of an international system can be fruitful unless it takes into account the factors which lead states to behave collectively and the process in which such a collective behaviour crystallizes. There is a need to find out the motivational factors behind the identity of outlook between them. This is where Kaplan's analysis falls short.

His main concern seems to be with developing a taxonomy of the various types of national actors (nations) and also a taxonomy of patterns of choices within the decision-making process of nations. Kaplan devoted attention to the concept of national interest and also intended to resolve the debate between the idealist and realist schools of international politics by pointing out the complexity of the concept of national interest, which according to him, cannot be separated from the concept of national values. But how national interests or national values are formed and how they affect the collective behaviour of states has been ignored.

2.5 DECISION-MAKING APPROACH

The decision-making approach belongs to a subfield of international relations which is known as foreign policy analysis (FPA) and balance of power system referred to as foreign policy decision-making (FPDM). Focusing on human decisional behaviour, it is one of the most ambitious subfields of international relations. It draws from many other social science disciplines like political science

(power), sociology (bureaucracy and authority), public administration (planning, implementation, and agency), and psychology (motives, personality types, group dynamics, perception and cognition). This subfield is formed by the works of European experts like Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. However, it has been given much rigour by the Americans who pressed for the need for the scientific study of decision-making and policy implementation. Particularly after World War II, rational decision-making and control of foreign policy behaviour increasingly came to be viewed as essential to national security in the United States. Thus, this subfield gained footing and enthusiastic government sponsorship and development in the field of communication and automated information processing led to the development of many approaches to foreign policy analysis which also sought to bring together the academia and the policy-making communities. The decision-making approach is one of these approaches.

The first major attempt in developing the decision-making approach was made by Richard Snyder and his colleagues H.W. Burck and Burton Sapin. They selected the decision-making approach for the study of processes of policy formulation, i.e., the manner in which policies are made. How and why national actors behave the way they do in international relations was the main question addressed by Snyder and others. In their attempt they borrowed abstract concepts from sociologists like Talcott Parsons, Edward Shills, and Martin Levy. The objective of Snyder was to evolve a conceptual framework which identified categories on which data for studying foreign policy decisions could be made.

The decision-making approach has two fundamental purposes. One is the identification of 'crucial structures' in the political realm where changes take place, where decisions are made and where actions are initiated and carried out, while the other is a systematic analysis of the decision-making behaviour which leads to action. Thus, the decision-making approach focuses the inquiry on actors who are called decision-makers and on the state which is defined as the decision unit.

This approach emphasizes that the behaviour of decision-makers should be described and explained in terms of action analysis which means that decision-makers should be treated as 'actors in a situation'. It also focuses on the importance of the perception of the situation by the actors as a basis of decision-making. It also suggests that decision-makers are influenced in the first instance by their own definition of the situation.

The objective is also to develop a framework that could help in the reconstruction of the situation as defined by the decision-makers. Thus, the facts and the data for our study should be selected on the basis of what explains the behaviour of decision-makers. The approach proceeds with the assumptions that the key to the policymaker's action lies in the way in which decision-makers as actors define their situation and that their image of the situation is built around the projected action as well as the reasons for the action.

In other words, the setting in which foreign policy decisions are made is the one which is perceived by the decision-maker. The setting is conceived as consisting of internal and external parts. The elements that form the internal setting include the personalities, roles, organizations in the decisional unit, the governmental structures within which the decision-makers function, the physical and technological conditions,

the basic values and goals, and the various types of influences operating in the society. The external setting on the other hand includes all the relevant factors in the total situation of the international system existing at a given time.

What is decision-making?

Decision-making means making a conscious choice of a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences. In international relations, decisions are made in foreign policy formulations, to address the socio-economic and defence related requirements of the states. However, decision-making is different from 'policy-making' and 'problem solving' in the sense that it refers to choices that require conscious action and are subject to policy-making where a multiplicity of intersecting decisions exist. On the other hand policy-making refers to the sum total of decisions taken by the decision-makers in any setup. Problem solving is a response, involving a choice among alternatives, to an emergent problem whereas decision-making involves a search for both problems and alternatives.

The decision-making approach emphasizes the significance of human decision-makers in international relations, i.e., those involved in the formulation of foreign policy. According to this approach, explanatory variables from the micro to the macro level, are important only to the extent they impact the decision-making process. Therefore, it engages itself with all three of Kenneth Waltz's levels of analysis, i.e., the individual, the state and the international system. It establishes the importance of the concept of decision as having universal applicability. It rests on the assumptions of rationality, control and predictability. The field of study comprises of issues such as investigating the role of personality variables, organizational process, bureaucratic politics, domestic politics, and group dynamics that shape or influence the foreign policy decision-making. This approach was propounded by Richard C. Synder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin in 1954, in their work *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*. This was the first systematic attempt to conceptualise the role of decision-making in foreign policy formulation and the processes of international politics. They put forward a convincing argument for shifting the focus of international relations from the nation state to the persons who are engaged in the activity of making actual decisions for the state. Snyder, Bruck and Sapin borrowed concepts from sociologists like Talcott, Parsons and Edward Shills. They aimed to devise a conceptual scheme to guide scientific research on foreign policy decision-making based on several variables.

This approach rests on the following assumptions:
- There should be focus on the 'decisional unit', which is pursuing a specific objective.
- Decision-making is a planned action of the decision-makers who 'selectively perceive and evaluate' both internal and external settings.
- Factors like uncertainty, time constraints, and competing objectives and motives act as limitations on decision-making.

Later, contributors to the theory include Anthony Downs, William Riker, James Robinson and Herbert Simon whose works enriched the approach in the late 1950s and 1960s.

Major premises of the approach

International politics is mainly concerned with actions-reactions-interactions among political entities called national states. This chain implies that understanding international politics requires analysis of the process .This process is planned and not random, and is aimed at achieving certain objectives. Since action is planned keeping certain goals in mind, reactions which are responses to actions, take similar forms. This makes interactions follow a certain pattern: 'recognizable repetitions of actions and reactions'.

For the decision-making theory, the level of analysis is the state which it considers to be 'actor in a situation'. So, developing an understanding successfully about one state would generate an understanding of all states, no matter how different they might be in many respects. It seeks to provide an analytical scheme for understanding the behaviour of all states or any particular state. However, Brian Ripley brings out the following significant differences between neo-realism and foreign policy decision-making (FPDM) through Table 2.1 given below:

Table 2.1 Differences between Neo-realism and Foreign Policy Decision-making

NEO-REALISM	FPDM
States are the primary actors in world politics. Non-state actors are acknowledged, but their role is minimal.	Foreign policy elites acting on behalf of states and non-state institutions are the primary actors in world politics.
States act on the basis of a rational calculation of self-interest.	Foreign policy elites act on the basis of their 'definition of the situation'.
Foreign policy is best understood as the attempt to pursue security in an inherently conflicting world.	Foreign policy is best understood as the unending task of sequential problem-solving by goal-directed elites operating within organizational and cognitive constraints.
Power (or self-interest) is the primary currency of international relations.	Information is the primary currency of international relations.
The structure of the global system is the primary determinant of a state's behaviour.	The global system is merely an arena for the pursuit of projects by purposive elites.
Policy prescriptions involve adaptation to the dictates of rationality (e.g., recognize the limits of collective action).	Policy prescriptions involve efforts to compensate for individual misperception and organizational pathologies (e.g., recognize the tendency to stereotype enemies).

For analytical purposes, the theory comes up with a typology of states based on basic political organization, range of decision-making systems, their strengths and weaknesses, and types of foreign policies employed. This provides a criterion for comparisons among units, i.e., the state.

Also, the 'world' is how the decision-makers view and define situations. When it comes to the role of supranational forces and organizations, like say the United Nations, this approach treats them as 'conditioning factors'. Therefore, according to this approach, the defining of a situation by the actor is a subjective activity. Further, the definition of the situation is built around the projected action and the reasons for the action.

The decision-making approach, as the name suggests, gives the central place to the analysis of the behaviour of the decision-makers. It seeks to understand the behaviour of the decision-makers in the following terms:

(i) **Perception:** This means their discrimination and relating of objects, conditions and other actors, i.e., perception in a relational context.

(ii) **Choice:** This means attaching significance to particular courses of action according to some criteria of estimation.

(iii) **Expectation:** This means putting in place certain standards of acceptability.

Through an analysis based on these terms the approach seeks to give answers to questions such as: what action did the decision-makers think was relevant in a given situation? How did they arrive at such an estimation? What according to them were important factors and how were they related? How did they establish such a connection? What specific or general goals did they select?

There are various types of the decision-making theory. First is those which focus on the environment factor, Harold and Margaret Sprout are among those who follow this line. They define the term environment as a milieu which has a psychological as well as an operational aspect, i.e., those properties of the milieu which set limits on what can be achieved by the decision-makers, irrespective of whether or not decision-makers are able to perceive those limits. Harold and Margaret Sprout are interested not so much in how and why a decision is made as in the relationship between the environment as decision-makers see it and the environment in which is out of bounds of the decision-maker's perception and estimate. Thus, the Sprouts emphasize on post-decisional results or on a comparison of the judgments of decision-makers with those of outsiders. They adopt decision-making as an analytical tool but only in the context of environment defined by them. Their concern is not to justify a particular foreign policy action in the light of the decision-makers' perception of the environment but to see how far and between actions could be taken.

The second type of the decision-making theories are of personality factor, adopted by Alexander and Juliette George. They emphasize on the personality factor of the decision-maker. The Georges in their study have analyzed the Woodrow Wilson's career and personality in terms of their impact on his political actions and decisions. The conclusion of the study is that Wilson's ambition for power obscured his perception of the world situation and consequently led him to adopt self-defeating policies. The Georges characterize their techniques as a 'developmental biography' in which the factor of situation and personality are studies in a chronological and cross-sectional order. This technique is based upon the conviction that a proper study of foreign policy decision required an analysis of the various dimensions of the personality of the decision-maker.

While there are some observers like Dean Rusk who deny any significance to the personality factor, its importance cannot be ignored altogether. Scholars like Harold Lasswell, Gabriel Almond, Margaret Herman and Lester Milbrath have recognized the due importance of this factor. After all it has made a difference whether a decision was taken by Henry Truman or John Kennedy or by Joseph Stalin or Nikita Khrushchev.

The study of personality factors indeed helps us in building a partial theory of reaction of particular decision-makers to different situation. A study of personality factors can be helpful in explaining things at least so long as the same decision-makers continue to control the foreign policy in their nations.

Another type of decision-making is related to a study of those actors who actually participate in the formation of foreign policy. But this branch has two offshoots: one is that which is followed by writers like Bernard Cohen who believes that a systematic analysis of foreign policy should be made in accordance with the interaction between official and non-official actors who participate in the formulation of foreign policy. This postulates five important elements in the process of framing foreign policy: general climate of public opinion, political interest groups, the media of mass communication, specific agents in the executive branch and specific committees of the legislature.

He believes that these five elements belong at the centre of any foreign policy decision-making. Somewhat similar to Cohen's approach is the approach followed by Roger Hilsman. He insisted on a conceptual scheme of interaction between the executive and legislative branches of the government. This scheme centres on a model of consensus and conflict. He believes that when a foreign policy is formulated, it goes through a process of conflict between the objects of the executive and those of the legislature. James Robinson is also concerned with the interrelationship of the executive and the legislature in foreign policy. The criterion which he employs in his study of foreign policy is the satisfaction of the members of the legislature and the satisfactory flow of information between the executive and the legislature in the US. Robinson concluded that the organization and internal process of the legislature determine the actual nature of the framework of a foreign policy.

Besides, the differences on the question as to what should be the focus of inquiry there are also differences on the question as to what is meant by 'decision' and 'decision-making'. Although some current definitions classify decisions as a sub-category of actions, decision and actions are considered different in the common usage.

The most significant contribution to the theory of decision-making has been made by John Burton. The following are the details of his theory of decision-making.

2.5.1 John Burton's Theory of Decision-making

John Burton has made the most notable contribution to the theory of decision-making. According to him decision-making can only be described as a process. He begins with George Modelski's definition of power as 'community's present means to obtain the future desirable behaviour of other States'. Modelski believes that both at the government and at a community level, power becomes important only insofar as it serves as a means of preventing change, or of enforcing adjustments, or in giving effects of some kind of decisions.

The attitude of decision-makers towards change is determined by the ideology of the country, the manner in which change is received, the past memory of the community as well as experience, the influence of leadership and the level of knowledge, and the general international situation. Since all these factors play an important role in deciding the nature of our attitude to the thrust of change, decision-making is bound to be essentially a process in which the policy-makers always continue to deal with these factors. Burton argues that the importance of these factors is so great that not only the decision-making but also the decision-makers are nothing else but a process. For Burton there are three factors which determine the decisions.

The first factor is perception of the environment. It is necessary that the decision-maker perceives the input and output factors correctly, because their misperception may lead to wrong decisions. Avoidance of misperception and ensuring of a correct

perception are necessary for a fruitful analysis of decision-makers, a clear understanding and knowledge thorough analysis of all these and the various other concepts are the responsibility of those interested in decision-making analysis.

If the object of the decision-making approach is to analyze foreign policy, the analysis can be useful only if the decisions examined relate to both the individual and groups. An essential part of this analysis would be to explain the extent to which the decisions of individuals influence the decisions of groups. In making that analysis the Snyder Bruck Spin model seems to be most helpful.

For them, the focus on the official actors is important for the study of foreign policy. This model conceives of state action as resulting from the way in which an identifiable official decision is made and why a particular decision is made in a very complex organizational setting and, therefore, the way to analyze the reasons for the decision is to study them in the context of those official actors who can be clearly identified.

It should be apparent that this approach is different from that of both Cohen and Hilsman because Snyder and his collaborators regard actors as only those who are clearly identifiable as members of the decision-making unit and are responsible for a particular decision.

The second important factor in decision-making analysis is what Burton has called expectations, which refers to the future behaviour. Each state has some expectations from the future. But since judgments about the future behaviour of others cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty, expectations are likely to lead to even greater difficulties than misperception. Expectations in international relations are normally conservative which are derived from the traditional views on the behaviour of states.

The third factor is that of 'overloading of information' which creates problems of coordination. The result is that the decision-maker often finds himself unable to examine all the available information and to decide priorities.

The basic premise of the decision-making approach is that international politics should be taken as the interaction of foreign policies and for understanding this interaction the only useful approach can be to study it in the context of foreign policy decisions.

Criticism

There are certain drawbacks of the decision-making approach. The interdisciplinary ambition of the approach leaves it vulnerable to the risk of running into confusion among a vast array of concepts drawn from several other disciplines. This also means missing linkages and insights useful to the discipline of international relations. As Mclosky argues, the approach is a taxonomy not a theory and because all the factors related to the decision-making process are treated as variables, analysts could neither draw linkages between factors nor could they infer the conditions under which specific variables would be most useful. In short, it can be said that the approach does not successfully suggest as to which of the elements are really relevant.

Secondly, with its emphasis on value free analyses, it merely seeks to analyze various decisions in the arena of foreign affairs, which is why when a particular decision is taken by the decision-makers it remains silent on the question of rightness or wrongness of the decision.

Thirdly, this approach is based upon the principle of indetermination and fails to suggest as to which of the elements are really relevant.

Fourthly, this approach proceeds with a value-free concept in as much as it only tries to analyze the various decisions taken in the realm of foreign affairs without taking care of questions as to which decisions are right and which are wrong. The whole approach supports the view that actions in international relations can be defined as a set of decisions made by recognizable units, but it has certain definite faults.

It implies that politics is normally made of highly conscious moves and choices which can be analysed in terms of definite categories, while the fact is that the developments in international relations do not take place in this fashion nor can the actions in international affairs be completely isolated in time.

Snyder explains that the decision-making approach aims at the recreation of a world of decision-makers and how they view it rather than at the recreation of the situation in any objective sense. But the nature of international relations is determined also by what people in general want and what their values and aspirations are.

Besides, the decision-making approach leaves out everything that is not mere addition of a separate decision made by various units. There are many patterns of power politics and rules of international behaviour such as balance of power or international law or the values of humanism which are in a way determined by the will of statesmen. But the decision-making theory does not supply any criterion either to explain the patterns of power politics or to prescribe the rules of international behaviour. Instead it directly takes up the problem of relationship between motives and actions.

ACTIVITY

Evaluate the systems approach to the study of international politics.

2.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Since the emergence of the discipline, there has been an attempt to theorize the behaviour of states vis-à-vis other states. Although scholars have been involved in giving a more scientific shape to the discipline, due to the growing complexities of relations among states, the task has been extremely challenging.
- Idealism is the first dominant academic theory of international relations that has emerged from a desire to prevent catastrophic wars that cause mass destruction and untold human miseries.
- The liberal theory has developed along certain different lines after the Second World War. It may be divided into the following four strands of thinking:
- Realism has been the dominant approach in international relations theory for long. It gained its acceptance as a discipline during and after the Second World War, yet its existence precedes this event.

- The concept of classical realism can be traced from the writings of the classical writers such as Thucydides who assumed power politics as a law of human behaviour-drive for power and will to dominate.
- The systems approach is a product of the behavioural revolution in the social sciences. The revolution reflected the quest among the social scientists to arrive at a general body of meaningful knowledge through scientific analysis and interdisciplinary approach, i.e., bringing together relevant concepts from various disciplines of social sciences.
- In Kaplan's work, a system is defined as a collection of elements related by some pattern of behaviour and actions.
- The sixth and the last system in Kaplan's scheme of international systems is the unit veto system. Under this system, the existence of powerful destructive weapons is sufficient enough for a national actor to destroy the enemy actor before getting destroyed itself.
- The first major attempt in developing the decision-making approach was made by Richard Snyder and his colleagues H.W. Burck and Burton Sapin.
- The second type of the decision-making theories are of personality factor, adopted by Alexander and Juliette George.
- Another type of decision-making is related to a study of those actors who actually participate in the formation of foreign policy.
- John Burton has made the most notable contribution to the theory of decision-making. According to him decision-making can only be described as a process.

2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Approach:** The method by which any phenomenon is explained
- **Abstraction:** Not practical or theoretical
- **Bipolar:** Relating to or having two poles or charges
- **Decision-making:** Making a conscious choice about a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences
- **Equilibrium:** Balance or a stable condition
- **Multipolar**: Having multiple centers of power or influence
- **Realism:** Is the school of thought that emphasizes on competition and self-interest in respect to international relations.
- **Veto:** Power to reject a proposal or act
- **Wilsonianism:** Also known as Wilsonian idealism, it refers to the school of idealism that was personified in the American diplomatic history by Wilson

2.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Idealism in the Wilsonian context refers to a state making its internal political philosophy as the goal of its foreign policy and therefore, places the concept of morality and values as a central core of politics. It refers to the school of thought

personified in the American diplomatic history by Woodrow Wilson, and is also known as Wilsonianism or Wilsonian Idealism.

2. False

3. Realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflictual side.

4. *Theory of International Politics* by Kenneth Waltz

5. Fareed Zakaria

6. Systems

7. Bipolar system

8. The unit veto system is the sixth and last system in Kaplan's scheme of international systems. Under this system, the existence of powerful destructive weapons is sufficient enough for a national actor to destroy the enemy actor before getting destroyed itself.

9. Foreign policy analysis

10. False

11. Decision-making means making a conscious choice about a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences.

2.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the basic assumption of realism as an approach to international relations?

2. According to Burton, what are the factors which determine the decisions?

3. What do you understand by neo-realism?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Debate the theory of idealism in international relations.

2. According to Kaplan, what are the six models of international system?

3. What are the criticisms of Kaplan's theory?

4. What are the different strands of realism? Discuss.

5. Explain John Burton's theory of decision-making.

2.10 FURTHER READING

Snyder, R.C. & Bruck, H. W. Sapin, B.; (eds), *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*, Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962.

Wendt, A.; *Social Theory of International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1999.

Viotti, P. & Mark, K.; *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1999.

UNIT 3   CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the approaches and theories regarding international politics. You were introduced to the various schools of thoughts, such as, the idealists, realists, the systems theory of Kaplan and the decision-making theory.

International relations is the study of relationships among countries, the roles of sovereign states, inter-governmental organizations, international non-governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, and multinational corporations. International relations is an academic and a public policy field, and so can be positive and normative, because it analyzes and formulates the foreign policy of a given state.

This unit will introduce you to other factors of international relations such as diplomacy and foreign policy, their determinants and dimensions, and balance of power.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:
- Explain the concept of international politics
- Discuss national interest and national power
- Describe balance of power
- Define foreign policy
- Interpret the determinants of foreign policy
- Explain diplomacy
- Assess old and new diplomacy
- Describe the dimensions of diplomacy

3.2 CONCEPT AND DETERMINANTS

The core of international politics is formed by interaction nation states. It is not simply diplomacy or the relation of the states. Therefore, it is not confined to the statesmen and diplomats. Today's nation states are fundamentally determined by the will and the interest of the body of its citizens. It is also framed in particular situations formed by history, economic relations, communication, and cultural relations that affect the people of all countries. Particularly the main factors that determine international relations are the following:

(i) World geography: They build the society and structure of the economy as well as the attitude of the people.

(ii) Scientific and technological advancement that is basic to the economy and strength of a country.

(iii) History of relations among states in a region, continent or even the world.

(iv) Cultural orientations of the people involving religion, language and political traditions.

(v) Political leadership of the respective countries and their values.

(vi) The levels of economy that determine the strength and stability of a country and constitute the capacity of the nation.

(vii) Trade and technological exchange among nations.

All these factors set the stage for international exchange. Such an exchange is basically a product of calculations of national interests by the government, the elite and the masses of a country. There is of course the consideration of gain or loss in an exchange. There is also the impact of power in such exchanges. Yet, in the days of nuclear power and globalized economy short-term consideration of power may often be superseded by the long-term calculation of progress and prosperity.

According to Hans Morgenthau, considered one of the founding fathers of the realist school in the 20th century, nation-states are the main actors in international relations and the main concern of the field is the study of power. He emphasized the importance of national interest. In *Politics Among Nations*, he wrote 'the main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power'.

Now, the concept of power is rather controversial in modern social sciences. According to Morgenthau, power in political context means 'the power of man over the minds and actions of other men'. This conception goes beyond the traditional understanding of power as force, particularly, coercive force. Today, political power mainly means the power to persuade people and other states into particular courses of action.

There are a variety of views on what constitutes national interest. On the one hand, extreme realists compare national interest with national power and on the other, the extreme idealists specify national interest with some universal moral aspiration, such as eternal peace or human brotherhood. However, a statesman always tries to find out a formula that considers security, national development and world order as components of national interest. In the context of individual countries, national interest of one country may vary from that of another country, depending upon the social and economic environment of that country.

National interest of a rich or developed country would be preserved in the present state and seek further improvement. In case of a poor or developing country, the national interest would be preserved on its political sovereignty and want to increase the pace of economic development for improving the standard of living of its people in the globalized era.

As in the 19th century, Lord Palmerston said: 'We have no eternal allies and we have no eternal enemies. Our interests are eternal and those interests are our duty to follow.'

The national interest is often referred to by the French expression *raison d'État* ('reason of the state'). Prior to emergence of nationalism, national interest was usually viewed as secondary to that of religion or morality. To engage in a war, rulers needed to justify the action in these contexts. Many consider Niccolo Machiavelli to be the first thinker to advocate for the primacy of national interest. Power rather than morality was the crux of his thought. Strategic thinkers like Clausewitz, Mahan and Douhet greatly contributed to this approach. But idealist thinkers, like Woodrow Wilson, warned about the dangers involved in the national interest's self-centric approach, and urged for the supremacy of morality in the interest of mankind in international relations; but this approach hardly succeeded in practice.

Joseph Frankel classifies the usage of the term national interest as (i) aspirational, (ii) operational, (iii) explanatory, and (iv) polemical. On the aspirational level, national interest refers to the vision of good life, an ideal set of goals which the state would like to realize. On the operational level, it refers to the sum total of its interests and policies actually pursued. On the explanatory and polemical level, the concept of national interest is used to explain, evaluate, rationalize, or criticize a nation's foreign policy.

3.3 NATIONAL POWER AND NATIONAL INTEREST

Assessment of National Power

National power is the strength of the state to do what it likes internally and externally. National power is the power or the capacity of a state with the domestic and foreign policy as effectively as possible to realize its national objectives. Hartman says that national power is the strength or capacity that a sovereign national state can use to achieve its national interests. For H.J. Morgenthau, national power is 'the power of man over the minds and actions of other man'. To Schwarzendberger, national power is 'the capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance'.

The most stable factor upon which the power of a nation depends is geography. Geography implies factors like land, topography, size, location, boundaries, and climate and so on. These factors have a phenomenal bearing on the power of the nations and their foreign politics. The area of a nation can accommodate a large population and many natural resources. Location is a major determinant of whether a country is sea power or land power. Climate too has an influence on the vigour of the people. Neither too cold nor too hot but temperate climate can determine the power of a nation. The question of topography-terrain, mountain, seas, rivers, lakes, and forests can assume great importance. Boundaries have exercised a great influence over the gate of a number of nations.

Check Your Progress

1. _____ _____ is often referred to by the French expression raison d'État ('reason of the state').

2. What was Niccolo Machiavelli's vision on national interest?

3. How does Joseph Frankel classify the usage of the term national interest?

Economy may be said to be the second important element constituting the power of a nation. It includes factors like natural resources, agricultural production, industrial production, system of transport and communication. It is richly endowed with natural resources and is capable of achieving the status of great power. In modern times, as wars have become large-scale and expensive, the element of economy has assumed great importance.

Today, a nation can succeed in the pursuit of its different stakes or goals through application of different instruments like diplomacy, balance of power, collective security and war along with sound economy; the sounder the economy, the stronger becomes the position of a nation. In today's world, strategic factors like rubber, coal, petrol, electricity, uranium, steel, manganese may be said to be the motive powers or energies for production. In both world wars petrol proved to be a strategic product; hence, the strength of a nation depends on its ability to command the strategic product.

Population is undoubtedly a very important element of national power. Whether a state is big or small, it has to depend upon its population. A state with large population is capable of achieving a great power status in the world. More populous state means more men to work, more women to bear children, and more people for production. A state with the largest number of men and women is most capable, since other elements are not equal.

As Voltaire said, 'God is always on the side of the biggest battalions. Generally, populous nations have been powerful nations too. We find that the nations which had larger manpower had better bargaining position and could exercise greater influence over the balance of power and fare better in war.

However, the quantity of population alone is not enough to contribute to national power. Quality is also important. In modern times with the rapidly advancing technology and fast improving means of transport and communication, quality of population is becoming more and more important. Today, what contributes to national power is well-fed, healthy, educated and trained population belonging to be suitable age group. Since warfare has become highly mechanized and sophisticated, there is a great need of well trained and technically capable men. Training, skill, character and morale count today more than mere numbers. Ill-fed and ill--trained populations are bound to be a liability to nations and handicap it in its struggle for power in international politics. Ideally, what is required for maximization of national power is the sufficient size of sufficiently qualitative population. Thus, in this sense, population constitutes a very important element or constituent or factor of national power.

Morale is another important element of national power. Morale may be defined as the physical and mental powers of individuals to perform a particular act. It is the spirit of men made up of faith, courage and loyalty and will to fight to preserve the individual and nations distinctions. Morale may be of a civilian population or it may be of soldiers. For success in war, the morale of both is necessary. Morale appeals to the people to sacrifice their utmost to the cause of the nation. It is born of a loyalty to a cause and a determination to fight for it. People's morale may be boosted to fight and die for a cause. Allied soldiers were asked to fight 'to preserve democracy in the world'. The communists appealed to the workers 'to fight to retain the equality of all in socialism'. Nazi's would ask to fight to retain 'the superiority of the Aryan race'. Thus, morale gives more devotion to a cause, which can be boosted by various methods of propaganda. 'Join the navy and see the world', 'drive slowly and save life', and 'fight to preserve democracy' are some of the slogans designed to boost publish morale.

Next to geography economy, population, morale, technology may be said to a key constituent of national power. In a wider sense, technology can be defined as a system of techniques and skills and the ability to apply them to the given resources to turn better and more useful products so as to increase the power of the given nation. In short, technology may be said to be a nation's capacity to turn the available resources to greater and greater advantages. Hence, in actual practice, technology implies more research institutes, more laboratories, more workshops, more patents, and better and more products. The benefits of technology can be of different types, depending upon the fields in which it is employed. Technology can be applied in the economic and industrial field which means better machines and better products. It can be applied to the problems of transport and communication which means better roads, trains, ships, planes and so on. It can be applied to the problem of war which means better guns, tanks, warships, fighter planes, bombs and so on. Qualitatively, the benefits of technology may again be of different types. Application of technology may mean better products, cheaper products, and more abundant products.

As regards the role of technology, we find that, throughout history, it has played a vital role and fundamentally changed the course of events. At every stage, we find that nation which makes inventions wins a start and superiority over others. In the expansion of national power, technology has been found to be of immense use. It was on account of the railway and telegraph technology that Britain could establish an effective rule over the Indian subcontinent. The use of the atom bomb by the US opened a transfer scene in the drama of World War II. Now missiles can be used as long-range delivery vehicles for transporting bombs and equipment across continents or vast distances. The rocket race to the moon, Mars and the other planets is becoming ever more interesting and analyzing. In world nations possessing the technological superiority, bombs, missiles, rockets and similar things possess great influence and prestige.

The possession the technological superiority has fundamentally changed the balance of power in today's international politics. Thus, technology constitutes a very vital element of national power because technology enables a nation to have stronger economy, stronger industrial base, stronger system of transport and communication, stronger army, greater capacity to win war, influence or dominate other nations and so on.

It has always constituted a very vital element in the power of a nation. It has assumed particularly great importance in the twentieth century. Ideology is a body of ideas and beliefs concerning certain values and usually suggesting a certain political and economic order in order to accomplish these values. Ideologies can be of different types — social, political, economic religious, racial and so on. Morgenthau has mentioned three main types of ideologies:

- Ideologies of status quo
- Ideology of imperialism
- Ambiguous ideologies (e.g. self-determination)

Other important ideologies of the twentieth century are liberalism, Nazism, Facism, communism, socialism, nationalism, and internationalism. Experience reveals that in the past ideologies had provided a tremendous philosophical, psychological, and moral power for the policies and programmes of men. They are the guiding force for policy goals and activities of nations. Often nation have utilized ideologies as a source of moral justification.

As an element of national power, these can boost people's morale. Thus, when we speak of the ideology of communism, generally we refer to its ideals or ideas or slogans like 'workers of the world unite'. Such a slogan is used to bring about revolutions in the world for the establishment of communism. It would be seem that 'an ideology is to a nation what an ambition or career goal is to a man'. In the absence of an ideology, many, if not all, policies and activities of a nation would be inexplicable.

Leadership can be said to be the most important element constituting the power of a nation. Leadership may be defined as an instrumentally provided by a leader or a group of leaders by which all other elements of national power geography, economy, population, technology, ideology and morale can be mobilised and used most purposefully and effectively for the achievement of the goals of a nation in a given context. Leadership can be of different types-military, political, diplomatic, social, and economic and so on. Military leadership can make a difference between victory and defeat for a nation. Diplomatic leadership can make a difference between securing strong nations as friends or turning them into enemies. The social and political leadership brought about a revolutionary change in the social and political life of the country. Economic leadership brought about an 'economic miracle' and industrial power in the world. The range of activities today's leaders have to handle in times of war is simply staggering. They have to tackle the problems of food supply, raw materials, industrial production, transport and communication, national morale and so on and so forth. Undoubtedly, greatness or incompetence, wisdom or irrationality, effectiveness or impotence in leadership considerably affects the power that the country has.

Leaders such as Napoleon, Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Mao, Gandhi, Kennedy, Khrushchev and Nixon have made a deep impact on world history. An able leadership serves as a source of great inspiration to the people. Thus, in modern times the tasks and responsibilities of leadership have increased tremendously, and along with them have increased the importance of leadership as an element of national power.

Military strength is relevant both in war and peace. No one can win a war without a strong military base. Military strength involves two main elements — armed forces and weapons. The size of armed forces is of great importance. The quality of the army and arm-ammunition is also very crucial along with their quantity. The quality of of forces depends on the nature of training, physical endurance and the morale of troops. Military, leadership also plays a great role in the actual military operations during a war. Morale of forces i.e. their willingness to sacrifice for nation, is no less a factor in contributing to military strength. The military alliances and bases also contribute important aspect of the military element. Lastly, military component of national power is dependent upon the financial resources of nation as well as its technological, industrial and economic development.

3.3.1 Relevance of National Interest in International Relations

National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. It is the key concept in foreign policy as it provides the material on the basis of which foreign policy is made. While formulating foreign policy, all statesmen are guided by their respective national interests. It is the purpose of foreign policy to conduct foreign relations in a way so as achieve national interest to the maximum extent. It is not easy to determine exactly what a nation's national interest is. This concept is highly vague

and difficult to define. Not withstanding its vagueness, the concept of national interest is central to any attempt at describing explaining, predicting, prescribing and understanding international behaviour. From time immemorial, leaders of states justify their actions in the name of the national interest.

Frankel divides the various attempts to define national interest into two broad categories —objective and subjective approaches. The first category embraces those approaches which view national interest as a concept which can be defined or examined with the help of some objectively definable criteria. The second category contains those definitions which seek to interpret national interest as a 'constantly changing pluralistic set of objective references'. The task of defining national interest becomes more cumbersome as the domestic and international activities of a state overlap. It is appropriate if national interest is seen as a synthesis of the objective and subjective approaches. In most of the nation-states, the iron jaw of oligarchy is prevalent, implying that governmental decision is made only by a few men and women. These decisions are often taken in such a way as to promote national interest.

According to the definition provided by Frankel, national interest 'amounts to the sum total of all the national values'. Lerche and Said's has defined it as 'the general, long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation and the government all see themselves as serving'. Dyke defines it as that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It includes desires on the part of sovereign state and these desires differ greatly from state to state and from time to time.

Lerche and Said's definition sounds more logical than Dyke's. The former's definition describes national interest in terms of a permanent guide to the action of a state, while the latter's definition regards national interest as the action itself. What a state seeks to protect or achieve and what it desires to have in relation to other states are, generally speaking, the aims of foreign policy. These aims have two components-goals and objectives. A goal is a set in terms of the maximum time span that can be anticipated analytically, whereas an objective is only immediate or short-range in terms of time. Thus, national interest determines the nature of the long-term as well as short-term efforts in foreign policy. It is nothing else but the application of a generalized value synthesis to the overall international situation in which a state has to make and pursue its foreign policy.

The residual meaning implied in the concept of national interest is survival. In Morgenthau's opinion, the minimum requirement of nation states is to protect their physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states. Preservation of physical identity, preservation of political identity and preservation of cultural identity are the main concern of a nation-state. National interest also adds an element of consistency in a nation's foreign policy. Several factors of variables both internal as well as external play their role in the formulation of national interest. These determinants are the qualities, personality and ideals of decision makers, the customs and cultural styles of different societies, ideologies of the states, the types of challenges and pressures that each country faces from neighbouring countries.

States deliberately follow certain policies in pursuit of their national interests. A state may pursue economic policies to enhance its domestic welfare without harming another state. But a state may also pursue economic policies clearly aiming at harming another state. Whenever economic policies are designed to achieve national interests-whether or not they intended to harm other state-they are economic instruments of national policy.

Economic methods are regularly employed to fulfill national interests both in peace and war. In peace times all countries have objectives which must be accomplished. Whenever possible, such as raising the standard of living, encouraging foreign sales, expanding employment, conserving natural resources, advancing technology and improving health and hygiene. Economy means may also be utilized by a state during war.

These have long been used as instruments for the promotion of national policy. From sixteenth century till the middle of twentieth century European nations used imperialism and colonialism as a tool to further their national interests. It will be wrong to presume that imperialism and colonialism are dead. As a matter of fact their entry through the back door in the form of Neo-Colonialism has made appearance in many parts of the world. The reality is that, as Eagleton observed, "War is a method of achieving purposes". Many people hate war and strongly suggest that war never pays. On the contrary many believe that war often pays-and moreover, that it has paid not only for bad men with wrong intention but often for good men with good purposes. For that matter it persists as an instrument for the promotion of national interest. However, this instrument is mostly used as a last resort when all other methods probe ineffective.

3.4 BALANCE OF POWER

After the discussion on national interests and elements of national power, one needs to concentrate on the instruments to manage state capabilities. In this context balance of power and collective security are two vital concepts. The meaning and definition of balance of power, its characteristics, devices, utility, and finally its criticism and relevance in contemporary scenario are discussed in this section.

3.4.1 Concept

This is a matter of common understanding that no nation can live in isolation. In a world where a large number of nations exist and each of them is inspired to maximize her power and influence international politics, some kind of balance is required to avoid conflict and war. In its simplest meaning, the term balance of power implies existence of a rough equilibrium of power among various nations, which means power should be more or less equally shared by different states. However, the term itself is full of confusion and lacks a universally accepted definition. As Claude points out, 'the trouble with the balance of power is not that it has no meaning but that it has too many meanings'. Spykman observes 'the truth of the matter is that states are interested only in a balance which is in their favour'. Morgenthau attached four different meanings to the term: (i) as a policy aimed at a certain state of affairs at bringing about a certain power distribution; (ii) as an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among several nations with approximate equality; (iii) as an approximately distribution of power; and (iv) as any distribution of power. E. Haas refer to eight distinct meanings of the term according to time and context of use: (i) distribution of power, (ii) equilibrium, (iii) hegemony, (iv) stability and peace, (v) instability and war, (vi) power politics, (vii) universal law of history, and (viii) a system and guide to policymaking. Thus, balance of power, broadly speaking, can be characterized as a situation, a process, a policy, and a system. In context of state capabilities, balance of power refers to the utilization or arrangement of national power in a special way.

3.4.2 Characteristics

One can examine real nature of the concept by going through its characteristics. Palmer and Perkins identified ten characteristics of balance of power, and these are as follows:

(i) The concept, may be discussed in terms of equilibrium theory, which is concerned, among other things, with international disequilibrium as well as equilibrium.

(ii) In practice, balance of power systems has proved to be temporary and unstable.

(iii) The balance of power is not a 'gift of god' but is achieved by 'the active intervention of man'.

(iv) The balance of power has generally tended to favour the 'status quo'. To be effective, a balance of power policy must be changing and dynamic.

(v) It is difficult for a nation to tell when a balance of power has been achieved. As any overall comparison in power in terms is a rough one at best, a real balance of power can seldom exist, and it probably would not be recognized as such if it did exist. The only real test, presumably, is that of war, and restoring to war not only upsets the balance but also creates the very conditions which a balance of power policy is supposedly designed to prevent.

(vi) Balance of power offers both an objective and a subjective approach.

(vii) Primary purpose of the balance of power is to maintain the independence of states, and not to preserve the peace.

(viii) The balance of power game is obviously one for the great states. Although small ones are vitally concerned in the outcome, they are more often victims, or at best spectators, rather than players.

(ix) The balance of power seems to be a policy that is suitable neither for democracies nor for dictatorships. Unless geographical, political, military, and other considerations are peculiarly favourable, a democracy is a reluctant player, and a poor leader in the balance of power game. It is deeply concerned with power politics only in period of crisis. A dictatorship, on the other hand, is usually interested in dominating the contest, in establishing rules to suit its own convenience, and in gathering in all the rewards.

(x) Many commentators insist that the balance of power is largely inoperative in the present conditions. However, the fact is that the balance of power game continues to be played, with nation-states as the chief actors.

3.4.3 Devices

Balance of power is not a natural phenomenon and requires special efforts. A balance may be brought about through the use of one or more of the devices as discussed below.

- **Armaments:** One of the most important means of attaining balance of power is amassing armaments. Since war is the ultimate instrument of resolution of disputes, countries try to increase military power to secure advantage. But once a country acquires new weapons, its opponents also begin to compete; this results in a never-ending 'arms race'.

- **Alliances and counter-alliances:** Alliances are often concluded to secure a favourable balance of power. Counter-alliances are then concluded to upset the

preponderance of power of some against the others. Nations always try to make, abandon and remake alliances. Balances of power become effective if there are a number of big powers who often exercise choice of making alliances and counter-alliances. The alliances are two types—offensive and defensive. The offensive alliance seeks to upset the balance of power in favour of its members and a defensive alliance aims at restoring the balance. Alliances are built out of necessity of common interests and are directed against a common enemy. Alliances may break up after the objective is achieved. Ad hoc or temporary alliances of a constantly shifting character have been standard practices in modern history of international relations. For instance, after the Triple Alliance was formed in 1882, portending significant changes in the European balance, a rival alliance—the Triple Entente—was forged in dual agreements over a period of seventeen years (1891–1907), first between France and Russia, then between France and England, and finally between England and Russia.

- **Annexation of territory:** In order to maintain a favourable balance of power, or to secure preponderance of power, nations often try to seize territory. This increases the power and influence of the nation concerned. This method was very common during the period of imperialism. Even in 1990, Iraq seized the territory of Kuwait though later she had to vacate it. Earlier, several Arab territories were seized by Israel.

- **Buffer state:** A nation may acquire and maintain power by setting up buffer state between two large and unfriendly countries. Buffer states are of great importance because of their cushioning effect between great powers. Because of their interests in the preservation of equilibrium of power, the two adjoining states agree to follow a policy of non-interference towards the in-between small state. For example, at one time Poland was a buffer between Russia and Germany, and Tibet was set up as a buffer between China and British India.

- **Intervention:** Intervention is another method of ensuring favourable balance of power. It often happens that a big power tries to regain a lost ally or pick up a new ally by intervening in the internal affairs of a smaller country and set up a friendly government there. For example, the United States intervened in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and other countries while the Soviet Union intervened in 1979 in Afghanistan.

- **Partition:** Partition can also be used as an instrument for the maintenance of balance of power. Usually, the major powers divide the territory in such a way that there is no danger of any one of them acquiring a predominant position. For example, Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary to maintain the relative power of each of the three major states of the time. As an aftermath of World War II Germany, Vietnam and Korea were bifurcated to maintain balance of power between the communist and capitalist blocs.

3.4.4 Utility

The entire concept of the balance of power revolves around maintaining 'equilibrium' in the international system. It is based on security of nations through 'power management', aimed at avoiding conflict and war in international politics. While assessing utility of the concept, any judgment should be based on this aspect. Indicating

its utility of the concept, Mahendra Kumar indicates two main benefits, (i) securing independence of small nations, and (ii) maintaining international peace. Some scholars find this concept useful in maintenance of international law as well. Let us discuss utility of the concept in these three broad aspects.

- **Preservation of peace:** Scholars who find this concept useful in international relations argue that it has greatly contributed to the preservation of peace in the absence of hierarchy in world politics. The principle has ensured peace by maintaining balance of power, thus checking aggression. In the face of equilibrium of power, no state can be sure about its victory and, hence, they will not dare to resort to war. According to Carr, peace in Europe in the 19th century was largely due to balance of power. Harold MacMillan subscribes to this view and argues that between 1810 and 1914, which is regarded as the classic era of the doctrine of balance of power, peace was virtually unbroken.

- **Independence of small nations:** The principle of balance of power has greatly contributed to the preservation of modern state system by guaranteeing independence of smaller states. This was ensured by preventing any single state or a group of states becoming too powerful as to threaten the existence of smaller and weaker states. Highlighting this point Taylor observed, 'no one state has ever been strong enough to eat up all the rest; and the mutual jealousy of the great powers has preserved even the small states, which could not have preserved themselves'.

- **Maintenance of international law:** Some scholars have also analysed this concept in terms of maintenance of international tradition, customs and written laws. They argue that in the absence of any effective machinery for the enforcement of international law, the balance of power has extorted obedience of international law. According to Oppenheim: 'Balance of power is an indispensable condition of the very existence of international law. A law of nation can exist only if there is equilibrium, a balance of power between the members of the family of nations.' He further argues that as there is not, and never can be, a central political authority above the sovereign states that could enforce the law of nations, a balance of power must prevent any member of the family of nations from becoming omnipotent.

However, assessment of utility of the concept is based on vague arguments and has received severe criticisms.

3.4.5 Criticism and Relevance

The balance of power concept is attached to the realist tradition of international relations. For a long period, it was core to the study of international behaviours of the states and attracted considerable attention of scholars. However, over the period of time, it has also received severe criticisms. While some scholars believe that it might had validity in the past but is not useful in the study of present day's international relations, other argues that it was never a logical way to study the subject. For instance, Christoph Rhode says: 'When we talk about the balance of power concept, we find consensual scientific judgment in mainstream international relations theory; this is an old-fashioned concept that does not explain the behaviour of states... The concept seems to be so elusive and contradictory that it cannot be proven or disproven. That means, in scientific terms, it is a faith or an ideology, but not a theory that explains political outcomes, behaviours or static power constellations.' Inis L. Claude observes: 'All the most

fundamental tendencies affecting the political realm in recent generations run counter to the requirements of a working system of balance of power. There is nothing to indicate that the global setting is likely to become more, rather then less, appropriate to the operation of a balance system.'

Major criticisms of the concept 'balance of power' are discussed below.

- **It encourages war:** Those who support this concept argue that 'balance of power' is a powerful instrument to maintain peace. But history itself falsifies this argument; in fact, major war in modern history were fought in the name of maintaining the existing balance of power or establishing a new kind of balance of power. For example, World War I took place because Germany miscalculated that her power was equal to that of her adversaries. On the other hand, peace was established due to preponderance of power of the Allies. Organski rightly says that 'the periods of balance were periods of war, not period of peace'.

- **Maximizing power is not sole goal of states:** The balance of power theory is based on wrong assumption of state's behaviours. The theory assumes that all actions of states are motivated by the consideration of increasing their power. No doubt maximizing power is one of the goals of the states, but it is not the sole goal. Economic and cultural interests of the states also greatly influence their action. The world system that emerged after World War II was largely driven by the desire for maximizing ideological influence, while in the contemporary period economic interests are in the forefront of foreign policy of any state.

- **Difficult to measure balance:** The entire theory is concentrated on the concept of 'balance'. But it is difficult to measure balance in international relations. We do not have devices to measure the power and positions of states at a given time of history and claim that a balance exists. One of the main assumptions of this theory that the balancer would join the weaker side in order to redress the balance is away from reality. In fact, as Organski has put it: 'There is no such thing as a 'balancer' and never has been. There is no single nation motivated primarily by a desire to maintain the balance'. England, which played the role of a traditional balancer for a long time, was also motivated by the consideration of promoting her national interests rather than just acting as a balancer.

- **Obsolete idea:** In view of the dramatic changes that took place in the past few decades, certain scholars have asserted that the concept of balance of power has lost its relevance and would ultimately become obsolete. According to Palmer and Perkins: 'The impact of new forces—nationalism, industrialism, democracy, mass education, new methods and techniques of warfare, the growing importance of public opinion, development of international organizations and international law—the growing economic interdependence of nations and peoples in a shrinking world, the disappearance of colonial frontiers, the emergence of many new nations, the advent of the nuclear and space age—all these and many other forces have shaped the contemporary world and made the balance of power at once too simple and too difficult a policy'.

Thus, the concept of balance of power was subject of fiery debate in the recent past. Scholars have tried to establish certain new theories to accommodate contemporary changes in international politics such as 'balance of terror', 'balance of threat', 'lateral pressure theory', 'peace through strength', and 'sphere of influence'. Nevertheless,

basic elements of 'balance of power' remain in all of these theories. Therefore, in one form or the other this concept is still relevant in the study of international relations in general, and particularly while we analyse idea of state capabilities. It would be appropriate to wind up our discussion with the words of Kenneth Waltz '…if there is any distinctively political theory of international politics, balance-of-power theory is it' (1979).

3.5 DEFINITION OF FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of a country, often referred to as the foreign relations policy, comprises self-interest strategies adopted by the state to protect its national interests and achieve its goals in the international scenario. These approaches are strategically used to interact with other countries. The world is getting increasingly interconnected or 'globalized'. We are not merely a handful of individual states any more. We rely on each other for economic as well as military support.

Due to increasing level of globalization and transnational activities, the states may also have to interact with non-state actors in order to maximize benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Since the national interest is most important, foreign policies are designed by the governments of various countries using high-level decision making processes.

How the rest of the world views one state is of great significance. Harsh foreign policies are often coupled with military action or economic embargoes. Dealing with the complications of other countries may lead to countries becoming isolationists. However, foreign policy cannot be prevented from becoming isolationist either.

Foreign policy is often described as one of the driving forces of the international relations operations. It is impossible for a state to live in complete isolation. An individual and a state have many similarities. A state, just like an individual, always tries to promote its interests. The interest of any state is referred to as 'national interest'. A foreign policy is made to achieve the objectives of national interest.

The essence of India's foreign policy can be traced back to the freedom movement. The freedom fighters, while fighting for independence, were also involved in other important causes. The fundamentals that emerged at that time are still relevant today. India's foreign policy primarily focusses on having cordial relations, equality of all the states, emphasis on the principles of non-alignment and conducting international relations with equality.

Foreign policy is, therefore, nothing but a policy that governs international relations of a country. Foreign policy of a country requires understanding the behaviour of other states. A foreign policy involves various objectives and goals that are to be achieved through foreign policy.

Meaning and Objectives

Originally, it was believed that the foreign policy of a country grew out of national interest only and no other matters of interest were involved in dealing with other countries. The meaning of foreign policy today has attracted many debates among scholars. In easy and general terms, it is the relation among countries concerning all issues of international relevance like disarmament, peace, climate change, decolonization, and justice. In specific terms, foreign policy is the policy of a country in pursuit of its national interests in global affairs, for example, the country's refusal

or acceptance of international agreements like the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) or seeking a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Through its foreign policy, a state tries to control the behaviour of other states. In this process, a state and its statesmen are generally guided by national interest.

It must be remembered that in the era of globalization, it has become very difficult to isolate national interest of one country from its geo-political or geo-strategic location and international environment. Therefore, the foreign policy of a country is more than the sum total of its foreign polices, in which it also includes its commitment, its interests and objectives in the current form and the principles of right conduct that it professes. Thus, the foreign policy of India is determined not only by domestic factors but also by international factors. Some of these factors are dynamic, which go on changing in the course of time; while some other basic factors make a long-term impact or influence on foreign policy. Thus, continuity and change among these factors is a common phenomenon in determining the foreign policy of a country. It is really interesting to know how the foreign policy of a country emerges over time to undertake its present complex form. It is an ongoing process where various factors interact with one another in different ways and in different situations.

In modern times, it can be said that no state can avoid involvement in international relations. This involvement can definitely be improved and systematized if it is based on certain defined lines. This provides a rational urge for the formulation of foreign policies. Again, the term foreign policy suggests a greater degree of rational procedure and a step-by-step planning process towards a known and defined goal. It is a rational response to the existing and fairly perceived external conditions. Though there are national and international limitations to any such well-knit planning, yet an effort is constantly made and will continue to be made for it.

Foreign policy is an important key to the rational explanation of international behaviours. It is impossible to understand inter-state relations without understanding foreign policies of states. The study of foreign policies, therefore, is one of the most important aspects of the study of international politics.

Foreign policy deals with a country's external environment. It represents the substance of foreign relations of a state. A foreign policy is to be analysed from actual behaviour patterns of states rather than exclusively from declared objectives or policy plans. Its object is to influence events or situations that are beyond the state boundary. The behaviour of each state affects the behaviour of others. Every state, with its national interests, tries to take maximum advantage of the actions of other states. Thus, the primary purpose of foreign policy is to seek adjustments in the behaviour of other states in favour of oneself.

The meaning of 'foreign policy' is to decide on certain goals and make efforts to regulate the behaviour of others to achieve these goals. These goals can be achieved with the help of power. Thus, national interest and power are the most important components of a foreign policy. All states have some kind of relations with one another; they have to behave with one another in a particular manner. The framing of the foreign policy is, therefore, an essential activity of modern states.

In the words of Mahendra Kumar, author of *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, the meaning of foreign policy is incomplete and imperfect. A change in the behaviour of other states or countries may not always be desirable. At times, it may

be advisable to ensure continuation of the same behaviour of others. At another time, it may become essential to make certain adjustments in one's own behaviour. According to Kumar, 'The aim of foreign policy should be to regulate and not merely to change the behaviour of other states. Regulation means adjusting the behaviour of other states to suit one's own interest as best as possible.'

During the cold war period, the super powers, the United States and the former Soviet Union, tried to change the behaviour of other states to get maximum number of bloc followers, and India sought to regulate the behaviour of maximum number of countries to build a strong Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The US policy of containment of communism was to change the course of events in its favour. The United States had also unsuccessfully tried to persuade India to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

According to George Modelski, Foreign policy is defined as 'the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment'.

Joseph Frankels definition of national interest is as follows: National interest is the key concept in foreign policy. In essence it amounts to the sum total of all the national values—national in both meanings of the word—both pertaining to the nation and to the state… National interest can describe the aspirations of the state; it can be used also operationally, in application to the actual policies and programmes pursued; it can be used polemically in political argument, to explain, rationalize or criticize. The recurrent controversies on foreign policy often stem from these ambiguities and not only from the different ideal about the substance of the national interest.

Again Modelski says that the most important task of foreign policy must be to 'throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behaviour of other states.' According to Hugh Gibson, foreign policy is defined as 'a well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation.'

According to Northedge, 'foreign policy is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's border and those working within them'. Hartman defines the foreign policy as 'a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interest'. Thus, every definition gives the emphasis on behaviour of states to regulate their own actions and, if possible, change or regulate the behaviour of other states, with the view of serving their national interests.

In the words of Rodee, foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavioural pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests. The idea of Crab Jr. explains that foreign policy-makers identify the national goals to be achieved and the means to achieve them. The interaction between the objectives and the means is foreign policy. Couloumbis and Wolfes expressed similar opinion that, '… Foreign policies are syntheses of the ends (national interests) and means (power and capabilities) of nations-states.' To understand this definition, it will be necessary to examine the meaning of national interest and power, which as mentioned, are important ingredients of foreign policy. Therefore, foreign policy means deciding on certain goals and making efforts to regulate behaviour of others to achieve those goals. The goals are sought to be achieved with the help of power.

Foreign policy, as we have seen, is concerned both with change and status quo. There is another dimension too. As stated by Feliks Gross, even a decision not to have any relations with a state is also considered foreign policy. Each individual state has to decide the degree of its involvement in its relations with another country that would protect its interests. In 1949, India took a decision not to have any relations with the racist regime of South Africa, which was a definite foreign policy. Similarly, after Bolshevik Revolution, the American decision of not recognizing the Soviet Union, till 1934 was clearly the US policy towards USSR. The foreign policy may either be positive or negative. It is positive when it aims at regulating the behaviour of other states by changing it, and negative when it seeks such a regulation by not changing that behaviour. Thus, we have to conclude that, every state adopts certain principles to guide its relations with other states. These principles are based on interaction between national interests and means (power) to achieve them. As Bandopadhayaya opines, 'The formulation 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.'

In formulating the foreign policy, the role of policy-makers is indeed most important. It is mostly dependent on the perceptions and ideology of the foreign minister who guides the officials and who identifies the aims of foreign policy and determines the principles to be followed. Today, an important role is being played by the people and media. The flow of action from the community towards the policy-makers is known as the 'input' and the decisions of the policy-makers are known as the 'output', as stated by Modelski. Kumar defines the foreign policy as 'a thought-out course of action for achieving objectives in foreign relation as dictated by the ideology of national interest'. He further includes foreign policy as the following:

- The policy-makers
- Interests and objectives
- Principles of foreign policy
- Means of foreign policy

Objectives

The five main objectives of a foreign policy of any country are as follows:

(i) The first objective of a foreign policy is to protect the territorial integrity of the country and the interests of its citizens from both within and outside the country. For this purpose, generally the states prefer to follow the policy of status quo. If a state pursues a policy which seeks to upset the status quo, it is branded as revisionist and the suspicion is aroused by other members of the international community. For the maintenance of its prestige, it has to protect the interests of its citizens both inside and outside the state.

(ii) The second objective of a foreign policy is maintenance of links with other members of the international community and adoption of policy of a conflict or cooperation towards them with a view to promoting its own interests. It is well known that India has diplomatic relations with the Jewish state, Israel, but its relations with the Arab countries do not get strained, primarily because of close trade relations with the Arab countries.

(iii) The third objective of a foreign policy of a country seeks to promote and further its national interests. The primary interest of each state is self-preservation, security and well-being of its citizens. Different interests often clash and the states have to protect their interests, bearing in mind this regard.

(iv) The fourth objective of the foreign policy aims at promoting the economic interests of the country. The status of a state in international arena is largely determined by its economic status. The states try to pursue a foreign policy, which can contribute to their economic prosperity and enable it to play a more effective role in international politics. Most of the treaties and agreements of the states, which other members of international community have concluded, are essentially designed to protect and promote the economic interest of these countries. This is an important factor which is evident from the fact that India adopted the policy of non-alignment chiefly because it had to concentrate on her economic development. Further, India hoped to get every possible help and assistance to accelerate the process of economic development from both the superpowers. Similarly, the USA and China, despite their ideological differences were obliged to join hands differences due to economic considerations.

(v) The last and fifth objective of foreign policy aims at enhancing the influence of the state either by expanding its area of influence or reducing the other states to the position of dependency. Post World War II, the policy of the United States and former Soviet Union has been largely motivated by these considerations.

Goals

The objectives of foreign policy can be summed up in one term, that is, national interest. However, national interest is open to a variety of meanings. In the words of Paul Seabury, 'national interest is what foreign policy-makers say it is.' Security, national development and world order are the essential components of national interest of any state. In other words, it embraces such matters as security against aggression, development of higher standard of living and maintenance of conditions of national and international stability. Notwithstanding, to avoid any ambiguity and confusion, Holsti has substituted the concept of objectives, which is essentially 'an image of a future state of affairs and future set of conditions that governments through individual policy-makers aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behaviour of other states.'

However, objectives can be derived from national interest only. Objectives are of a more specific nature than interests. Hence, objectives are conditioned by the advantages of accommodating the interest of other states. An objective, therefore, comes into existence when a particular type of national interest becomes important for a state to seek. George Modelski considers both interests as well as objectives under the category of aim or purpose.

The acts of any state on certain norms or principles represent more or less clearly formulated patterns of behaviour which guide national action or policies. The ideology of foreign policy was together constituted by these principles. Every action and policy involves the application of means. A foreign policy is, therefore, a thought out course of action for achieving objectives in foreign relation as dictated by the ideology of national interest. The objectives of foreign policy can be classified into many pairs of contrasting objectives or goals. Arnold Wolfers has defined, for instance, the difference between 'possession goals' and 'milieu goals'. In the context of the former, it means those goals which a foreign policy seeks to achieve in order to preserve its possessions, like a stretch of territory or membership of some world organizations. In the context of the latter, it understands those goals which nations pursue in order to shape favourable conditions beyond their national boundaries. Achievements of peace,

promotion of international law and growth of international organization can be considered as 'milieu goals'. In practice, milieu goals may only be the means for the pursuit of possession goals.

Hence, some objectives may be direct national goals, such as preservation of national independence and security; and some are indirect goals which are of primary benefit to the people. Therefore, another contrasting set of goals may be ideological or revolutionary goals and traditional goals.

The objectives of foreign policy further can be classified into the following three categories:

(i) **Core values and interests:** The core values and interests are the types of goals for which more people are willing to make ultimate sacrifices. The existence of a state is related to them. They are

  (a) Self preservation, defence of strategically vital areas, ethnic, religious or linguistic unity and protection of cultural and political institutions and beliefs and values;

  (b) Economic development and prosperity can lead to the adoption of a course of policy that ignores the core values and interest and yet survive.

(ii) **Middle range objectives:** Middle range objectives include:

  (a) Trade, foreign aid, access to communication facilities, sources of supply and foreign markets are necessary for increasing social welfare.

  (b) Increase of state prestige by expansion of military capacity, distribution of foreign aid and diplomatic ceremonies—including such exhibitions and status symbols as development of nuclear weapons, outer space exploration, many forms of imperialism or self-extension, such as creating colonies, satellite and sphere of influence. Ideological self-extension is also prevalent in many forms to promote socio-economic political values of a state abroad.

(iii) **Universal long range objectives:** Universal long range objectives are those plans, dreams, visions and grand designs concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system. These objectives aim at restructuring the international system. Hitler's concept of Thousand Year Reich, the European New Order, Japan's dream of Greater East Asia, the Soviet Union's idea of World Soviet Federation, the American dream of making the world safe for democracy, and De Gaulle's image of Federation of Fatherlands, are some of the illustrations of long-range objectives.

It, however, should be noted here that the first and second categories of objectives require immediate pursuit, but the third category goals are meant for long-term pursuit.

Foreign policy orientation

The general polices, strategies and obligations of a state are termed as orientation. Generally, the foreign policy can be observed to have three types of orientation:

(i) Isolation and non-involvement, adopted by the USA until World War II under the influence of the Monroe Doctrine

(ii) Non-alignment, adopted by most of the Third World countries, particularly India

(iii) Forming coalitions or alliances, adopted by the states having common economic problems and common enemies, e.g., NATO, CENTO, WTO, OAS, OAU, EU, ASEAN, and SAARC

3.6 DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Formulating a foreign policy is a dynamic process. Normally, a change of government does not mean a change in the fundamentals of foreign policy of a state, although a revolutionary change in the political set-up may result in drastic changes in a state.

The foreign policy normally remains unchanged because the foreign policy of a state is determined by a number of factors, many of which remain static or unchanged. Some factors may be changed, but their influence or impact in shaping the foreign policy of a country is usually secondary. The foreign policy of a country is 'compounded out of many factors and forces'. All of them interact as well as determine the foreign policy. Some of them are permanent, some are temporary, some are obvious, others obscure. In devising its foreign policy, a nation must consider certain basic facts of existence. This frame of reference includes:

- Geo-strategic (geographic strategic) situations
- Population potential
- Economic endowments
- Ideological environment

According to Norman Judson Padelford and George Arthur Lincoln, authors of *The Dynamics of International Politics*, 'Fundamentally, foreign policy has its roots in the unique historical background, political institutions, traditions, economic needs, power factors, aspirations, peculiar geographical circumstances and basic set of values held by a nation'. According to J. Bandopadhyay, author of *The Making of India's Foreign Policy*, the basic determinants of foreign policy include geography, economic development, political traditions, domestic milieu, international milieu, military strength and national character. The foreign policy of a country is influenced by so many elements that it is not possible to enumerate all of them here. However, some of them are discussed below.

Historical factor

History determines the boundaries of states and also a legacy which furnishes the guidelines for the foreign policy at the present time. It determines the prevailing tradition and the self-image of a society, and therefore, the specific national style. The British habit of confusing, the French concern with security, honour and glory, the German ruthlessness, the Russian obsession with secrecy, and the American habit to interpret international issues as moral issues have, definite and specific historical roots. Such a national style, in every case has expressed itself in the formulation and pursuit of foreign policy.

The cultural and historical traditions of a country also deeply influence the foreign policy. A country generally possessing a unified common culture and historical experience can pursue an effective foreign policy because of the support of all sections of society who share the same values and memories. On the other hand, a country which is culturally and historically fragmented cannot pursue an equally effective foreign policy. Commenting on France in particular, Duroselle, a French historian, has remarked, 'France... is much more a "product of history" than a "geographic

entity". History has determined the French quest for natural frontier as well as security against Germany. National history has been one of the most important in the development of the Chinese foreign policy. It has been the case in every state.

Therefore, British imperialism in India and our struggle for freedom against colonialism and imperialism has had direct impact on the foreign policy of India. It was the outcome of our history that led India to give its complete support to freedom struggles in Afro-Asian countries and fight against racial discrimination.

Population factor

Population plays an important part in determining the foreign policy. The foreign policy of a country regarding political, economic and military phases is also conditioned by the size, character and distribution of its population. However, the size of a country's population alone is not an index of its economic and military greatness. The degree of social integration, adequacy of political control and extent of industrialization, characterize the power of a country. Nevertheless, the dynamics of population constitutes an important consideration. Naturally, countries having high birth rates like China and India can count upon a reservoir of manpower. England and France have suffered a setback because the population has been declining in these countries (is relevant both in quantitative and qualitative terms).

There is a normal expectation that the greater the population, the greater will be its power. Population determines the standard of living, values, and the way of life and even expectations of a nation. Even great powers like the United States and Russia have shown respect to this factor.

Apart from the quantity, the quality of population as revealed in its educational level, skilled labour, technical know-how, health and strong national character is a factor of foreign policy. Ultimately, the quality of population determines the quality of political system, public administration and even leadership.

Quality of government

One of the major influences on the foreign policy of a state is the quality of government and leadership. Government converts a potential power into actual power. Its popularity efficiently organizes the public administration. Even the quality of civil servants is, in the long run, a determinant of foreign policy. Every single state's foreign policy is an integral part of its peculiar system of government.

Economic development

The basis for many principles of a foreign policy is also provided by the economic condition of a particular state. No state in the world is economically self-sufficient. Even the United States is greatly dependent on world trade for economic prosperity. Most of the problems regarding the economy arise from this mutual interdependence of the economics of states. An agrarian state, primarily like Argentina, must sell its wheat, wool and beef to an industrial state like England and buy industrial products such as tractors, cloth and automobiles in return from such a state. This interdependence leads to international economic activity which is expressed in terms of tariffs, import quotas, trade agreements and other financial arrangements. The practice of economic specialization of production and free trade in goods is not followed by states. They rather follow the practice of 'economic self-sufficiency' which leads to maladjustment in international economic relationship. Economic tension in the world which sometimes takes the form of political and military action is created by this maladjustment. By

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nature, all the states are not equally endowed with such critical raw materials as iron, coal, oil, rubber, uranium and other products essential to warfare. Such types of differences are further heightened by unequal capacity to utilize the available resources. Therefore, states construct their foreign policies in such a way so that the supply of war materials may not run short and their trade may have a favourable balance. International economic activity also needs facilities and protection of foreign investments. Both Britain and the United States are more interested in the Middle East because they have investments in the soil of this region. A state's capacity to solve such economic problems is reflected in its foreign policy. Most of the states have added to their power and prestige by acquiring control over economic resources. Again, an industrial country is expected to have a higher gross national product and can devote greater funds for external purposes, namely, economic aid programme, military ventures and extensive diplomatic commitments. On the other hand, industrially backward countries are not able to actively involve themselves in external affairs. The lack of scientists, engineers and other specialists in the country prevents them from taking advantage of the technological break-through abroad.

Natural resources

This is another important element for the foreign policy of a state. National resources, including food, minerals, metal and water resources, constitute a vital element of national power and consequently of foreign policy. Abundance of these resources certainly enhances the importance of a country. For example, the international importance of the west Asian countries has been underlined due to the presence of petroleum. These countries account for 80 per cent of West Europe's oil supplies. Food and energy are equally essential. If they are not locally available, they have to be secured through international cooperation. Availability of strategic and important raw materials will always enhance a country's effectiveness in foreign affairs. Their absence will correspondingly weaken a country's international stature.

Industrial development

Industrial development plays a vital role in determining a state's foreign policy. It has already provided the criterion of the classification of states as advanced and under-developed or developing. Most of the industrial powers like the United States, Russia, Britain and Japan have enjoyed a power status. To use foreign aid as a new instrument of foreign policy has also been granted to such powers. However, the developing and industrially weak countries are fated to a relatively ineffective role in international affairs. This weakness definitely sets certain limits on their policy choices, which leaves little scope for active initiative and leadership.

Ideological factor

The foreign policy of a nation is mostly influenced by its ideology, which subscribes to certain fundamental beliefs relating to the distribution of power in society. The foreign policy of a nation is conceived in the minds of politicians or political leaders. Policy is expressed in terms of the beliefs and behaviour of these political leaders, although they are conditioned by custom and tradition.

There is considerable reflection as to whether ideology by itself constitutes one of nation's vital interests. At times, a leader makes use of ideology only to justify his policy or behaviour in familiar terms which is acceptable to his countrymen. Yet, occasionally, at other times, a nation is at war not for national defence, but only to

force others to accept its ideology. However, ideology alone is not a policy goal for reflecting the realistic view on this matter. The fact is evident that nations professing opposite ideologies live in peace with each other for a number of years. Yet, the contradictory evidence is also available. If we do not take into consideration 'world revolution' as one of its objectives, the foreign policy of the former Soviet Union cannot be fully explained. The expansion of Communism was a bonafide goal. Russian empowerment since 1945 aimed to achieve the establishment of Communism as much as its political domination. However, the importance of ideology in the constituents of foreign policy should not be aggravated. They are only used simply to conceal the real facts of a situation or real motives of ambitious rulers.

Military strength

The military strength or capacity of a country has a direct impact on its foreign policy. Only those states or nations with a strong military have adopted aggressive postures. Possession of large and powerful armed forces equipped with modern sophisticated weapons of warfare is essential for making an effective and aggressive foreign policy. It is the final element of the power status of a state and consequently, of its ability to play an effective role in world affairs. A state with a weak military machine will normally be at a disadvantage, even at peaceful negotiations. Ordinarily, a military superior state or nation would try to pursue a bold policy to maximize its gains and a weak state or nation would try to minimize its disadvantages.

Geo-strategic factor

The geo-strategic is an important factor in the formation of a foreign policy. Geo-strategy, a subfield of geo-politics, is a type of foreign policy guided principally by geographical factors as they constrict or affect political and military planning. As with all types of strategies, geo-strategy is concerned with matching the means to an end. In this case, matching a country's resources, whether they are limited or extensive with its geopolitical objectives, this can be local, regional or global. Strategy is intertwined with geography, as geography is with nationhood, or as Gray and Solan state it, 'geography is the mother of strategy'. It is generally said that 'pacts may be broken, treaties unilaterally denounced, and geography holds its victim fast'. A nation can escape anything but the constraints of geography. In a geographical situation, the characteristics of size, topography, shape and climate are important. A large size is required to support a huge population—a climate which is uniform and conducive to physical vigour, preferably either temperate or tropical highland. It should have a topography that offers boundaries with natural defence barriers such as mountains, forests, swamps, rivers, deserts and oceans. It should have a shape which is compact rather than elongated or disjoined like Pakistan till 1971, and thus easy to defend, provide part of the necessary power potential allowing a state to accuse an independent foreign policy. Before the arrival of modern military and machines, topography and terrain were considered as a great asset in maintaining national security. American Isolationism was made possible due to its location between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The great African deserts similarly, protected Egypt for centuries and the Alps served as the protector barrier between France and Italy, and the Himalayan mountain range protected India.

However, one can say that the geo-strategic factors of foreign policy in relation to the traditional viewpoint were developed much before the demonstration of the importance of air power extended by the invention of nuclear weapons. In the context

of new technological developments, this view seems to suffer from much amplification and rhetoricism. We no longer believe in statements phrased in deterministic language such as, 'the geographical position of a nation is the principal factor conditioning its foreign policy' or, 'England was destined by geography to command the seas' or, 'sea routes have beckoned the Japanese abroad'. This effect of geography on the political phenomenon has become the victim of the law of diminishing utility in view of technological revolution and scientific progress.

We cannot deny that many of the above mentioned geographical characteristics and the resulting political implications will still remain owing to the advent of air power, which has revolutionized these. In the present time, instead of land or sea surface distance, air distance and weather conditions have assumed great military importance. Within 24 hours, any distance can be covered. In 45 hours, heavy bombers can encircle the globe. Atom, hydrogen and cobalt bombs have revolutionized the old concepts of national security. No country today on earth can escape from an attack. There is no defence against nuclear missiles

Public opinion

Public opinion has become an important factor in shaping the foreign policy. A foreign policy is not formed in the secrecy of an office any more. It is formulated in the open and public opinion can often force a change in the foreign policy and in its implementation. It was the strength of the public opinion in American politics, which forced their government to order the withdrawal of American forces from south Vietnam. Again, it was public opinion against the British in the Suez crisis that forced the Eden government to resign in 1957. It was due to the fear of annoying a minority community that compelled Indian foreign policy-makers not to establish diplomatic ties with Israel for four decades.

The character of foreign policy has been influenced by the considerations of shape, mass and geographic configurations. In olden times, landlocked states heavily depended upon infantry and those having extended coastlines depended upon naval forces. The solid land masses of China as well as Russia have more than once served to check the advancing invading armies. The importance of a particular nation's position in the world depends upon the possession of rich resources such as food and minerals, upon the degree of industrialization, and upon the location on or near the major ocean trade routes and world commercial centres.

> **Check Your Progress**
>
> 13. Name the factors determining the foreign policies of a country.
> 14. Ideology is not an important factor determining foreign policy. (True/False)
> 15. _____ and the _____ are more interested in the Middle East because of their investments in the soil of the region.
> 16. The quality of population determines the quality of political system. (True/False)

DID YOU KNOW?

- In April 1954, India and the China signed an eight-year agreement on Tibet that set forth the basis of their relationship in the form of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (or Panch Shila). Although critics called the Panch Shila naive, Nehru calculated that in the absence of either the wherewithal or a policy for defense of the Himalayan region, India's best guarantee of security was to establish a psychological buffer zone in place of the lost physical buffer of Tibet. It is the popular perception that the catch phrase of India's diplomacy with China in the 1950s was Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai, which means, in Hindi, 'Indians and Chinese are brothers' but there is evidence to suggest that Nehru did not trust the Chinese at all.

3.7 DIPLOMACY

The word diplomacy has been derived from the Greek verb diplono, meaning to fold. It refers to the folded metal plates used by the Romans as formal documents.

Although the term diplomacy is not easy to define, it is generally considered an art and practice of conducting negotiations among state representatives. It is, hence, mostly referred to as an instrument of foreign policy implemented to achieve specific goals of countries and organisations. It is a peaceful means of achieving goals through established diplomatic routes. Harold Nicolson defines diplomacy as 'an ordered conduct of relations between one group of human beings and another group alien to themselves'. He also elaborates this definition by calling it 'the need to be informed of the ambitious, weaknesses and resources of those with whom one hopes to deal'.

States adopt diplomacy as a national strategy either to improve relations or maintain status quo in a hierarchical system. This system has the form of a pyramid. The closer a state is to the top, the better its chances of achieving its goals. The diplomatic course of each country would depend upon its geographical locations, political trend and socio- economic needs. Consequently, diplomacy is likely to reap better results in a democratic state than an autocratic country. The concept of diplomacy changed with time under the influence of socio-political movements, new economic ideas (such as liberalism and globalisation) and international relations. Diplomacy in the nineteenth century was governed by imperialistic ambitions of states and devoted essentially to 'high politics', while in the twentieth century it was more diverse and progressively less Eurocentric. Diplomacy in the 21st century is more proactive, multidirectional, and innovative than ever before. We will now study about the changing form of diplomacy —old and new diplomacy.

3.7.1 Old and New Diplomacy

The terms old diplomacy and new diplomacy have been in common use for twenty-five years or more. The system of alliance set up by France, England and Russia to ward off the German danger in the decade before 1914 is dubbed as old diplomacy. The system of so-called international security which took shape in the League's Covenant of June 1919, and afterward regulated or was supposed to regulate the relations of the fifty-odd states of the world, is labelled as new diplomacy. All the implications of the word alliance connote old diplomacy. In the same way, new diplomacy connotes the twin ideas of replacing the bilateral alliances of the past with a universal or semi-universal association of states pledged to compliance with a set of general principles embodied in international law, and the abandonment of power politics—that is, the use of force to settle conflicts between nations.

Diplomacy has been regarded as an art by an array of writers in the past. The old diplomacy has declined. The function and structure has been changed from old to new one. Every developed and developing nation is a laboratory in itself, where the effectiveness and the application of diplomacy can be tested and the results verified. Thus, a systematized study of diplomacy becomes necessary. A study of the history of diplomacy reveals that whenever destruction and devastation result from war, responsible statesmen in power attempt to innovate means which are capable of preventing wars once and for all. A desire for peace is as inherent in man as perhaps is desire for war. War is a part of human nature as history has repeatedly proved. So is peace a part of human nature. Nevertheless, the desire for peace always overpowers

the desire for war. While war is an inevitable human instinct, peace is a natural prerequisite for self-preservation.

The League of Nations and the United Nations Organization are bodies that have come into existence after humanity tasted the bitter fruits of the World Wars. The macabre killings that wars of such magnitude had caused, posed serious threat to the survival of mankind. The failure of the League of Nations to hold countries together, to condemn war and to preserve peace was due to obvious reasons.

There are two popular claims about diplomacy in the modern history of international relations. According to the first, World War I constituted a decisive turning point in the modern era, marking the emergence of a new diplomacy, distinct in both essence and style from that which had existed previously. The second maintains that diplomacy is in a state of continuous decline. This study proposes that the distinction between old and new diplomacy is simplistic and inaccurate, and that the argument regarding the decline of diplomacy is not a valid one, Raymond Aron's observation that 'diplomacy, in the traditional sense of the term, functions up to a certain degree between allies, but hardly any longer among enemies, or even between the blocs and the neutral nations' is only partially correct, and reflects its time of writing at the height of the Cold War.

New diplomacy has different compositions and mechanism and all these mechanisms in their respective importance contribute to the way diplomacy functions. It is believe that the new diplomacy can achieve its true meaning when all areas of intelligence have been exploited ranging from closed door meetings, and secrecy in diplomacy, and now it involves all ways through which results can be achieved. Another important mechanism from new diplomacy is how public diplomacy has emerged in as an increasingly important strategy and how states realise the important way to engage by using dialogue and soft power rather than hard power in new diplomacy. Thirdly, celebrities are able to participate in diplomatic activities with the notion of achieving good and fast results.

High level of technology in the twenty-first century plays significant role in diplomacy. It does not only serve as an easy of way of communication but rather it has improved the level of diplomatic negotiations. Old diplomacy was seen in the olden days as for days either on chariots, other forms of transportation or envoys but through this method new methods of technological advancement have being introduced, to be able to improve the way diplomats interact and negotiates using high level and secured means of communications and also share information via e-mails.

Technology has enable embassies to improve their way sharing information on their websites. Today it is easy acquire information needed from an embassies websites in over five different languages without seeking for translator. This shows how easy information has been made through technologic advancement. Diplomatic officials do not need to have people with them as interpreters.

Non-state actors, such as celebrities, engage in diplomatic activities. They do not only highlight on the importance and significance of mass participation but also it enables other non-state actors to participate in diplomacy. Celebrities are sometimes seen as inexperience, but they work with other governments, diplomats and they do not follow protocols as diplomat would do. They are able to respond to situations quicker than some governments would because as far as people in destitute situations are concern it does not matter who provide them with food and shelter and they have easy connection with the general public. Therefore, high level of technological changes and involvement of non-state actors are the most important aspect and significant area in new diplomacy.

During the old diplomacy policy making was more attentive and careful in relation to their mission abroad since they were seen are the representative of state and also they were seen as firmly the insightful of governments. In the 1990's new diplomacy began to be recognized broadly when the cold war was calm and the expansion of communication among activists in the new are began to be rampant and widespread of information has become easier. New diplomacy is being used to address many issues such as human rights, humanitarian assistance and also as a means of an alliance between two or more nations in achieving common goal.

3.8 DIMENSIONS OF DIPLOMACY

The features of diplomacy of any country will greatly depend upon the choice of its diplomats—their abilities and their competence to discharge their functions. Sir David Kelly, an eminent British ambassador, observed, 'The essential qualities and feature of a good diplomat are common sense, good manners, understanding of foreign mentalities, and precision of expression.'

The training and selection of a diplomat is the domain of the foreign office which comprise the minister for external affairs, foreign secretary, a hierarchy of officials who are specialists in various branches of political and diplomatic history of other countries, and members of the diplomatic service comprising the ambassadors, ministers resident, ministers plenipotentiary, Chargés d'Affaires, and so on.

In England, there was no recognized diplomatic service till 1815 when the Congress of Vienna came to recognize diplomacy as an honourable profession. It was in the year 1856 that a preliminary examination in French was introduced by Lord Clarendon in the process of selecting the best personnel for foreign service. The Foreign Department of Britain employed an interesting system of selecting personnel through a process of competitive examination and rigorous training in foreign affairs.

In fact, in modern relations between states, a diplomat's responsibility is immense. He has to represent his sovereign with dignity and courage while conducting negotiations to the best of his ability and tact so as to safeguard his national interests without causing any damage to the interests of the receiving state. The process of selecting diplomatic personnel passed through several phases under different foreign ministers. For instance, Lord Lansdowne prescribed a qualifying examination in French and German in addition to the general rule that a candidate for foreign services must get through the Civil Service Examination.

The foreign office and the diplomatic service were two independent bodies up to 1918. In 1918, they were fused into a single consolidated service called 'foreign service'. In 1941, Anthony Eden, the then foreign minister of Britain, through a series of reforms abolished the outmoded methods and practices and created a new cadre of foreign service, where ability and competence alone were considered the major criteria in choosing the personnel.

Every diplomat has to discharge certain basic functions in the normal course of his dealings with the head of the receiving state and his representatives. These include: diplomatic representations, exchange of notes on matters of mutual interest, political and parliamentary negotiations, protection of his materials, and above all, preservation of the interests of his state in general. To put it more precisely, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, under Article 3 (incorporating the recommendations

of the International Law Commission on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities) states the features of a diplomatic mission as follows:

(a) Representing the sending state in the receiving state

(b) Protecting in the receiving state the interests of the sending state and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law

(c) Negotiating with the government of the receiving state

(d) Ascertaining by all lawful means, conditions and developments in the receiving state, and reporting thereon to the government of the sending state

(e) Promoting friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations

A sub-clause is provided under Article 3, which states: 'Nothing in the present convention shall be construed as preventing the performance of consular functions by a diplomatic mission, human nature, temperaments and instincts; being what they are, it may be possible to lay down some general qualifications, for a diplomat but it is not possible to innovate methods to bring about a radical change in the very personality itself.'

However, as Harold Nicholson points out, the basis of a good negotiation is moral influence, and that influence is founded on seven specific diplomatic features: (i) truthfulness, (ii) precision, (iii) calmness, (iv) modesty, (v) good temper, (vi) patience, and (vii) loyalty. Nicholson has further observed: He (a diplomat) must be good linguist, and above all a master of Latin, which was still the *lingua franca* of the time. He must realize that all foreigners are regarded with suspicion and must, therefore, conceal his astuteness and appear as a pleasant man of the world. He must be hospitable and employ an excellent cook. He must be a man of taste and erudition and cultivate the society of writers, artists and scientists. He must be a naturally patient man, willing to spin out negotiations and to emulate the exquisite art of procrastination as perfected in the Vatican. He must be imperturbable, able to receive bad news without manifesting displeasure or to hear himself maligned and misquoted without the slightest twinge of irritation. His private life must be so ascetic as to give his enemies no opportunity to spread scandal. He must be tolerant of the ignorance and foolishness of his home government and know how to temper the vehemence of the instructions he receives. Finally, he should remember that overt diplomatic triumphs leave feelings of humiliation behind them and a desire for revenge; no good negotiator should ever threaten, bully or chide'.

A.L. Kennedy listed the following features and qualities for an ideal diplomat:

(i) He is conciliatory and firm

(ii) He eludes difficulties which cannot immediately be overcome only in order to obviate them in more favourable conditions

(iii) He is courteous and unhurried

(iv) He easily detects insincerity, not always discernible to those who are themselves sincere

(v) He has a penetrating intellect and a subtle mind, combined with a keen sense of honour

(vi) He has an intuitive sense of fitness and is adaptable

(vii) He is at home in any society, and is equally effective in the chanceries of the old diplomacy or on the platforms of the new

It is generally agreed by most writers that certain amount of basic honesty and a high degree of character have to be necessarily combined to make a good envoy.

The concept of diplomacy has been changing so fast that successful diplomat in the 19th century may prove a measurable failure in the 20th century. A successful diplomat in the first half of the 20th century where the Afro-Asian states have not developed a political consciousness, and the world was in the grip of colonial empires, may prove an utter failure in modern times. The methods and techniques in conducting diplomatic negotiations have undergone a radical change in recent times.

The complex function of a modern diplomat demands an earnestness in mind, a dependable character, an amiable disposition, the extraordinary ability to deal with situations, and last but not the least, the capacity to win the confidence of the head of the receiving state. Every experienced diplomat should always realize that prophecy and prediction in diplomatic dealings may lead to dangerous consequences. He should always rely on factual situations, watch things with an observer's eye, and employ a greater degree of precision in his dispatches to his home government as well as in his representations to the receiving state. Human instincts being what they are, a diplomat should always concentrate his energies in winning the confidence of the government and the affection of the people.

In fact, the goodwill that a diplomat gathers from the people of a state may yield greater results in diplomatic relations than the official dexterity employed in drafting the contents and form of the negotiations. It is a necessity that every diplomat has to train himself to tackle situations with great presence of mind and intellectual incisiveness. Ambassador Pietro Quaroni in an article on 'Profession of Diplomacy' stated: 'I believe that the principal job of an ambassador is that of being the best accredited, and of succeeding in acquiring that grade of influence, which is possible possibly informed on the internal and foreign situation of the country to which he is to reach, and putting the influence thus acquired at the service of the interests of his country; it is necessary that he should go and search out good sources of information and seek to create a position of influence in those circles which count.'

It is highly desirable that an ambassador should be well-versed in history geography, military science, and in economics, among others. It will be of interest to note that Empress Catherine of Russia wrote to Fredrick the Great of the Prussian Empire that she will accept an ambassador who is handsome in personality, and of agreeable complexion with acceptable disposition. Though said in a lighter vein, the capacity to remain undisturbed either in mind or in disposition, both in talk and action even after consumption of large quantities of alcohol, was deemed a qualification in 15th and 16th centuries in choosing an envoy in the European states.

It is essential to note that every embassy functions as a 'mission', specifically designed for certain purposes. An envoy has to necessarily realize that he has to extract work in team spirit from his personnel. He has to keep a watch on all the members of the 'mission'; and he has to function as a guiding spirit in coordinating the work of the 'mission', and in doing so, he should always remember that the interests of the state to be paramount in all activities, diplomatic or otherwise. His responsibilities include coordinating the work of various officials like military, naval, air, commercial, financial, cultural and labour advisors. This demands a great deal of tact and skill. In other words, a diplomat has to be ambivalent if he desires to become successful in his profession. In the practice of diplomacy, written words always play a major role when compared to spoken words.

The instance when Napoleon insulted Metternich of Austria by showing arrogance and throwing his hat down on the carpet, in the year 1813 at the Marcolini Palace at Dresden, caused irreparable damage to both the countries. Nicolson cites another instance where Sir Charles Wansmith tore off a treaty in the presence of Sultan of Morocco, the then emperor. The observations of Jules Cambon, an eminent ambassador from France, may be quoted here: 'Patience is an indispensable quality for the successful negotiator. The wind is bound to be contrary at times, and then one has to tack to get into port.'

One confounding factor in diplomacy is the question of loyalty. In the monarchal days, the loyalty of a diplomat always was fixed to the interest of his sovereign and none else. During the 18th and 19th centuries, with the improvement of communications and realization of the necessity of mutual dependence and intercourse between states, the concept of loyalty in diplomacy was found to be necessarily qualifying.

This again has got different connotations. For instance, where the head of the state changes, the loyalty continues to the office because in modern complexity of state relationship, the interests of the nation are counted as supreme. Such loyalty includes the diplomat's responsibility towards his nationals residing in the receiving state. Further, he has to be loyal to the head of the receiving state. This loyalty involves keeping promises, ethical responsibility and confidence. In conducting negotiations with the receiving state, the diplomat has to forget personal antipathy and animosities towards some officials, and his likes and dislikes. The diplomat conducts himself as a person who will always be looked upon as *persona grata* in conformity with the dignity of his sovereign and state. Last, but not the least, he must be loyal to his staff. This loyalty to the office and staff, capacity to coordinate work and gain the confidence of the staff, and watchful observations of their movements are the factors which contribute, to a great extent, to the success of a diplomat.

Above all, viewing the present inflammable tensions prevailing in the world affairs, one would demand a diplomat's loyalty much more towards the human race in preference to his state's interest. Socially, he must be cosmopolitan in outlook. A diplomat should often entertain guests, establish goodwill for his country, acquaint himself with the language of the state, and behave as a great friend of the receiving state at all times. For a diplomat to imbibe all these qualities, it requires a broad mental disposition, intensive training in methods and practices, and selective and conscious approach in solving the problems posed from time to time. The responsibility of a diplomat, especially when the receiving state is on hostile terms with his state, is supreme and subtle. Similarly, the responsibilities of a diplomat from a democratic state accredited to a totalitarian state are also delicate and complex because he has to adjust himself to the methods and mode of government in such state.

ACTIVITY

Find out how India's foreign policy has changed in the last two decade.

3.9 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Foreign policy is often described as one of the driving forces of the international relations operations.

- There are a variety of views on what constitutes national interest. On one hand, extreme realists compare national interest with national power and on the other; the extreme idealists specify national interest with some universal moral aspiration, such as eternal peace or human brotherhood.

- It is almost universally believed that the primary justification of state action is national interest.

- Despite its dominance in international relations, there is no unanimity among scholars in definition of 'national interest'. For some scholars, national interest is 'objective' of foreign policy, while for others it is 'subjective'.

- The meaning and definition of 'balance of power', its characteristics, devices, utility, and finally its criticism and relevance in contemporary scenario are discussed in this section.

- In a world where a large number of nations exist and each of them is inspired to maximize her power and influence international politics, some kind of balance is required to avoid conflict and war. In its simplest meaning, the term balance of power implies existence of a rough equilibrium of power among various nations.

- The balance of power is not a natural phenomenon and requires special efforts.

- Mahendra Kumar indicates two main benefits, (i) securing independence of small nations, and (ii) maintaining international peace.

- The major criticizims against balance of power are—it encourages war, maximizing power is not the sole goal of states, difficult to measure balance, it is an obsolete idea,

- The foreign policy of a country, often referred to as the foreign relations policy, comprises self-interest strategies adopted by the state to protect its national interests and achieve its goals in the international scenario.

- The foreign policy normally remains unchanged because the foreign policy of a state is determined by a number of factors, many of which remain static or unchanged.

- There are two popular claims about diplomacy in the modern history of international relations. According to the first, World War One constituted a decisive turning point in the modern era, marking the emergence of a new diplomacy, distinct in both essence and style from that which had existed previously. The second maintains that diplomacy is in a state of continuous decline.

- During the old diplomacy policy making was more attentive and careful in relation to their mission abroad since they were seen are the representative of state and also they were seen as firmly the insightful of governments.

- The features of diplomacy of any country will greatly depend upon the choice of its diplomats—their abilities and their competence to discharge their functions.

3.10 KEY TERMS

- **Balance of power:** Existence of a rough equilibrium of power among various nations, which means power should be more or less equally shared by different states

- **Non-state actors (NSA):** They are entities that participate or act in international relations; they are organizations with sufficient power to influence and cause a change even though they do not belong to any established institution of a state.

- **Lingua franca:** Also called working language is a language systematically used to make communication possible between people not sharing a mother tongue, in particular when it is a third language, distinct from both mother tongues.

- **Vienna Convention:** The treaties signed signed in Vienna.

3.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. National interest

2. Niccolo Machiavelli was considered by many to be the first thinker to advocate for the primacy of the national interest. Power rather than morality was the crux of his thought.

3. Joseph Frankel classifies the usage of the term national interest as (i) aspirational, (ii) operational, (iii) explanatory, and (iv) polemical. On the aspirational level, national interest refers to the vision of good life, an ideal set of goals which the state would like to realize. On the operational level, it refers to the sum total of its interests and policies actually pursued. On the explanatory and polemical level, the concept of 'national interest' is used to explain, evaluate, rationalize, or criticize a nation's foreign policy.

4. National power is the power or the capacity of a state with the domestic and foreign policy as effectively as possible to realize its national objectives.

5. Lerche and Said's has defined it as 'the general, long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation and the government all see themselves as serving'.

6. False

7. Organski

8. False

9. Foreign policies

10. True

11. During the cold war period, the super powers, the United States and the former Soviet Union, tried to change the behaviour of other states to get maximum number of bloc followers, and India sought to regulate the behaviour of number of bloc followers, and India sought to build a strong Non-Aligned Movement. The maximum number of countries to build a strong Non-Aligned Movement. The US policy of containment of communism was to change the course of events in its favour. The United States had also unsuccessfully tried to persuade India to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

12. True

13. The factors determining foreign policies of a country are historical factors, population, quality of government, economic development, natural resources, industrial development, ideological factor, military capabilities, geo-strategic factor and public opinion.

14. False

15. Britain, United States

16. True

17. True

18. Technology

19. Word alliance

20. England

21. True

22. Moral influence

3.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define balance of power.

2. Write a note on criticism of balance of power.

3. Write a short note describing foreign policy.

4. What are the features of diplomatic mission, as stated under the Vienna Convention?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Enumerate the characteristics of balance of power.

2. What are the characteristics of balance of power?

3. Discuss the devices used in balance of power.

4. Discuss utility in the light of balance of power concept.

5. What are the objectives of foreign policies? Discuss.

6. Old diplomacy has declined. The structured has changed to a new one. Discuss.

7. Analyse the features a diplomat should have. Give your arguments.

8. How does the ideology of a country affect its foreign policy?

3.13 FURTHER READING

Bell, Duncan, *Political Thought and International Relations*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2009.

Little, Richard, *Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models,* Cambridge University Press, London, 2007.

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UNIT 4   COLD WAR

Structure

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you were introduced to the concept of international politics and the factors that determined international politics. You also learnt about foreign policy and the role of diplomacy in global affairs.

The 20th century witnessed massive changes in the global arena. Ideological rivalry of superpowers and tactics used by them provided one of the crucial dynamics in world affairs and affected every part of the globe directly or indirectly. The Cold War largely shaped international politics in the post-World War II period. Now, international relations were no longer confined to European or North American continents. Instead, newly emergent nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world had their stakes in international politics and their voices were being heard. Their collective aspirations were reflected through the emergence of a number of international organizations, which were established during this period.

In this unit, you will study the various dimensions of the Cold War, the phases it went through and how international relations changes because of it.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the genesis of Cold War
- Analyse the phases between mid-1940s and late 1980s
- Interpret how international relations changed due to the cold War
- Describe the factors that led to the end of the war

4.2 GENESIS OF COLD WAR

The term Cold War stands for the period of conflict and aggression between the United States of America and the Soviet Union which lasted from mid-1940s to late 1980s. It began when World War II ended. Historians are not in agreement on the exact point of time at which the Cold War began, but it is considered that when President Truman of the United States declared an anti-communist policy in 1947, it was the beginning of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. The tension grew between the communist nations which were led by the Soviet Union and the capitalist nations headed by the United States.

The Cold War was fought on all levels—propaganda, economic war, diplomatic manoeuvres as well as physical battles. It was fought in all places—in neutral states, in newly independent nations in Africa, Asia and even in outer space. It was known as the Cold War as there was no active use of weaponry among the two nations, probably due to the fear of nuclear escalation as nuclear weapons had already led to massive destruction in World War I.

Nevertheless, many indirect conflicts like the Vietnam War and the Korean War did take place. During the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the world almost came to the brink of a nuclear war. An American U2 spy plane had taken photographs of Soviet Union's intermediate ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear payloads which the Soviet had sent to Cuba. The US threatened to invade Cuba and this deterred Soviet Union to take back the missiles.

4.2.1 Meaning and Definition

The term Cold War denotes to a situation of the continuing state of political conflict, military tension, proxy wars, and economic competition that appeared, especially after World War II between the Communist and Capitalist blocs. In other words Cold War refers to a state of hostility between nations without actually indulging in war. The concept stands for struggle for supremacy aged by the nations or states through propaganda, economic measures, political maneuvers, etc. Nations or states engaged in Cold War do not go for actual war (military action).

It is a state of cut-throat competition, but the competing parties remain far away from armed conflict between them. This term was coined by English author and journalist George Orwell in his essay 'You and the Atomic Bomb', published on October 19, 1945, in the British newspaper *Tribune*. He used this term to describe 'a world living in the shadow of the threat of nuclear warfare' he warned of a 'peace that is no peace', which he called a permanent 'Cold War'. Subsequently, Bernard Baruch, an American statesman employed this term in his famous speech to South Carolina legislature on 16, April 1947; he stated 'Let us not be deceived, we are today in the midst of a Cold War.' However, in the study of international relations this term was popularized by Walter Lipmann. He wrote a little book with the same name (*Cold War*) wherein he described the situation that had arisen between the Western powers and the Soviet Union.

Theoretically speaking, phenomenon of Cold War could be studied in two ways—as an ideological conflict or manifestations of balance of power struggle in the changed environment of international relations. Whatsoever is the case, it is certain that the Cold War created a situation of an age of armed peace.

As Norman A. Gracloner points out, 'The Cold War remains the most enigmatic and elusive international conflict of modern times'. According to Jawaharlal Nehru the Cold War was almost more dangerous, than a hot war, because it engendered thinking, feeling and emotions that were degrading and uncivilizing. Further, he illustrated it with environment of 'some kind of suspended death sentence'.

Grieves described Cold War as 'a form of conflict taking place below the level of hot war in a thermonuclear age, that is, as a means of pursuing antagonistic aims at a time when the full use of material power appears unbearably costly and destructive for all concerned'.

4.2.2 Origin

The origin of the Cold War may be traced back to the 1917 Russian Revolution, which gave birth to a new system the communist or socialist system. This system was in clear contrast of the capitalist system. Therefore, the capitalist powers initially refused to recognize the Bolshevik government of Russia and supported anti-Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War.

Landing of the US troops in Russia in 1918 was looked into with suspicion and Lenin explained that with phenomenon of 'hostile capitalist encirclement'. Further, there had been frequent denouncements by Russia of the policy of appeasement pursued by the US and other capitalist powers towards Nazi Germany. On the other hand, expansion of the Bolshevik Revolution to parts of Central Asia and Eastern Europe with the emergence of USSR generated fear in the capitalist powers. Those were further terrorized with the Joseph Stalin's view that Soviet Union is a 'socialist island', and the Soviet Union must see that 'the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a socialist encirclement'. Prior to World War II, several events fueled suspicion and distrust between the capitalist powers and the USSR—the Polish–Soviet War; the 1926 Soviet funding of a British general workers strike causing Britain to break relations with the Soviet Union; conspiratorial allegations in the Shakhty show trial of a planned French and British-led coup d'etat; the Great Purge involving a series of campaigns of political repression and persecution in which over half a million Soviets were executed; the Moscow show trials including allegations of British, French, Japanese and German espionage; the controversial death of 6–8 million people in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the 1932–1933 famine; and the Soviet entry into the Treaty of Rapallo. This background could be seen as embryonic stage of the Cold War.

At the advent of World War II, the USSR and capitalist powers started cooperation with each other. However, this did not help in mitigating the mutual trust and suspicion. The differing war aims of the capitalist powers and USSR also greatly contributed to the growth of Cold War. While USSR was keen to ensure her future security by partitioning Germany and by creating buffer zone of friendly East European countries, the US was keen to restore the conditions necessary for prosperity and ensuring that a destructive depression did not recur. During the war, both sides disagreed on military strategy, especially on the question of the opening of a second front against Germany in western Europe. Refusal of USSR to open the Black Sea straits and the Danube as international waters, due to her fear that it would pave the way for the US commercial penetrations on eastern Europe also caused friction. Failure to implement the principles agreed at the wartime conferences of Tehran, Yalata and

Potsdam created further confusion and frustration. Ultimately, Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton in Missouri in 1946 marked the formal beginning of the Cold War. He said, 'A shadow had fallen upon the scene so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its communist international organization intend to do in the immediate future…. From Stettin in Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent.' He emphasized the need of Anglo-American alliance and highlighted that Soviet Union understood only the language of force. He, thus, predicted the inevitability of post-war struggle between the capitalist and communist blocs and his Fulton speech laid down the foundation stone of that struggle.

4.2.3 Causes

The cause of the Cold War is considered to be deep rooted due to the difference in political and economic thinking of the United States and the Soviet Union. These differences escalated as a result of their mutual animosities immediately after World War II.

(i) **Ideological:** The United States and the Soviet Union were on complete opposite ends of a spectrum as far as ideology was concerned. The United States advocated liberalism and the capitalist system of production, while the Soviet Union was the promoter of the communist system.

(ii) **Economic:** The United States promoted free-trade throughout the world, while the Soviet Union wanted to preserve and encourage the socialist system of production.

(iii) **Power rivalry:** After World War II, with the decline of Europe, the Soviet Union and the United States emerged as the two superpowers, and both wanted to overpower the other leading to conflicts.

4.2.4 Pattern and Dimensions

The Cold War did not remain confined to the superpowers alone. There were varied and multiple pattern and dimensions of the Cold War affecting the entire world. On several occasion mad competitions of superpowers to get superiority in various spheres threatened peace and prosperity of mankind. In this section we will through light on some of the crucial issues in this regard.

- **Military alliances:** Formation of various military alliances and counter alliances was one of the remarkable features of the Cold War. Theoretically speaking, emergences of such kind of alliances are best explained by 'balance of power' concept of realism. Both the blocs formed alliances and counter alliances to counter-balance the growing power of the opponent. Thus, the capitalist bloc formed NATO, SEATO and CENTO; similarly, communist bloc constituted Warsaw Pact.

- **Arms race:** Mutual misperception and fear psychosis resulted in a crazy arms race among superpowers. Towards the end of World War II, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan and the world saw massive destruction. But the superpowers did not take lesson from that manmade calamity. Instead, USSR conducted nuclear tests to challenge the monopoly of the USA and that started a speedy race of armaments.

Table 4.1 *Nuclear Bombs and Warheads of the USA and the USSR*

	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
USA	2	450	4750	6068	5550	4000	8500	10100	11200	9680
USSR	0	0	20	300	600	1800	2800	6000	9900	10999

Source: Baylis & Smith, 2005

- **Nuclear technology race:** In the period of the Cold War, development and deployment of more and more sophisticated weapons was another dimension of the arms race. In fact, during the Cold War, the whole world was potentially a global battlefield. Therefore, both superpowers developed sophisticated technologies that could strike other's territory from their own within short span of time. In international politics this phenomenon is known as MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) leading to the situation of 'balance of terror'. The following box will give you an idea of the nuclear technology race among both superpowers:

Table 4.2 *The Nuclear Technology Race*

Weapon	Year of Testing or Deployment	
	USA	USSR
Atomic Bomb	1945	1949
Intercontinental bomber	1948	1955
Jet bomber	1951	1954
Hydrogen bomb	1952	1953
Intercontinental Ballistic Missile	1958	1957
Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile	1960	1964
Anti-Ballistic Missile	1974	1966
Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle	1970	1975

- **Espionage:** Espionage or intelligence gathering activities were another important dimension of the Cold War. Because each side was preparing to fight the other, intelligence on the opposing side's intentions, military, and technology was of paramount importance. To gather this information, the two relied on a wide variety of military and civilian agencies. While several agencies such as the CIA and KGB became synonymous with Cold War espionage, many other organizations played key roles in the collection and analysis of a wide host of intelligence disciplines.

- **Paralyzed UN system:** On the account of mutual rivalry, the superpowers were not willing to trust each other and generally took opposite stands at the United Nations. This often resulted in blocking entry of certain members to the United Nations. It is well known that the USA did not permit People's Republic of China until 1970s to take its seat in the UN only because China was a follower of the communist bloc. Since both of the superpowers were permanent members of the communist bloc. Since both of the superpowers were permanent members in the Security Council, they frequently used veto power to the proposal brought in the Security Council, they frequently used veto power to the proposal brought by opponent group. This prevented the UN from attaining universal character and jeopardized smooth functioning of the UN system.

- **Mother of major crisis:** The entire Cold War period is full of instances where superpowers used small states, satellite states and states of their influence for their own benefits. Conflicting interests of superpowers led to the global crises

and on several occasions created fear that tension could convert into real war. For instance, conflicting approach of superpowers during Berlin crisis (1948–49), Korean war (1950–53), Taiwan Straits crisis (1954–55), Suez crisis (1956), Cuban missile crisis (1962), Arab Israeli war (1973), and Russian invasion of Afghanistan (1979), created worldwide tension.

Détente

The period known as détente represented an attempt by both superpowers to manage their relations within a framework of negotiation and agreement. Détente was a permanent relaxation in international affairs during the Cold War rather than just a temporary relaxation (the so-called 'thaw'). The 1970s witnessed détente which was largely attributed through (i) the horrors of Vietnam War (ii) growing fear of a nuclear holocaust especially with the growth in those countries that had nuclear weapons; and, (iii) financial trouble of the superpowers. Détente was an obvious manifestation of continuous dialogue of the USA and USSR such as,

1963 – Hot-line established after Cuban missile crisis

1963 – Agreement between superpowers to only use underground tests for nuclear explosions

1969 – Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

1972 – Richard Nixon, USA president, visiting Moscow

1973 – Leonid Brezhnev, USSR leader, visiting Washington

1974 – Nixon's visit to Moscow

1975 – Helsinki Agreement — USA, USSR, Canada plus major European powers accept European frontiers set up after World War II. This recognized that Germany was divided and East European countries agreed to allow their people human rights such as freedom of speech.

Though direct relations of superpowers saw a meltdown in the period of détente, tensions continued through their surrogates. For instance, conflicts in South Asia, and the Middle East in the 1970s, witnessed backing of the USA and USSR to their respective surrogates. In Latin America, the United States continued to block any leftward electoral shifts in the region by supporting right-wing military coups. During much of the early détente period, the Vietnam War continued to rage. Espionage efforts remained a high priority as defectors, reconnaissance satellites, and signal intercepts measured intentions and attempted to gain strategic advantage.

Moreover, with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the late 1970s, the détente came to an end. The USA called for boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics, which were to be held in Moscow. Jimmy Carter boosted the US defense budget and began financially aiding the dictatorial regime of Pakistan to promote anti-Soviet Mujahideen fighters in the region. Later, US President Ronal Reagan pushed ahead the development of the Strategic Defensive Initiatives (SDI) or star wars and the Cold War reached new heights.

DID YOU KNOW?

- 1946 British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's 'iron curtain' speech marked the beginning of the Cold War.
- The Cold War cost the USA about $8 trillion.
- Only 382 American soldiers died because of the Cold War.

4.3 PHASES OF COLD WAR

With the disintegration of the USSR, the decade old Cold War came to an end. During almost five decades of existence, the Cold War has tremendously affected international politics and, therefore, has vital importance for any student of international relations. However, the Cold War was not static with similar issues and intensity. Indeed it was dynamic and passed through various phases. Charles Maier identifies the following nine phase of the Cold War:

- **Phase 1:** First phase of the Cold War was characterized by the divergences within the anti-Nazi alliance preeminently over the future of eastern Europe, especially Poland, as the Soviets imposed pro-Communist regimes from the fall of 1944. Although Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin temporarily patched up or glossed over the disputes at Yalta in early 1945, the conflicts resumed as the European war ended.

- **Phase 2:** The months from late 1945 until the spring of 1947 could be considered as phase two. This period was characterized by contradictory policies on both sides, each of which sought sometimes to reach agreements and on other occasions to win disputes through confrontation. The stalemate on international control of atomic energy, the ambiguous Potsdam Agreements envisaging four-power control of Germany but in fact deepening German division, the conflict over Iran, the growing hostility between Communists and non-Communists within party fronts in eastern Europe or trade unions in the West, revealed that advocates of cooperation and partisans of confrontation were both still present in policy-making circles, East and West.

- **Phase 3:** Maier characterizes the period of early 1947 to the fall of 1948 as phase three of the Cold War. During this phase, any remaining advocates of cooperation lost ground, and Europe was definitively divided. Soviet and local Communists coalition moved to impose dictatorial control in eastern Europe, while non-Communist coalitions were constructed in the West with American encouragement. The United States policy-makers organized a bipartisan coalition at home — excluding a pro-Soviet left and an isolationist right — to intervene decisively with economic aid and, in the case of Greece, with extensive military assistance and administrative control. By 1948, the Americans and British abandoned efforts to secure Soviet cooperation in reconstructing a unified Germany, and each side moved toward constructing an economy and ultimately a state oriented toward its own emerging bloc. The major exceptions to Europe's division would be Finland, which could preserve democratic institutions so

Check Your Progress

1. What is Cold War?
2. What are the two possible ways to study the phenomenon of Cold War?
3. What did the period known as 'détente' represent?

long as it stayed out of the West's alliance system, Yugoslavia, which remained a communist state but broke spectacularly with the Soviet bloc, and ultimately Austria, which the Soviets allowed to emerge from its occupied status as a neutral sovereign state in 1955.

- **Phase 4:** This phase of the Cold War covers period of 1948 to early months of 1953. The initiation of the Berlin Blockade at the end of June 1948, the formation of NATO in 1949, then the Soviet testing of a nuclear bomb and the American rush to build a fusion weapon and rearm in strength, the rearmament of the Federal Republic (and its East German counterpart), through the major conflict in Korea from 1950 to 1953, brought dangerous and overtly military confrontations. These were the years of ideological militancy as well, epitomized by McCarthyism in the United States and the atrocious show trials in eastern Europe.

- **Phase 5:** Phase five of the Cold War covers period of 1953–1958. With the death of Stalin in March 1953, his successors' efforts to dismantle the potential for terror (which culminated with Nikita Khrushchev's denunciations of Stalin's abuses at the Twentieth Party Congress of 1956), the Geneva Conference that partitioned Vietnam in 1954, and the second Geneva Conference between Eisenhower and the Soviet leadership in 1955, events moved toward what was described as a 'thaw'. By late in the decade, when Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was compelled to retire by illness, Eisenhower grew increasingly concerned with the momentum of the arms race and the so-called 'military-industrial' complex, and Konrad Adenauer sought a *modus vivendi* with the Soviets; both sides endeavoured to stabilize what they recognized as a long-term confrontation. The revolutionary challenges to Soviet domination in Poland and Hungary in 1956 did not fundamentally alter the status quo; indeed they ended up confirming it, as the West - itself badly divided over the Suez issue — accepted the suppression of the Hungarian revolution.

- **Phase 6:** This phase covers period of 1958 to 1962. The continuing potential for open conflict almost slipped out of control in the complex series of crises during this phase. Khrushchev announced his determination to enhance the status of East Germany, abrogate four-power control of Berlin, and turn over the Soviet sector of the city to a GDR ally that seemed increasingly his key bulwark among the restive satellites in Eastern Europe. At the same time, the American electoral campaign of 1960 led presidential challenger John Kennedy to reinvigorate Cold War rhetoric and, after election, to challenge unsuccessfully Fidel Castro's two-year control of Cuba. The Soviet leader sanctioned the building of the Berlin Wall and, most dangerously, attempted to wager on a major coup in the global strategic balance by placing missiles in Cuba. Only the close brush with nuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 prompted both sides to defuse the conflict. Khrushchev essentially ended his threat to give the East German regime control of access to Berlin, and Kennedy pressed for a nuclear test ban treaty. By the end of 1963, in effect, the superpowers had learned to manage their conflict. This period also saw the emergence of more energy and autonomy among the West Europeans, as the European Community was launched, while Charles de Gaulle settled into power and took his distance from NATO and the 'Anglo-Saxons'.

- **Phase 7:** This phase considered period of 1963 to the late 1970s, a period when the Cold War was winding down. Western commentators predicted 'convergence' of the two systems and a growing ideological consensus around mixed economies with a high degree of state intervention and bureaucratic administration. In the Atlantic community, the parties of the moderate left-centre tended to displace the more conservative Tory, GOP, or Christian Democratic leaders of the 1950s. NATO strategists turned away from an emphasis on immediate nuclear retaliation to plans for graduated response by means of conventional resistance under the umbrella of mutual nuclear destructive capacity. In light of these trends, and of Chancellor Willi Brandt's pursuit of *Ostpolitik* to ease the grip of the East German regime on its citizens, it makes sense to construe the years of domestic reform and international detente from, say, 1964 to 1976/78 as the subsequent stage of Cold War history. Within that very period, however, the historian of European society and international political economy can trace an escalation of growing domestic discontent and rebellion within both systems by 1968. The United States became mired in Vietnam, had to live through student demonstrations, abandoned efforts to balance its national budget, and helped unmoor international monetary stability as it abandoned its reserve currency obligations under the Bretton Woods system. America's European allies faced their own student revolts and massive strikes. By early 1974, the oil-producing countries (OPEC) tripled the price of petroleum and ended the post war era of cheap energy inputs. In the East, Warsaw Pact forces suppressed the 1968 Czechoslovak reforms by force and initiated a new wave of repression, even as the Communist parties retreated from their partial experiments with economic decentralization.

- **Phase 8:** By 1978/80, in fact, the Cold War had become ugly once again. This revival of the Cold War marks its eight phase. The Soviets initiated what Western statesmen read as a massive missile buildup, and NATO powers resolved to respond by installing new medium range missiles in Europe (thus, provoking vigorous protests from their own revived peace movements). The very concept of stable deterrence seemed to break down as multiple nuclear warheads proliferated on rockets whose number had been supposedly limited by arms control agreements. The Soviets intervened to protect a feeble Communist government in Afghanistan, while Cubans supported a Marxist liberation movement in Angola. These events all began before Ronald Reagan took office in January 1981, but the president helped define the tenor of renewed Cold War by evoking the threat from the 'evil empire' and calling for a new antiballistic Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars).

- **Phase 9:** The last phase of the Cold War involved the unexpected dissolution of conflict after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the mid 1980s. Gorbachev had the flexibility to respond innovatively to an economy in crisis, widening technological disparity, and a growing movement of intellectual dissent throughout the Communist world. Certainly events outran the Russian leader, but the fact that Gorbachev could not stabilize a reformist Communist alternative did not lead him to reverse *glasnost* and *perestroika*, i.e., liberalization and economic decentralization. By the late 1980s Margaret Thatcher, among many others, acknowledged that the Cold War was over. At the end of the decade the Communists lost power in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary,

and elsewhere, while Moscow accepted the dissolution of the Soviet Union, independence for the Baltic states and Ukraine, and German unification.

Eastern and Central Europe after the conclusion of the peace treaties, 1947

- **Division of Germany into zones, 1945* (corner)**

KEY:
- Lost by Finland
- Lost by Czechoslovakia
- Lost by Rumania
- Lost by Italy
- Lost by Germany
- Lost by Poland
- Polish frontier in 1939

4.4 COLD WAR AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

From the 1940s to the late 1980s, the Cold War determined the nature of international relations. Alliances were formed and relations were geared according to the demands of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers.

The Soviet Union and China started out as allies in 1949 but soon a rift surfaced between them. The US took advantage of this situation and formed an alliance with China in 1971 to team up against the Soviet Union. In 1980 when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the US financed and armed the Afghan guerrillas to support them in the fight against the Soviet troops.

In the 1980s, US President Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union an 'evil empire' and predicted that it would be consigned to the ash heap of history. He initiated a major weapons' build-up and the SDI (Strategic Defence Initiative) which was also called the 'star wars'. The Soviet Union was economically weakened. In 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union, he initiated a strategy of pacification towards the Americans and many arms reduction pacts were signed. In 1989, the Soviet withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, and in 1990 it agreed on the reunification of Germany. Communist governments in eastern Europe were thus, weakened, and the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 marking the end of the Cold War.

The period from the mid-1940s to the late 1980s marked the decline of European predominance in international relations as well as the beginning and the end of the Cold War. A very significant development has been the invention and build-up of nuclear weapons. Both nations, United States of America and the Soviet Union, built up huge arsenals of atomic weapons and ballistic missiles. It was also the period which witnessed the formation of military and economic groupings. The military blocs like NATO and economic cartels like OPEC were established.

Although during this entire period there were no large-scale, open and conventional wars like the World Wars; there were a number of continuous small-scale proxy wars where the US and the Soviet Union supported the opposite warring parties. This led to destructive conflicts like the Vietnam War and the Korean war. Still persisting conflicts like those in the Middle East and between India and Pakistan owe their origin in the Cold War era as well.

There is a close and complex relationship between the Cold War and the conflicts in the Third World countries. The involvement of the superpowers, i.e., the US and the Soviet Union, led to the escalation and even prolongation of the conflicts in much of Asia and Africa. The instruments of economic and military aid were widely used by the superpowers to win these countries over to their respective sides. Thus, these countries became victims of the dynamics of the Cold War, which played a crucial role in their domestic affairs. The Cold War had a tremendous impact on the developing nations and the outcomes differed vastly depending upon a number of factors like geopolitics, strategic importance, etc.

In East Asia, China first went communist and later formed an alliance with the US. Japan was demilitarized and helped by the US in rebuilding its economy. In South East Asia, Vietnam suffered several decades of conflicts and the US had to cut a sorry face when it could not prevent the reunification of Vietnam under the communist flag. The conflict also spilled over to Laos and Cambodia. Overall, the conflict took millions of innocent lives. In Thailand and the Philippines, the US was successful in holding sway by flushing in economic and military aid.

Check Your Progress

6. _____ signified the end of the Cold War.

7. The US formed an alliance with _____ in 1971 to team up against the Soviet Union.

In central (and to a lesser extent south) America, the struggle against communism and communist insurgencies lead to the US interventions, which resulted in protracted civil wars.

The most long-lasting negative impact of the Cold War on the developing world is seen across sub-Saharan Africa. The Cold War rivalries victimized newly-independent countries. Both the communists and the 'free world' found their champions in either governments or 'freedom movements' in every country. Arms, money and other forms of aid were pumped in. The situation was further complicated by the resource-rich nature of many of the countries involved. The results were often catastrophic—Angola, for example, suffered one of the longest conflicts in modern history.

Similarly, the Cold War sowed the seeds of permanent conflict in the Middle East. The Arab–Israel dispute is a product of the Cold War.

4.4.1 End of the Cold War

The Cold War, which dominated in international relations for over four decades after World War II came to an end. The presidents of the USSR and USA declared an end to the Cold War after the 1989 Malta Summit. After the Malta Summit, USSR President Gorbachev affirmed that, 'I assured the President of the United States that I will never start a hot war against the USA. The world is leaving one epoch and entering another. We are at the beginning of a long road to a lasting, peaceful era. The threat of force, mistrust, psychological and ideological struggle should all be things of the past? President of the USA George Bush (senior) stated, 'We can realize a lasting peace and transform the East-West relationship to one of enduring co-operation. That is the future that Chairman Gorbachev and I began right here in Malta.' Further, demolition of Berlin Wall and disintegration of USSR marked the final departure of the Cold War between the two superpowers.

ACTIVITY

Find out from the Internet, the role of nuclear power during the Cold War.

4.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The term Cold War stands for the period of conflict and aggression between the United States of America and the Soviet Union which lasted from mid-1940s to late 1980s.
- The phenomenon of Cold War could be studied in two ways—as an ideological conflict or manifestations of balance of power struggle in the changed environment of international relations. Whatsoever is the case but it is certain that the Cold War created a situation of an age of armed peace.
- The origin of the Cold War may be traced back to the 1917 Russian Revolution, which gave birth to a new system the communist or socialist system.

- The cause of the Cold War is considered to be deep rooted due to the difference in political and economic thinking of the United States and the Soviet Union.
- The Cold War did not remain confined to the superpowers alone. There were varied and multiple pattern and dimensions of the Cold War affecting the entire world.
- Though direct relations of superpowers saw a meltdown in the period of détente, tensions continued through their surrogates.
- The Cold War was not static with similar issues and intensity. Indeed it was dynamic and passed through various phases. Charles Maier identified nine phase of the Cold War.
- From the 1940s to the late 1980s, the Cold War determined the nature of international relations. Alliances were formed and relations were geared according to the demands of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers.
- The period from the mid-1940s to the late 1980s marked the decline of European predominance in international relations as well as the beginning and the end of the Cold War
- In central (and to a lesser extent south) America, the struggle against communism and communist insurgencies lead to the US interventions, which resulted in protracted civil wars. The most long-lasting negative impact of the Cold War on the developing world is seen across sub-Saharan Africa.
- The Cold War, which dominated in international relations for over four decades after the Second World War came to a dramatic end in 1989. The presidents of the USSR and USA declared an end to the Cold War after the 1989 Malta Summit.
- The Cold War did not remain confined to the superpowers alone. There were varied and multiple pattern and dimensions of the Cold War affecting the entire world.
- The period from the mid-1940s to the late 1980s marked the decline of European predominance in international relations as well as the beginning and the end of the Cold War.
- Grieves described Cold War as 'a form of conflict taking place below the level of hot war in a thermonuclear age, that is, as a means of pursuing antagonistic aims at a time when the full use of material power appears unbearably costly and destructive for all concerned'.

4.6 KEY TERMS

- **Arms race:** It refers to the scramble among the superpowers to own the maximum number of arms and ammunition.
- **Cold War:** It denotes to a situation of the continuing state of political conflict, military tension, proxy wars, and economic competition that appeared, especially after Second World War between the Communist and Capitalist blocs.
- **Détente:** It refers to the period wherein both superpowers manage their relations within a framework of negotiation and agreement.

NOTES

- **Third world countries:** The term arose during the Cold War to define countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO (with the United States, Western European nations and their allies representing the First World), or the Communist Bloc (with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Cuba and their allies representing the second world). The term broadly categorizes the nations into three groups based on social, political, and economic divisions. The Third World was normally seen to include many countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, which had a colonial past.

4.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The term Cold War denotes a situation of continuing state of political conflict, military tension, proxy wars and economic competition that appeared, especially after World War II between the Communist and the Capitalist blocs.

2. The phenomenon of Cold War can be studied in two ways: (i) as an ideological conflict and (ii) as manifestations of balance of power struggle in the changed environment of international relations.

3. The period known as détente represented an attempt by the US and the USSR to manage their relations within a framework of negotiation and agreement.

4. Global politics is a recent phenomenon that indicates the deeply interdependent and interconnected world as a global village.

5. The causes of the Cold War are: (i) ideological differences between the Soviet union and USA; (ii) power rivalry between these two countries; (iii) economical differences, where the USA wanted to promote free trade and the Soviet Union wanted to encourage the socialist system of production.

6. Malta Summit

7. China

4.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the major causes of the Cold War.
2. What developments took place during the period known as détente?
3. Write a note on the Malta Summit.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe in detail the genesis of the Cold War.
2. Describe the pattern and dimension of the Cold War.
3. Explain the phases of the Cold War as described by Charles Maier.
4. Discuss the influence of the Cold War on international politics.

4.9 FURTHER READING

Baylis, J., Smith, S. & Owens, P.; *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations,* Oxford University Press, New York, 2011.

Viotti, Paul R. & Kauppi, M.V.; *International Relations and World Politics, (4th ed.),* Prentice Hall, San Francisco, 2008.

Morgenthau, Hans J.; *Politics Among Nations*, McGraw-Hill Higher Education, Boston, 2005.

NOTES

UNIT 5 GLOBALIZATION AND THE STATE

Structure

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the Cold War, the phases it has passed through, international relations during that period and the end of the war.

To understand the meaning of globalization, you should look around your home, classroom or office carefully. What do you see? Do you see objects? Not all of these objects were manufactured in our country. Some of these objects were manufactured in other countries. Nowadays, we have Gucci, Prada, D&G, Armani, and Versace. These are brands or international labels that we have access to now is because of globalization that has reduced the world to a global village. Globalization has been one of the most noteworthy concepts of our time not only in terms of academic discussions, but also public debates. Although the word globalization may seem to refer to a single phenomenon, it is not a single unified process. Rather, globalization has several dimensions.

Some scholars stress the economic dimension of globalization identifying the economic integration of nations on a global scale. Others emphasize the political integration of individual states as the primary dimension of globalization. Moreover, while some focus on the environmental degradation on a global scale, other scholars see the process more broadly in socio-cultural terms. For any student of political economy, it is a matter of common discourse to analyse the impact that globalization has had on nation-states. This unit deals with this important aspect of the subject.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Define globalization
- Discuss the various components of globalization
- Evaluate the criticisms regarding the phenomenon of globalization
- Examine the evolution of nation-states
- Summarize various theoretical perspectives on the impact of globalization on nation-states
- Analyse the impact of globalization on nation-state
- Assess the relevance of nation-states in the era of globalization

5.2 GLOBALIZATION: CONCEPT AND HISTORY

Globalization is referred to as integration of regional, national and international economy through foreign direct investment, migration, spread of technology and capital flows. Globalization is extremely important but is vaguely defined and is not explained in any one specific theory. Starting from the late 1990s, globalization became a catchword in the global economy, more particularly in the Afro-Asian countries. The present phase of globalization has also thrown open varied challenges such as inequality across and within different nations, volatility in financial market and worsening of environmental situations. It is the process of transformation of any object or entity that takes place in one location, but has a cumulative impact. This finally acts as a global village. It can be underlined as a process based on which the international community is unified into a single society and functions as a uniting force. This involves used to refer economic, technological, socio-cultural and political forces. Globalization is often international economy through foreign direct investment, migration, and spread of technology and capital flows.

Globalization includes many trends including monetary coordination and multinational cooperation, migration and refugee flows, expanded international trade and relations between the rich and poor nations. Though globalization is very significant, it is vaguely defined and not explained in any one specific theory. However, one general conception of globalization is 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life....'

A global marketplace has brought growth and prosperity (not to all countries but to most). This economic process has made traditional process obsolete. States are the using authority to supranational institutions such as the transnational actors (NGOs, MNCs), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Union. Besides this, the norms, values, traditions of elite, educated and technocrats are becoming global values, reflecting an emerging global civilization. The old north–south division is viewed as less important because the global south is moving in divergent directions depending on countries and regions integrating with world markets.

A second perspective is skeptical of these claims about globalization. These skeptics note that the world's major economies are no more integrated today than

they were before World War I. The skeptics also doubt that regional and geographic distinctions, such as the north–south gap, are increasing with globalization. Moreover, the economic integration of states may be leading not to a single world free-trade zone, but to distinct and rival regional blocs in Asia, Europe and America. These supposed emerging world civilizations are disproved by the fragmenting of larger units (like the Soviet Union) into smaller ones along lines of language, cultural factors and others.

Some features of globalization

- Reduction or elimination of controls in the mobility of capital and labour.
- Reduction or elimination or harmonization of subsidies for local businesses.
- Promotion of free trade; this includes reduction or elimination of tariffs, construction of free-trade zones with small or no tariffs, and also monetary regulations.

Globalization, thus, is a complex process that affects our daily lives in a variety of ways. It involves the increased interdependence of countries and freer movement of goods, people, ideas and culture across the globe. In fact, globalization can be termed as be an umbrella used to describe inter-territorial linkages of various aspects of human life. Table 5.1 given below delineates these very aspects. The process of globalization has been propelled by the fast advancements in the information, communication and transportation technology. Today, there is a substantial amount of literature in the social sciences that focus on the different aspects of globalization.

Table 5.1 Types of Globalization

Aspect	Examples
Political	Democracy, International and Regional Organizations, International Law and Regimes, Rule of Law, Civil Society
Cultural	Ideological, Educational, Civilization, Hollywood, Pop Culture
Economic	Commodity trade, Communications, Services
Technological	IT, Biomedical, Robotics
Population	Expansion, Aging, Youth Bulge, Women, Sex-ratio, Labour, Migration
Financial	Investments, Banking, Exchange Rates, Black Markets, Money Laundering
Military/Security	Nuclear Proliferation, Alliances, Rising Powers

At the same time, defining globalization remains one of the most challenging tasks for a modern scholar. The challenge primarily arises due to the widest spectrum of disciplines and discourses that the phenomenon of globalization tends to cover. Most definitions are limited to one or another disciplinary area, covering some aspects of the process and leaving out others. Any study of globalization must take into account the fact that globalization pervades into almost every field of human activity and touches every aspect of human experience. Therefore an all-encompassing definition of globalization becomes difficult.

Given below are some of the definitions of globalization as enumerated by various scholars:

1. **Anthony Giddens:** Globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happening are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.

2. **David Held:** Globalization may be thought of as a process (or a set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transformations–assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental and interregional flows and networks of activity interaction, and the exercise of power.

3. **Noam Chomsky:** What is called "globalization" is a specific form of international integration, designed and instituted for particular purposes. There are many possible alternatives (for international integration). This particular form happens to be geared to the interests of private power, manufacturing corporations and financial institutions, closely linked to powerful states. One central aspect of 'globalization' is the transfer of power to make decisions to the hands of private concentrations of power, and away from 'governments', which means away from the public, to the extent that these governments are democratic. That's a regular consequence of financial liberalization. It's also a consequence of allowing corporate power to distribute production.

4. **Robert O. Keohane:** Globalization describes a trend of increasing transnational flow and increasingly thick networks of interdepended.

5. **George Modelski:** Globalization is a process along four dimensions: economic globalization, formation of world opinion, democratization and political globalization. This was rounded off with the assertion that changes along one of the dimensions (such as economic globalization) elicited changes among the other dimensions.

6. **Thomas Friedman:** The inexorable integration of markets, nation states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before –in a way that is enabling individual's corporations, nation states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system. Globalization means the spread of free market capitalism to virtually every country in the world.

For our purposes, from these definitions we can find out the important elements of globalization:

(a) Globalization is not a single set of phenomenon or process but a complex web of phenomenon or processes

(b) Globalization may have different forms. In the present form, it is geared towards the interests of private power, manufacturing corporations and financial institutions

(c) Nation states are no longer the only actor in International relations.

(d) Non-state actors such as Non-Governmental organizations, supra-national organizations, sub national actors, transnational corporations, migrant and diasporic communities, etc., are influencing international relations in many ways.

Thus, as you can see the term globalization means different things for different people. Both in popular culture and academic literature the term is described in various ways. For example: a process, a condition, a system, a force and an age. However with the development of globalization studies in last two decades, many scholars agree that this term should be primarily understood as a process because it comprehends the dynamic changes in various spheres in society. The final result of this process results in a global world or a globalized world.

5.2.1 Patterns of Contemporary Globalization

The idea of the global village is a popular image used to describe the growth of awareness that all people share a common fate, stemming from a micro perspective that views the world as an integrated and interdependent whole. This image of the world emphasises that the world is not only linked via economic interests but also shares common issues and common concerns. This idea can only become possible through unrestrained communication between people at every level and in each sphere.

Let us now focus on some of the major components of the contemporary process of globalization:

Social and Cultural Globalization

The following factors symbolize and also drive the phenomenon of globalization in the social and cultural domain:

- The revolution in information and communication technology, i.e., internet, online social networking, global media

- International migration

- Issues of global concerns like global warming, nuclear weapons, terrorism and religious extremism, epidemics

- Natural and man-made calamities

- Global governmental and nongovernmental organizations

The growing speed and flow of communication has made distances between people irrelevant and has led to greater and deeper interaction between people, societies and nations. Cellular phones have revolutionized the way in which people connect to each other. Today, people can speak to each other instantly irrespective of the distance between the speakers. Moreover, the spread of personal computers have simplified and accelerated the pace of human activities. However, it is the advent of the Internet which has become the symbol of globalization. It has brought the entire world in front of our desktop/laptops. Now we can connect with the world anytime and anywhere through cyberspace. Cyberspace makes possible online communities, online love, online business and almost every other human experience online. Hence, the internet has linked people from around the globe and thus created a global community. Social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, etc., have even allowed people in the most repressive societies to communicate with each other online and thereby helped overthrow their respective governments as was it was recently seen in Tunisia and Egypt.

At the same time the traditional electronic media has also become global through the use of satellites. Satellite television reaches every corner of the earth, intruding into previously inaccessible areas and spreading news and views on a global scale. However, many scholars have pointed out that the reach of the global media mainly helps in promoting western consumerism and helps shapes opinion in favour of the West since the global media is mainly concentrated in and is controlled by the West.

A migrant is a person who leaves his or her region or country and settles in another region or country for a variety of purposes. There are around 300 million international migrants in the world today. While in a recent study it was estimated that by the year 2050, there would be 405 million migrants in world. This phenomenal increase in migration has been made possible by easy and cheap communication and

is driven by the search for a better life both in economic and political terms. According to the political theorists Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf global migration raises a host of "moral issues such as ethnic balance inside host countries, the meaning of citizenship, and sovereignty, the distribution of income, labour supply, xenophobia, the impact of multi-culturalism, protection of basic human rights and prevention of exploitation, and the potential for large flows of migrants and refugees to undermine democratic governance and state stability". Incidentally, the movement of people also leads to the spread of infection and diseases. Thus, globalization is making health issues a common concern for humanity. For example, the recent outbreaks of bird flu, swine flu, affected several parts of world at the same time and therefore demanded cooperation at a global level.

5.2.2 Economic Globalization

Any discussion about globalization recognizes that economic integration is its driving force. The globalization of trade, finance and production are the symbols of this economic integration. Gradually, most countries of the world are adopted neoliberal economic policies and are opening their borders for the free movement of goods and services. Since the economic aspects of globalization largely involve the free movement of money, it should not be a surprise to anyone that there has been a dramatic increase in cross border capital flows in recent decades. Today, financial flows exceed merchandise trade by more than forty times. Even the daily turnover of the foreign exchange market is rising at an astonishing pace. This free flow of capital is leading to an integrated world financial market. According to many scholars, this free movement of capital will eventually reduce the control that a national central bank has over management of capital flows and thus affect the control that a government has over its economic policies.

In recent times there has also been a progressive reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers around the world. The WTO led regime of free market is transforming the world into a borderless market. As a result trade volumes have climbed phenomenally. According to a British economist, "Over the past millennium, world population rose 22 folds, per capita income increased 13 fold, World Gross Domestic Product (GDP) nearly 300-fold. This contrasts sharply with the preceding millennium, when world population grew by only a sixth, and there was no advance in per capita income". In 2007, the total world GDP in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) was $65 trillion, with total world export being $ 13.87 trillion and import being $13.81 trillion. Apart from the traditional big economies of the West, several third world economies such as India, China, Brazil and South Africa have also emerged as major economic players in the world economy and their emergence is a critical factor in the growth of World GDP and trade.

5.2.3 Perception of Sceptics and Critics of Globalization

Many sceptics of globalization have raised the issue that it is not a new phenomenon. They argue that human beings have never been an isolated entity; rather, they have been interacting with other people and societies and have been inter-dependent for their daily needs since ages. For instance, Daniel A. Strasser traces the roots of globalization in early human migration from Ethiopia, which is commonly accepted as the place where the evolution of modern humans took place, to other parts of the world. Strasser identifies seven phases of globalization:

- **Phase I- Early Man:** Globalization is inherent in the human condition; man originated in Ethiopia 200,000 + years ago and occupied the entire world 20,000 years ago.
- **Phase II- Ancient Empires:** China, Rome, Italian explorers, Arab traders
- **Phase III- Mercantilism:** Colonial empires of Spain, Portugal, England, France, Holland etc.
- **Phase IV- British Empire:** Naval Supremacy 18th /mid-19th Century to World War I
- **Phase V- Cold War:** Post World War II - US vs. USSR, the UN, Decolonization, Independence movements, accelerated technological development, space exploration, micro processing, the internet
- **Phase VI- American Hegemony:** Post-Cold War, Rise of Islamic Radicalism, Transnationalism, NGOs, uni-polarity
- **Phase VII- Post-Modern:** 9/11, 2008/9 recession, multi-polarity

Other skeptics of globalization argue that today the world is more regionalized and less globalized compared to the world of the 19th century (Hirst, Thompson and Gilpin). This sceptical view of globalization is well summarized by the political scientist Anthony McGrew, who stated that, 'By comparison with the period 1870 to 1914 the world is much less globalize economically, politically and culturally. Rather than globalization the contemporary world is marked by intensifying regionalization and internationalization. The vast bulk of international economic and political activity is concentrated within the group of OECD states. By comparison with the heyday of European global empires the majority of the world population and countries in the south are now much less integrated into the global system'.

Thus, according to many researchers of globalization, economic integration is less intensive today than it was preceding I World War. However, these researchers focus only on one aspect of globalization, i.e. economic integration. While it may be true that in the past economic integration might have been greater, but many other elements of the contemporary process of globalization were missing. Today, the process of globalization pervades into every domain of human experience and it touches the daily lives of the common populace. However, at the same time, it must also be acknowledged that the contemporary process of globalization is neither a break from the past, nor is it a sudden burst of activities. Many aspects of globalization today are based on modern technologies. These technologies are themselves a result of years of scientific discovery; any new technological breakthrough can only stand up on the shoulders of scientific theories of the past.

The unhindered flow of financial capital has also faced serious criticisms from scholars of globalization studies. According to them, the unhindered flow of capital results in power being transferred from sovereign governments into the hands of a few financial elites. These elites act like an invisible parliament influencing policy in their favour at the expense of the majority of people. For other scholars, the unhindered transfer of financial capital has also resulted in frequent economic crises, for example the Southeast Asian financial crisis, Argentinean crisis, Mexican crisis, and more recently the Global Financial Crisis that began in 2008. A major reason for these frequent economic crises is because of the free flow of capital, central banks have almost no effective control over the management of capital flows. In times of financial

Check Your Progress

1. Globalization is referred to as integration of regional power. (True/False)
2. According to Noam Chomsky, what is called 'globalization' happens to be geared towards the interests of

   _____ ,

   and

   _____ ,

   closely linked to powerful states.
3. With the development of globalization studies in last two decades, many scholars agree that the term globalization should be primarily understood as a _____ because it comprehends the dynamic changes in various spheres in society.
4. Sceptics of globalization argued that it is an old phenomenon. (True/False)

woes, when capital starts flying away from a state, there is no mechanism to stop it, and consequently it leads to deeper a crisis. This unregulated market based on neo-liberal principles produces an unequal world internationally and unequal society domestically. One major reason why India was not as badly impacted by the global financial crisis is because FDI inflows into banks and insurance are still restricted in India. However, press reports suggest that there have been recent moves by the current government to open up these sectors. Other critics also argue that with globalization there is a gradual erosion of national identity and indigenous culture which is replaced by Western values like consumerism.

In short, the critics of globalization raise mainly four concerns. According to them, globalization results in:

(a) The transfer of power into the hands of elites

(b) The compromise of national economic interests

(c) The curtailment of nation-state sovereignty

(d) The erosion of national identity

5.3 GLOBALIZATION vs STATE

Before analysing the impact of globalization on nation-states, let us shed some light on the evolution of nation-states and nationalism. The term 'nation-states' is derived from two distinguish but interrelated terms. 'Nation' refers to a sense of common identity among people resulting from a variety of factors such as common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, religion, etc. On the other hand, 'state' is a political unit having four essential components—population, territory, government and sovereignty.

Nations are as old as human civilization. Throughout history, people have been attached to their native soil, to the traditions of their parents, and to established territorial authorities. However, the evolution of modern nation-states is linked with the Renaissance in Europe. The Treaty of Westphalia, signed in 1648, paved the way for the modern state system. This treaty provided that only sovereign states could enter into treaty relations with each other and a political unit which lacked sovereignty could not become a legal unit in the system. The 'social contract' tradition of the 16th and 17th century established the idea of 'popular sovereignty' that became cornerstone of the French and American Revolution in the late 18th century.

The evolution of modern nation-states was propelled by the phenomenon growth of nationalism. The theoretical founding of nationalism was first derived by the German theologian Johann Gottfried Herder during the 1770s. Herder promoted the idea that true nations are comprised of people who share a common ancestry and linguistic heritage along with common cultural and religious traits. His idea of 'romantic nationalism' led to emergence of 'ethnic or cultural nationalism' which was further propagated by Fichte, Mussolini and, Hitler and French scholar Earnest Renan in his famous speech at the Sorbonne University in 1882 defined a nation as 'a voluntary association of individuals'.

Nationalism has been a topic of fiery topic of debate among scholars of political science in the 20th century. The first half of the 20th century witnessed massive

nationalist movements as well as cruelty in the name of nationalism. Worldwide nationalist aspirations attracted scholars to establish a theoretical foundation of the concept. Hans Kohn in his famous work The Idea of Nationalism argued that the concept of nationalism was a recent phenomenon, dating back no further than the mid-eighteenth century. For Kohn, nationalism was first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness, which since the French Revolution had become more and more common to mankind. Kohn suggested that the growth of nationalism was accelerated by the rise of capitalism, public education systems, the growth of population, increased influence of the masses and new information and propaganda techniques.

Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, defines a nation as 'an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.' Anderson is one of the key theorists of 'constructed nationalism,' where nationalism is viewed as a socially constructed idea meant to serve the interests and needs of the members of a nation and those participating in nationalist movements. J.S. Mill was the earliest exponent of this notion and described nationalism as—'a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of government should coincide in the main with those of nationality….where the sentiment of nationality exists in any force, there is a prima facie case for uniting all the members of the nationality under the same government, and a government to themselves apart'.

5.3.1 Evolution of Nation-States

As you have studied, the evolution of modern nation-states was linked with Renaissance in Europe. During the 19th century, Italy and Germany were formed by uniting smaller territories with a common 'national identity'. Others, such as Greece, Poland and Bulgaria, were formed by winning their independence. By the 20th century, the wave of nationalism spread all across the African and Asian continents. Let us now discuss a few examples of the evolution of nation-states:

- **Creation of Italy:** Throughout the nineteenth century, Europe witnessed dramatic political changes and one among them was the creation of Italy. Historically, Italy had been something of a playground for great powers, especially France and Austria. Although, Machiavelli was first philosopher who led the emphasis on the unification of Italy, his dream only became a reality in late the nineteenth century under the revolutionary leaderships of Camillo Cavour and Giuseppe Garibaldi. The unification of Italy started in 1859 following the French expulsion of Austrians from power in Northern Italy. Cavour tactically convinced Napoleon III of France that the creation of a powerful Italy was necessary to tackle the problem of Austria. At the same time, Garibaldi in the south carried out a stereotypically popular revolt. Italy became a single kingdom in 1861 under Victor Emmanuel II, which was acclaimed by a popular vote. With the annexation of the Papal States in 1870, Italy was united. This movement was ideologically inspired by the Italian poet and novelist Mazzini, who emphasized that language was the most important element of a nation-state. In the early twentieth century, Mussolini exploited nationalist sentiments in Italy to propagate his ideas of fascism.

- **Nationalist movement in India:** The Indian national movement has become a milestone in the evolution of modern nation-states. The first footprints of nationalism manifested itself in the 1857 upheaval. With the formation of the Congress party in 1885, nationalism took a pan-Indian shape in an actual sense and in later years India's freedom struggle inspired several nationalist movements all across Asia and Africa. The growth of modern nationalism in India is largely attributed to the emergence of an educated middle class together with the rise of modern means of transportation and communication creating truly an 'Indian Identity'. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle against colonialism. The sense of being oppressed under colonialism provided a shared bond that tied many different groups together. But each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently, their experiences were varied, and their notions of freedom were not always the same. Mahatma Gandhi tried to forge these groups together within one movement, yet, unity did not emerge and various interpretations of nationalism were generated. Thus, ideologically nationalism in India took various trances; these could be discussed under following broad categories:

  o *Liberal perspective:* Throughout the Indian national movement, the liberal perspective was dominant feature of nationalism and it is the sole source of inspiration in the modern India. This perspective believes that India represent a 'mosaic culture' where several cultural identities co-exist. According to this perspective, 'unity in diversity' is the greatest asset of the nation. Mainstream leadership in the national movement supported this view and it got constitutional recognition in Independent India.

  o *Cultural perspectives:* Cultural perspectives of Indian nationalism are based on the belief that India as had a well defined cultural boundaries since millennia. According to this perspective, the people who live south of the Himalaya and north of the ocean in the sub-continent are part of this culture. The writings of Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, etc., provided the intellectual support to this perspective.

  o *Communal interpretations:* During the national freedom movement several leaders emphasized communal identities of people. This emphasis took two extreme forms: Muslim extremism and Hindu extremism. Hindu extremists emphasized the age old presence of Hinduism in India; on the other hand, Muslim extremists sought a separate nationhood on the basis of their religious identity. Encouraged by the colonial power, this 'two nation theory' ultimately resulted in the bitter partition of the country in 1947.

  o *Marxist viewpoint:* Marxism came to India primarily as a consequence of the impact of the Russian Revolution in 1917. Many Indian leaders including Nehru and Bose were deeply influenced by socialism and the impact it had on the lives of people in the Soviet Union. In India, Marxism spread as a political programme rather than as a worldview or intellectual thought. Indian Marxists tried to reconcile nationalism with internationalism. They subscribed to 'proletarian internationalism' but were at the same time great nationalist. On the several occasions Communists succeeded in bringing together and leading the two main historical currents of people's struggles- the struggle against the colonial power and the struggle of the rural masses for freedom from exploitation. Where the Communists brought this anti-

imperialist and anti-landlord movement together and gave leadership to this united struggle, they gained mass support. Tebhaga (Bengal), North Malabar (Kerala), tribal struggle (Tripura) and the Telangana struggle were such instances.

- **Pan-African Movement and Nation-States in Africa:** Africa had been the battleground for colonial powers since centuries. As an outcome of the Berlin conference, in 1884-85, colonial powers divided Africa on a piece of paper to exploit the continent for their own interests. This division was based on the convenience of colonial powers rather than geographical, cultural or socio-economic boundaries. The dissatisfaction towards such artificial division and the aspiration to achieve freedom led to the genesis of a unique kind of movement in the African continent in twentieth century. African leaders urged for a 'Pan-African Unity'. Propelled by the African Diaspora spread all across European and the American continent, this movement portrayed the entire continent as a nation. The movement began with the organization of a 'Pan-African Association' in 1887. Later, the first Pan-African Congress was organized by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1919, and subsequently in 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945. These were intended to address the issues facing Africa due to European colonization. Pan-Africanism was aimed at the economic, intellectual and political cooperation of the African countries. It visualized the financial and economic unification of markets and a new political landscape for the continent. It had support and encouragement of the various leaders of that time including Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, Gamal Nasser, Kwame Nkrumah, etc. Although, this movement could not succeed, the movement paved the way for regional integration. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) formed in 1963, later renamed as the African Union, was based on the footprint of the 'Pan-African Movement'.

5.3.2 Globalization and Nation-States: Theoretical Perspectives

The impact of globalization on nation-states has been a topic of hot discussion among scholars of social sciences. In his profoundly important book, *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies* Kenichi Ohmae (1995) declared that nation states are dinosaurs waiting to die. He argued that not only have nation states lost their ability to control exchange rates and protect their currencies, but they no longer generate real economic activity. As a result, he maintains that they have already forfeited their role as critical participants in the global economy. Ohmae contends that four great forces- capital, corporations, consumers, and communication -have combined to usurp the economic power once held by the nation state. This work has generated great debate in political science and there have been number a number of arguments and counter arguments over the impact that globalization has had on nation-states. These arguments can be best understood by clubbing them in four major theories of political science viz. Realism, Liberalism, Marxism and Constructivism.

Realism: The realist argument on the impact of globalization on nation-states is based on the core belief of realism that nation-states are the dominant actors in the political system. For them, globalization does not alter the most signification feature of world politics, namely the territorial division of the world into nation-states. Although increased interconnectedness between economics and societies makes them more

dependent on one another, it does not alter the nature of the states-system. Here, states retain sovereignty, and globalization does render obsolete the struggle for power between states. Nor does it undermine the importance of the threat of the use of force, or the importance of the balance of power. Globalization, then, may affect our social, economics, and cultural lives, but it does not rise above the political system of states.

Liberalism: Liberal scholars portray a completely different picture than realists. For them, globalization fundamentally undercuts the realist account of political landscape since it shows that states are no longer central actors in a system. Liberals tend to see globalization as the end product of a long-running dominance of states. They are particularly interested in how technology and communication has been revolutionized by globalization. This increased interconnectedness between societies primarily due to economic and technological factors results in a very different pattern of world political relations from what was before.

Marxism: Marxist analysis represents the class-struggle centric approach and considers globalization as a sham. For them, it is nothing particularly new, and is really only the latest stage in the development of international capitalism. Marxist scholars argue that globalization does not mark a qualitative shift in the nature of states, nor does it render all existing theories and concept redundant. Above all, it is a western-led phenomenon which basically simply furthers the development of international capitalism. Rather than uniting the world, it further deepens the existing divide between the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. For instance, David Harvey argues, that globalization is part of the "flexible accumulation" which is a new form of capitalism characterized by post-Fordist production and social relations. According to Harvey, "the state is now in a problematic position whereby it is forced to both regulate the activities of corporate capital in national interest on the one hand, and attract them by creating a "good business climate" on the other. This results in the empowerment of finance capital at the expense of the nation-state and organized labour." Harvey also emphasizes the spatial reorganization of urban settings all over the world in the 1980s by the forces of the advanced capitalism as a primary (material) "condition of post-modernity." Thus globalization is another tool of exploitation invented by powerful nation-states to take advantage of weaker nation-states.

Constructivism: For constructivist theorists, globalization tends to be present as an external force that acts on states, which leaders often argue is a reality that they cannot challenge. This, constructivists argue is a very political act, since it underestimates the ability of leaders to challenge and shape globalization, and instead allows them to duck responsibility by blaming 'the way the world is'. Instead, constructivists think that globalization can be moulded in a variety of ways, notably because it offers very real chances to create cross-national social movements aided by modern technological advancements in the area of information technology and modern means of communication. Thus constructivist theories seem to believe that globalization has a far reaching impact and it offers challenges as well as opportunities for nation-states.

5.3.3 Globalization: A Challenge to Nation-States

The 21st century has been witnessing phenomenal changes in nation-states. With increasing linkages through modern means of transportation and communication,

barriers among nations are shrinking and the world is truly becoming a 'global village'. As you have studied, international migration has increased many folds in the last few decades and the United Nations estimates that presently about 3 per cent of the world's population are from migrant communities. Regional economic integration is another important phenomenon of our time. As you know, the European Union (EU) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are the two most successful examples of regional economic integration. Inspired by the success of these organizations, every region of the world has come up with some kind of regional agreement. Moreover, the appearance and growth of certain worldwide common concerns such as environmental problems, global terrorism and so on also pose a challenge to nations-states.

Today, world politics has become less state centric because of these challenges. States are losing their autonomy to decide on many matters within their own territory. The emergence of supranational actors and international non-governmental organization have 'eroded' the sovereignty of nation states. The newly emerging international regimes and supranational institutions are making rules and regulations which bind nation states. There is an added problem that relates to democracy and accountability since these international regimes and institutions dictate terms to governments within the territory of the nation state. Democracy essentially means that people themselves directly or indirectly decide about their governance matters. However, today many matters are decided by international institutions, which are not directly accountable to people. This eventually leads to a larger threat to democratic values and processes. Thus, many have argued that the ideology of neo-liberalism, which many of these international institutions adhere to, has the tendency to ensnare democracy. Moreover, critics also argue that globalization leads to the erosion of national identity. 'Two ways in which globalization is claimed to generate pressures on national identity are the increased mobility of populations across the world and advances in global communication networks'. Thus, some scholars believe that nation-states are ceding ground very quickly. David Beetham, for instance, argues that the very forces that strengthened nationalism in the previous era will cause its eventual downfall in the coming one.

Most scholars of globalization agree that the process tends to undermine the core elements of nation-states in various ways such as sovereignty and autonomy. Sovereignty has been considered an essential part of nation-state since the evolution of modern nation-states itself. The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 established that states should be sovereign over a given territory clearly marked by borders. Among many other things, sovereignty involves four characteristics. Sovereignty is:

- *Supreme* in the sense that the state does not answer to any higher authority
- *Comprehensive* in the sense that the state exercises power over every aspect of life without exception
- *Unqualified* in the sense that one state cannot interfere with the affairs of other states
- *Exclusive* in the sense that the state does not share its authority with any other party

In other words, sovereignty empowers states to manage domestic affairs without the involvement of any external power and also to play a role in international affairs

according to its own wisdom. Over the years, the power of the state has expanded in many different domains of life. However, in the age of globalization, this exclusive domain of the state has been challenged by variety of factors. Let us discuss some important features of globalization that limits the power of nation-states to act according to their own wish and thus signals the end of sovereignty:

- **Global politics:** As globalization has intensified over the last three decades; it has become increasingly difficult to continue the popular fiction of the 'great divide' of treating political life as having two separate spheres of action—the domestic and the international—both of which operate according to a different logic with different rules, actors, and agendas. This concept can be understood with the help of an example- The policies of the WTO and IMF should be a part of international relations without much involvement of domestic actors, but we often see the involvement of civil society organizations raising voices against policies of these organizations at the domestic front. Thus, the division of domestic and international politics is disappearing.

- **Global commons:** Daniel Bell in his book '*The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*' (1973) observed that the 'nation-state' was both too big to handle regional problems and too small to adequately deal with the truly global conundrums of the latter half of the twentieth century. This idea has found extensive acceptance in the decades since, particularly with the emergence of global problems. There can be no doubt that no single state can protect its citizens from global warming or the depletion of the ozone layer or any other environmental danger. It can only be solved through cooperation at the global level.

- **Global governance:** The phenomenon of global governance is used to describe a complex web of states, international institutions, transnational networks and agencies (both public and private) that function, with variable effect, to promote, regulate, or intervene in the common affairs of humanity. This evolving global governance complex comprises the multitude of formal and informal structures of political coordination among governments, intergovernmental and transnational agencies to realize common purposes or collectively agreed goals through the making or implementing of global or transnational rules, and the regulation of trans-border problems. The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the growth in international arrangements occupying almost every aspect of human life- human rights, sanitation, drug control, the use of intellectual property rights, etc. Today, nation-states need to abide by the rules and regulations formulated by international and regional organizations, which has become a major determinant of erosion of their sovereignty.

- **Global economy and trade:** As a result of globalization, the emerging economic order is truly global because it is non-territorial. As a result of the de-regularization of the economies of various nations, investors can choose where and when to invest or withdraw capital from any part of the world. In terms of financial investment and trade, the world is now a single place. This is the case because states agreed to take apart their economic regulations (such as tariffs or investment limits) and regional blocs like EU, NAFTA and ASEAN have practically eliminated their borders when it comes to trade. This deregulation

of the trade and financial transactions further undermines the sovereignty of states who can no longer control flows of goods or finances and give more power to new forms of economic organizations like transnational corporations and banks. In addition, institutions like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization have also been pushing economic reforms in countries in the direction of greater deregulation. As a consequence, there is now a growing influence of Trans National Corporations (TNCs) and Trans National Banks (TNBs) in the policy formulation processes of nation-states. For example, the great scholar of political economy, Susan Strange, believed that globalization was predominantly an economic transformation where 'the impersonal forces of world markets,' i.e., technology, finance capital and transnational actors, were responsible for 'the declining authority of states' since the end of II World War.

- **Global culture:** Globalization has also brought in a global culture that severely affects the sovereignty of nation-states. Scholars have explained this phenomenon in a number of ways. We can categorize them according to the homogeneity and 'heterogeneity' arguments. The homogeneity argument holds that the world is sharing a more or less singular global culture. This is reflected in George Ritzer's famous argument for the 'McDonaldization of society,' and is understood as the expansion of predominantly American values across the globe. On the other hand, the heterogeneity argument involves the idea that the 'global culture' involves an increasing ethnic and cultural plurality and that the diversity of modern societies undermines the power of the nation-state from within, weakening its integrative functions and leading to a crisis of legitimacy. This new trend towards diversity is also related to the notion of multicultural citizenship, which leads states to lose their monopoly over the idea of nation. Thus, the expansion of a global culture undermines the state's ability to protect its 'national' culture, which is further weakened by the arrival of the consumer culture.

- **Global Civil Society:** The 'Global civil society' refers to the vast collection of groups operating across borders and beyond the reach of governments. In recent decades, a plethora of NGOs, transnational organizations, advocacy networks and citizens' groups have come together to play a significant role in mobilizing, organizing, and exercising political power across national boundaries. This has been facilitated by the speed and ease of modern global communications and a growing awareness of common interests between groups in different countries and regions of the world. Recently, civil society has been playing a prominent role in policy formulations of the governments of different parts of the world. For example, the campaigns of different civil society groups in India have pressurized the state to bring in the Right to Information Act, Right to Education Act, and National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. Thus, civil society also curtails the sovereignty of a nation-state.

5.3.4 Globalization and Nation-States: A Critical Assessment

While there can be no denying the existence of globalization or its impact on the nation-state in contemporary society; its degree is a matter of debate. The process of

globalization is not only multi-dimensional, but also multi-directional, involving different facets that are often in conflict with each other. This multi-directionality holds true in terms of globalization's effect on the autonomy and sovereignty of nation-state as well: while some aspects of the nation-state have been weakened, others have not.

Let us discuss some aspects that prove the continued dominance of nation-states:

- Nation-states are still considered the only unit for any kind of multilateral arrangement. Nation-states enter into any international agreement by their own choice and technically have the right to withdraw from them
- Various global threats that have been put forward as an indication of globalization are actually created, and are expected to be solved, by nation-states and other modern institutions
- Social movements which are seen as an element of contemporary globalization actually consists of a mixture of local transnational movements and NGOs, and attempt to affect inter-governmental agencies based on national and international networks. Moreover, those social movements which are centered on the politics of identity usually operate within national politics and act upon governments, thereby strengthening the nation-state system.
- The mixing of values, ideas and images is usually perceived as a threat to national cultures with its transformative effects on, among other things, political culture. However, at the same time, this hybridization of cultural elements often sets off a desire for the renewal and consolidation of national cultures, a defense often undertaken by state institutions.

Thus, one cannot assume that the phenomenon of globalization will result in the death of nation states. One tends to agree with the four conclusions drawn by the sociologist Michael Mann in relation to the impact of globalization on the nation-states. According to Michael Mann,

- Globalization has differential impacts on different states in different regions
- Some global trends weaken, others strengthen nation-states
- Some national regulations alter international and transnational regulations
- Some trends concurrently strengthen both the nation-state and trans-nationalism

5.4 GLOBALIZATION AND WTO

Globalization has increased the need for closer cooperation among the multilateral institutions which have key roles in the formulation and implementation of different elements of the framework for global economic policy, in particular the International

Check Your Progress

16. For Marxists, globalization is nothing particularly new, and is really only the latest stage in the development of _____.

17. Most scholars of globalization agree that the process tends to undermine the core elements of nation-states in various ways such as _____ and _____.

18. The _____ in 1648 established that states should be sovereign over a given territory clearly marked by borders.

19. What is Susan Strange's theory of globalization?

20. What do you understand by the phenomenon of global governance?

21. Global culture is a product of _____.

22. According to Michael Mann, globalization has differential impacts on different states in different regions. (True/False)

Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Each of these organizations has a mandate for such cooperation in the agreements under which they have been established. They have also signed agreements among themselves for mutual cooperation and regular consultation, which identify mechanisms designed to foster greater coherence in global economic policy-making.

WTO in the general parlance, functions in a conducive environment. There is a scope for collective decisions and responsibility. In economic and trade terms, WTO is the sole international organization that deals with the rules of trade in the member countries of the world. Amidst all these, are international agreements, negotiated and signed by the 148-member nations and ratified in their respective Parliaments.

Nations continue to be accepted as they evolve. The motto of the WTO is to assist producers of goods and services in imports and exports. The WTO is the third economic pillar of worldwide dimensions, along with the World Bank and the IMF. The new trade body—WTO—with powers to settle trade disputes between nations and to widen the principle of free trade to sectors such as services and agriculture, covers more areas than GATT, whose rules had been in operation for 50 years. The WTO envisages the reduction of tariffs by more than one-third and is concerned with further opening of markets. It is expected that the world trade would be stimulated strongly in the long run as a result of the coming into being of this new trade body.

Like the GATT, the WTO agreement regulates the commodities trade, but in addition it also deals with services across borders like insurance and tourism. The WTO conditions also protect intellectual property like patents, copyrights and brands. Agriculture and textiles are completely covered by the WTO agreements. The highest WTO body is a ministerial conference which meets at least once in two years.

The WTO has been entrusted with the following functions:

- Facilitating proper implementation of multinational trade agreements.
- Reviewing trade policies undertaken by the member countries.
- Acting as a forum for the negotiation of disputes among the member countries over trade-related problems.
- Working in cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank. The benefits of being associated with WTO for a developing nation like India are as follows:
- WTO helps in promotion of peace among its member nations; by helping trade flow smoothly and providing a constructive and fair outlet for dealing with disputes over trade issues.
- WTO reduces some inequalities giving smaller countries more voice, and at the same time freeing the major powers from the complexity of having to negotiate trade agreements with each of the member states.
- WTO lowers trade barriers through negotiation and applies the principle of non-discrimination. The result is reduced costs of production (as imports utilized in production are cheaper), and reduced prices of finished goods and services, and ultimately to a lower cost of living.
- WTO consumer more choice and a broader range of qualities to choose from.
- Through WTO, trade barriers are lowered. This in turn increases imports and exports earning foreign exchange for the member state.

- Many benefits of the trading system are as a result of essential principle at the heart of the WTO system, and they make life simpler for the enterprises directly involved in international trade and for the producers of goods/services. Such principles include; non-discrimination, transparency, increased certainty about trading conditions, and so on. All this simplifies the trade practices, cuts company costs and generates better growth prospects in future endeavours.
- WTO system encourages good government and its rules reduce opportunities for corruption.

Smaller member nations (developing nations like India) in the WTO wield little influence on its policies and working. Despite the WTO objective of aiding the developing member state, the most influential nations in the WTO (like the US and European Union) focus on the commercial interests of their profit-making enterprises only. Many observers are of the view that the WTO does not manage the global economy fairly. Rather, WTO's operation is systematically influenced by the rich member nations and MNCs (multinational corporations). This in all spheres turns out to be harmful for poor (smaller) member nations, who in turn have less negotiating power.

We can cite current examples of such prejudice:

- Rich member states are able to maintain high import duties and quotas in certain products, blocking imports from developing nations like India (for example, in clothing and merchandise).
- The increase in non-tariff barriers (such as anti-dumping measures) is allowed in case of rich nations against developing nations.
- The maintenance of high protection of agriculture in developed member states, while developing member states are pushed to open their markets.
- Many developing member states do not have the capacity to follow the WTO negotiations or participate actively in the trade rounds like Uruguay Round or Doha Development Round.
- The TRIPs agreement limits developing countries from utilizing some technology that originates from abroad in their local systems (including medicines and agricultural products).

In the present global discourse, the significance of the WTO cannot be brushed aside. With the hard and long process, this global forum came into existence. The objective right from the beginning has been the negotiated settlements of all kinds of disputes of all the member countries related to the trade and the business in the shorter and longer perspective. Though there have been allegations and counter allegations over the imposed forum from the developed countries on the developing ones. However, as a whole, it has turned out to be the global forum for all the nations to solve the disputes and allow free trade for the growth and prosperity for both North–South and South–North.

ACTIVITY

Read about the campaign of various civil society groups in India to bring in the RTI and NREGA Act. Try to fix a meeting with a member of any civil society group and find out what other campaigns are underway to bring in other legislations.

5.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Globalization is referred to as integration of regional, national and international economy through foreign direct investment, migration, spread of technology and capital flows.
- The process of globalization has been propelled by the fast advancements in the information, communication and transportation technology.
- Defining globalization remains one of the most challenging tasks for a modern scholar. The challenge primarily arises due to the widest spectrum of disciplines and discourses that the phenomenon of globalization tends to cover.
- According to Noam Chomsky, what is called globalization is a specific form of international integration, designed and instituted for particular purposes. There are many possible alternatives (for international integration). This particular form happens to be geared to the interests of private power, manufacturing corporations and financial institutions, closely linked to powerful states.
- The major components of globalization are social, cultural and economic.
- The term 'nation-states' is derived from two distinguish but interrelated terms. 'Nation' refers to a sense of common identity among people resulting from a variety of factors such as common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, religion, etc. On the other hand, 'state' is a political unit having four essential components- population, territory, government and sovereignty.
- Nations are as old as human civilization. Throughout history, people have been attached to their native soil, to the traditions of their parents, and to established territorial authorities. However, the evolution of modern nation-states is linked with the Renaissance in Europe. The Treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648, paved the way for the modern state system.
- The impact of globalization on nation-states has been a topic of hot discussion among scholars of social sciences. In his profoundly important book, *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies* Kenichi Ohmae (1995) declared that nation states are dinosaurs waiting to die. He argued that not only have nation states lost their ability to control exchange rates and protect their currencies, but they no longer generate real economic activity. He contends that the four great forces — capital, corporations, consumers, and

communication—have combined to usurp the economic power once held by the nation state.

- It has been argued that the on-going process of globalization tends to undermine the core elements of nation-states like sovereignty and autonomy. The emergence of global politics, global commons, global governance, global economy and trade, global culture and global civil society are considered as limiting the sovereignty of nation-states.

- While there can be no denying the existence of globalization or its impact on the nation-state in contemporary society; its degree is a matter of debate. The process of globalization is not only multi-dimensional, but also multi-directional, involving different facets that are often in conflict with each other. This multi-directionality holds true in terms of globalization's effect on the autonomy and sovereignty of nation-state as well: while some aspects of the nation-state have been weakened, others have not.

- Globalization has increased the need for closer cooperation among the multilateral institutions which have key roles in the formulation and implementation of different elements of the framework for global economic policy, in particular the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

- WTO in the general parlance, functions in a conducive environment. There is a scope for collective decisions and responsibility.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **American Revolution:** The American Revolution was a political upheaval during the latter half of the 18th century in which thirteen colonies in North America joined together to break free from the British Empire, combining to become the United States of America

- **Civil Society:** The aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that represent the interests and will of citizens can be termed as the 'civil society' of a country

- **French Revolution:** The French Revolution is a period in French history that usually describes the years from 1789-1799, in which the monarchy of France was overthrown and radical restructuring was forced upon the Roman Catholic Church

- **Global village:** A phrase formulated by Marshall McLuhan describing the world which has been 'shrunk' by modern advances in communications. McLuhan likened the immense network of communications systems to one extended central nervous system, ultimately linking everyone in the world

- **Cyberspace:** The electronic medium of computer networks, in which online communication takes place

- **FDI:** Foreign direct investment is a direct investment into production or business in a country by a company in another country, either by buying a company in the target country or by expanding operations of an existing business in that country.

- **Renaissance:** Renaissance is the period of European history marking the waning of the Middle Ages and the rise of the modern world. The beginning of the Renaissance is usually thought to coincide with the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the fleeing of Greek and non-Greek intellectuals from the city of Constantinople to Italy. The characteristics of the Renaissance are usually considered to include intensified classical scholarship, scientific and geographical discovery, a sense of individual human potentialities, and the assertion of the active and secular over the religious and contemplative life

- **Sovereignty:** The supreme, absolute, and uncontrollable power by which an independent state is governed and from which all specific political powers are derived. The sovereignty of a state is one of the fundamental principles of International Law

- **WTO:** The World Trade Organization is an organization that intends to supervise and liberalize international trade.

5.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. False
2. Private power, manufacturing corporations, financial institutions
3. Process
4. True
5. 1870 to 1914
6. False
7. Neo-liberal principles
8. Free market
9. Hans Kohn in his work *The Idea of Nationalism* argued that the concept of nationalism was a recent phenomenon, dating back no further than the mid-eighteenth century. For him, nationalism was first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness, which since the French Revolution had become more and more common to mankind.
10. Unification of Italy
11. True
12. Economic activity
13. The realist argument on the impact of globalization on nation-states is based on the core belief of realism that nation-states are the dominant actors in the political system. For them, globalization does not alter the most signification feature of world politics, namely the territorial division of the world into nation-states.
14. For liberal thinkers, globalization fundamentally undercuts the realist account of political landscape since it shows that states are no longer central actors in a system. They tend to see globalization as the end product of a long-running dominance of states.
15. External force

16. International capitalism

17. Sovereignty, autonomy

18. Treaty of Westphalia

19. Susan Strange believed that globalization was predominantly an economic transformation where 'the impersonal forces of world markets,' i.e., technology, finance capital and transnational actors, were responsible for 'the declining authority of states' since the end of the Second World War.

20. The phenomenon of global governance is used to describe a complex web of states, international institutions, transnational networks and agencies (both public and private) that function, with variable effect, to promote, regulate, or intervene in the common affairs of humanity. This evolving global governance complex comprises the multitude of formal and informal structures of political coordination among governments, intergovernmental and transnational agencies to realize common purposes or collectively agreed goals through the making or implementing of global or transnational rules, and the regulation of trans-border problems.

21. Globalization

22. True

23. WTO

24. False

25. True

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define economic globalization.

2. How has Noam Chomsky defined globalization?

3. What are the phases of globalization identified by Daniel A. Strasser?

4. What are the functions of the WTO?

5. Write a note on the creation of Italy.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by globalization? Discuss the various components of globalization.

2. Discuss the criticisms labelled against globalization.

3. What is a nation state? Discuss the evolution of nation-states, especially, in regards to India's freedom struggle.

4. 'Nations are as old as human civilization but idea of nation-states are merely few centuries old.' Do you support this statement? Illustrate your argument with suitable examples.

5. 'Globalization is a multi-dimensional and multi-directional process, involving different trends that are often in conflict with each other.' Elaborate on this statement in the light of impact of globalization on the autonomy and sovereignty of the nation-state.

6. The phenomenon of globalization poses a challenge to democracy. Do you agree? Give reasons to support your answer.

5.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6   EMERGENCE OF NEW WORLD
ORDER: MAJOR DEBATES

Structure

6.0   Introduction
6.1   Unit Objectives
6.2   Clash of Civilizations
6.3   Unipolar and Multipolar World System
6.4   Nuclear Disarmament—CTBT
6.5   Summary
6.6   Key Terms
6.7   Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8   Questions and Exercises
6.9   Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the concept of globalization in relation to the
state, and the role of WTO in this globalized world.

World politics is entering a new phase, and intellectuals have not hesitated to
proliferate visions of what it will be, the end of history, the return of traditional rivalries
between nation states, and the decline of the nation state from the conflicting pulls of
tribalism and globalism, among others. Each of these visions catches aspects of the
emerging reality.

Yet they all miss a crucial, indeed a central, aspect of what global politics is
likely to be in the coming years. It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of
conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or economic.

The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict
will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs,
but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of
different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The
fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

In this unit, you will be a part of the debate surrounding the emergence of the new
world order.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

*   Interpret the debate on clash of civilizations
*   Analyse unipolar and multipolar world system
*   Discuss nuclear disarmament

6.2 CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

The dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) in December 1991 saw the United States of America standing as the reigning super power. This period also witnessed political scientists and thinkers proposing and rewriting theories on world power. In 1993, Samuel P. Huntington proposed that the future fault line will centre on culture and religion. His theory of the clash of civilizations in the post-Cold War era predicts alignments and wars among various civilizations — Western, Islamic, Chinese, Japanese, Orthodox/Russian, Hindu, African, and Latin.

It was Bernard Lewis who first used the term clash of civilization. In his article in the September 1990, Lewis had forecast war would break out among major civilization in 2020. His theory states that American troops would have left South Korea, which would lead to reunification of Korean and lessen the presence for US troops in Japan. Also, Taiwan and mainland China will reach an accommodation in which Taiwan continues to have most of its de facto independence but explicitly acknowledges Beijing's suzerainty, and with China's sponsorship be admitted to the United Nations on the model of Ukraine and Belorussia in 1946. He further predicted the oil issue in the South China Sea will lead to an attack on Vietnam by the Chinese troops, wherein the latter would avenge its humiliation in 1979. The US will also get involved in the war due to its economic interest in the oil fields, helped by Japan. In response, China will launch a military strike against the American task force. Negotiations for a ceasefire, led by the UN and Japan, would fail, resulting in Japanese neutrality and the latter denying the US to use its land as bases for the war. Despite the quarantine, the US uses the Japanese territory and is inflicted with serious damages to its naval facilities in east Asia. China continues the war from the mainland as well as Taiwan and occupies a major portion of Vietnam, including Hanoi.

To this theory, Huntington's hypothesis claimed the US will avoid escalating the war due to domestic pressure wherein the public would view it as American hegemony in Southeast Asia or control of the South China Sea. While China would be engaged in war, India would attack Pakistan, which would be joined by Iran on Pakistan's side. China's initial success will stimulate major anti-Western movements in Muslim societies, and pro-Western regimes in Arab nations and the Muslim youth bulge (males between the age group of 16 and 30) would oust Turkey. The anti-Westernism surge, prompted by the US' weakness will lead to a massive Arab attack on Israel, which the much-reduced US Sixth Fleet will be unable to stop.

China's military success will prompt Japan to change its stand from being neutral to pro-China and occupy American bases on its territory. Hence, the US will be forced to evacuate and declare a blockade on Japan. This in turn will lead to sporadic naval wars between the US and Japan. At the start of the conflict, China will offer a mutual security pact to Russia (vaguely reminiscent of the Hitler-Stalin pact), which the latter would reject. Fearing dominance of East Asia by China, Russia would take an anti-China stand and reinforce its troops in Siberia. This would lead to revolts by the Chinese settlers there, resulting in China occupying Vladivostok city, the Amur River valley, and other important regions of eastern Siberia. As the war between China and Russia spread to central Siberia, uprisings broke out in Mongolia, which China had earlier placed under a 'protectorate'.

Huntington's hypothetical hostilities, thus, far have been limited to east Asia and the Indian subcontinent. To expand Huntington's theory of hostility in a wider

global context, we should look at his hypothesis that further states that China and Iran would, through a secret mission, deploy intermediate-range nuclear-capable missiles in Bosnia and Algeria to intimidate US' European allies from joining it.

This would have the opposite effect because before NATO can mobilize Serbia, which seeks to reclaim its historic role as the defender of Christianity against the Turks, would invade Bosnia. Croatia too would join her, and the two countries partition Bosnia, take control of the missiles and carry on with their 'task' of ethnic cleansing, which they were forced to stop in the 1990s. While Albania and Turkey try to rescue the Bosnians, Greece and Bulgaria invade Turkey. Meanwhile, a missile with a nuclear warhead, launched from Algeria, explodes outside Marseilles, and NATO retaliates with devastating air attacks on North African targets.

Huntington's hypothesis divides the global powers between two groups — the US, Europe, Russia, and India on one side, and China, Japan, and most of Islamic countries on the other. In case of another world war, the destruction would be substantial since both sides have nuclear capabilities. But if mutual deterrence is effective, mutual exhaustion might lead to a negotiated armistice. The West can defeat China by diverting its attention and supporting insurrections in Tibet, Mongolia, and by the Uighurs. Simultaneously, the Western forces along with Russia can move eastward into Siberia for a final assault on Beijing, Manchuria, and the Han heartland.

Huntington further postulates that the warring nations would eventually become economically, militarily and demographically weak due and the center of world politics would move southward to countries, such as, Latin American nations, New Zealand, Mynamar, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Indonesia, and also India in case it survives major destructions despite its role in the war.

Some political thinkers agree to Huntington's war theory following the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center in the US and subsequent American military action on Afghanistan and Iraq. But as we know, it was to protect its oil fields in Iraq and the interest of the Israel lobby that the US attacked Iraq in 2003, and not because of civilizational fault lines. In fact, there has not been any conflict on the lines of civilizational fault lines for the last century. It is economic greed more than any other factors that creates and maintains fault lines among nations and peoples and that drive wars.

It is to be noticed, there is no unifying cord among civilizations apart from Islam. In Islam, too, there is a great divide between the Shias and the Sunnis. Saudi Arabia, which is ruled by the Sunnis, has collaborated with its bitter enemy Israel to fight Iran, a Shia-dominated country. Although Muslims in Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, North Africa, and the rest of the Arab world are Sunnis, they have diverse viewpoints, and many are fighting internal conflicts and secessionists within their country; for example, the Kurds in Turkey, the Baluchs and Pashtuns in Pakistan, and the Aceh in Indonesia. These factors are unlikely to unify the Islamic countries.

Huntington's hypothesis of a bloody, cataclysmic clash between the Sinic and Western civilizations is, in fact, quite improbable. The Cold War and in particular the Nixon government's theory of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) vis-à-vis the Soviet Union are testimony that countries with nuclear power would not indulge in war leading to mass destruction. In the post-Cold War world, flags as well as other symbols of cultural identity, including crosses, crescents, and head gears reflect cultural acquaintance, which is of great importance to people. People discovered new but often old identities and marched under new but often old flags which lead to wars with new but often old enemies.

Religion as the sole cause of the conflicts

While Huntington's theory of clash of civilizations gives a compelling argument for the events that took place in the former Yugoslavia, the main argument that was set forth by him using religion as the sole cause of the conflicts in the region–in what he regards as 'fault line' wars–is erroneous. He did not regard nationalism as a legitimate cause. But the fact is, nationalism was one of the most important causes of the unrest in Yugoslavia, which finally led to its disintegration. The mechanisms of nationalism enabled political elites to mobilize ideology for conflict (Bieber, 1999).

For Huntington, a civilization is the foremost cultural grouping of people and the level in which people relate themselves with (Huntington, 1993). Religion is the dominant factor bonding groups in a civilization. But to understand his argument of civilization clash, one cannot do a generalization of people and nations. That is because in his groupings of civilizations, no civilization is entirely and exclusively homogeneous. No civilization is monolithic and he has failed to recognize this; nation-states in civilizations may have similar cultures and customs but they might have different political ideologies and governmental structures as well as different social structures.

In the former Yugoslavia, Huntington concluded, a cultural fault line existed within the republic, which separated the Christian Croats and Slovenes (Huntington, 1993) from the rest of Yugoslavia, which were Orthodox Christians, and Muslims.

He goes on to say that religious fundamentalism has more sway over ideology and fault line wars, which are based on religion, has been the most extended and violent ones. However, religion did have, in part, a role in the rise of nationalism.

Hence, classifying wars on the basis of 'fault line' is fallible. Numerous conflicts occur between states, but the most influencing instrument is usually ethnic nationalism. Similarly, religion cannot be regarded as the sole basis of civilizations in the Yugoslav conflict. Although Huntington grouped civilizations by religion, the cultural characteristics the people of Yugoslavia shared did not figure in his theory. Religion, however, divided the region into separate entities, which led to differences in language, territory and the questioning of ancestry (Bieber, 1999), but that was not the main cause. Political elites used factors, such as, ethnicity and religion to mobilize nationalist ideas.

Huntington thesis was that 'civilization consciousness' would amplify cultural differences and that is one of the causes of fault line wars. Unrestricted movement of people (along with capital) allows economic and political unity which in turn prevents wars. In the case of Yugoslavia, religion was the dividing factor as the people shared a common historical past, language and customs. Intermarriage was prevalent, the rate was, especially high in Bosnia. Also, people were referred to as Yugoslav.

Huntington defined a civilization as a group of people having 'common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people' (Huntington, 1993). Hence, his emphasis on the role of religion in establishing civilizations cannot be held accurate. The Yugoslavian example highlights that awareness of differences does not necessarily lead to conflict. Their fight was to assert political and economic independence in Europe, and create a South Slavic state. The Yugoslav idea of a united state did not mature due to rise of nationalism, which was rooted in ethnicity, and not because of 'cultural fault lines' as stated by Huntington.

The ruling class put in use a combination of factors, such as, ethnicity, religion and nationalism in the form of ethnic nationalism to mould local sentiments in their fight. The frequent changes in border, territory and governance in former Yugoslavia created a cloudy political atmosphere that was key for the nationalist agenda to spread. This was one of the reason, in the period leading up to the dissolution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia did not wish for Yugoslavia to break up. Serbia wanted all Serbs to unit in a single state. This idea gave birth to a new type of conflict between the Bosnian Muslims and the Bosnian Serbs; the latter controlling about half of the territory in Bosnia (Republika Srpska). Moreover, civil nationalism could not grow since the Yugoslav model subverted political unity in states as it grew weak. This led to the rise of ethnic nationalism as propagated by the leaders of individual states.

Huntington's theory of fault line wars escalating into major world wars is based on, what he calls, the 'kin-country syndrome'. According to this, a country in war with a different civilization, will gather support from within its own civilization. (Huntington, 1993). However, kin rallying did not happen in the former Yugoslavia during the 1992 Bosnian war, and there was no clear defined support for Kosovo when it seceded in 2008.

Most Albanian Kosovars are Muslim, yet not all countries in Huntington's Islamic civilization support Kosovo's independence. States support causes which are favourable to the nation, such as national interest, and, hence, kin support in a political atmosphere is not a natural move.

Taking the Bosnian case as an example, Huntington says the Islamic civilization is inherently faulty and can break into conflicts at the slightest touch. This is so due to a lack of any centralized authority. He, however, does not explain the role of America and NATO is bringing the war to an end.

Huntington's theory, seemingly, could be applied to the events and the eventual incidents that would happen to the Yugoslav state, but his classifications, criteria and reasoning in attempting to answer and predict future wars is simply too broad to be applied to Yugoslavia. Also, such rigid classification on the basis of civilizations cannot exist, especially, in a situation where free movement of people and capital is taking place.

In spite of all the arguments against Huntington's thesis above, he does have legitimate points throughout his thesis. While most of his ideas, on the surface, could be applied to the events and the eventual incidents that would happen to the Yugoslav state, his classifications, criteria and reasoning in attempting to answer and predict future wars is simply too broad to be applied to Yugoslavia. Again, such rigid civilizations simply cannot exist in Huntington's terms especially when the movement of people and capital started to pick up.

His assessment of Yugoslavia as the point in Europe where the cultural fault lines between three civilizations — Western, Slavic Orthodox and Islam — passes through and will create conflict is justifiable to an extent. But he has not factored in a crucial aspect — nationalism — as one of the reasons of the numerous conflicts in the region and accused Islam of being prone to conflicts and destabilizing. In this case, because of numerous fallacies in Huntington's clash of civilizations when examined in depth, it cannot be used to explain the events that happened in Yugoslavia.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the main theme of Huntington's theory?
2. China's initial successes against the US will stimulate major anti-Western movements in Muslim societies, Huntington's theory says. (True/False)
3. Huntington's hypothetical hostilities thus far have been limited to East Asia and the _____ _____.
4. Religion plays the most important part in bonding a group together in a civilization. (True/False)
5. Huntington believes that _____ consciousness will amplify differences between cultures and this is one of the reasons as to why fault line wars happen.

6.3 UNIPOLAR AND MULTIPOLAR WORLD SYSTEM

For about four decades since the end of World War II, the world was bi-polar—divided between the control and influence of the USA and the USSR. Collapse of the USSR saw the USA emerge as the only superpower. The question then emerged, will the world go back to the days of multi-polarity?

A unipolar world is a situation where a single country acts unilaterally with little or no assistance from other countries and manoeuvres international issues; other states or even a combination of states lack the power to prevent it from doing so. A multipolar world, on the other hand is one where alliances are formed among states to tackle international issues. A powerful coalition can resist as well as override stances taken by smaller groups or states.

A 'uni-multipolar world', is one in which resolution of important international issues call for action by a single superpower in coalition with other major state powers. However, the superpower holds the right to veto decision and actions taken by the remaining coalition partners.

The uni-multipolar world we have today has four principal levels. At the top is the US dominating the global powers economically, militarily, diplomatically, technologically and culturally. The next level comprises major regional powers whose extent of dominance is not as wide as the US. These countries have varied degree of dominance in different spheres; for example, the German-French condominium in Europe, India in South Asia, and Brazil in Latin America. The following level consist of regional powers who are less powerful and often compete with the major regional powers, such as Britain in relation to the German-French combination, Pakistan in relation to India, and Argentina in relation to Brazil. At the bottom exists the remaining countries, some of whom might have some regional importance but cannot be brought along in the existing power structure.

A key thread to this system is the relationship between the top level of the power structure and the next level, i.e, the superpower and the major regional powers. There is a constant conflict between the two as the superpower would prefer to have a unipolar world order, which is resisted by the major regional powers and the latter would like to believe that global politics was moving towards a multipolar world system. A uni-multipolar world, however, would find stability only if these conflicting pulls can be balanced. However, that may not be possible in the long term because increasingly it is evident that a unipolar world is not favoured by states in general and global politics is evolving towards a multipolar system.

A multipolar, multicivilizational world

A multipolar, multicivilizational world came into existence only after the Cold War period. Prior to this, contacts between civilizations were intermittent or nonexistent. In the modern era, beginning from AD 1500, global politics assumed two dimensions. For more than four hundred years, the nation states of Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Germany, the United States, and others constituted a multipolar international system within Western civilization where they competed, traded and fought wars with each other. At the same time, Western nations also expanded, conquered, colonized, or decisively influenced every other civilization.

During the Cold War, international politics was bipolar and countries were divided into three sections. There were two power camps divided on the lines of ideologies. The group led by the US, comprising the wealthy nations in a democratic social set up, was engaged in political, economic and military competition with a group of somewhat poorer communist societies associated with and led by the Soviet Union. The real conflict between these two groups took place in the 'Third World' countries, which were the resource points of the former. These 'Third World countries were usually poor, lacked political stability, attained independence recently, and claimed to be nonaligned.

The collapse of the USSR, brought to an end the political order of the Cold War era. In the new atmosphere people looked for cultural identity. People started defining themselves through their religion, language history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations. Politics became instrumental not only in advancing people's interests but also in defining their identity.

Interestingly, nation states retain the position as the principal actors in global affairs. They are driven not only by the desire of gaining power and wealth, but also cultural preferences, commonalities, and differences. Today, international politics witnesses the play of seven to eight major civilizations, mostly from the non-Western societies. The East Asian societies, for example, are developing their economic wealth and creating the basis for enhanced military power and political influence. In the process of asserting their cultural values, these societies tend to overthrow the Western influence.

The 'international system of the twenty-first century,' Henry Kissinger noted, '... will contain at least six major powers—the United States, Europe, China, Japan, Russia, and probably India—as well as a multiplicity of medium-sized and smaller countries.' Six of these major powers belong to five very different civilizations. Also, there are important Islamic states whose strategic locations, populations, and oil resources make them important players in world affairs. In this new world order, local politics deals with ethnicity while global politics is the politics of civilizations. Hence, we can say the clash of the superpowers is replaced by clash of civilizations. The conflicts between the social classes, rich and poor and other economically defined groups is a story of the past; now people will fight for their cultural identity. Within civilizations, there would be more tribal wars and ethnic conflicts. States would wage wars against each other as would groups from different civilizations. There is potential threat of escalation of the civilization wars as groups would rally according to the 'kin-country syndrome'.

The clashes in Somalia among clans do not possess any threat of expansion. Similarly, clash of tribes in Rwanda will have limited consequences, till Uganda, Zaire, and Burundi but not beyond that. However, the clashes of civilizations in Bosnia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, or Kashmir would have greater impact. In the Yugoslav conflicts, Russia gave diplomatic support to the Serbs, and Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran, and Libya provided funds and arms to the Bosnians, not on ideological ground or economic interests, but due to cultural kinship.

'Cultural conflicts,' Vaclav Havel has observed, 'are increasing and are more dangerous today than at any time in history.' Agreeing to that, Jacques Delors says, 'Future conflicts will be sparked by cultural factors rather than economics or ideology.' And the most dangerous cultural conflicts are those along the fault lines between civilizations.

What we have seen is that post-Cold War, culture has been a divisive as well as a unifying force. Despite ideological differences, people united on cultural ground, as did the two Germanys. Societies united by ideology or historical circumstance but divided by civilization either come apart, as did the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Bosnia, or are subjected to intense strain, as is the case with Ukraine, Nigeria, Sudan, India, Sri Lanka, and many others. Cooperation among countries sharing a common culture is both economical and political. International organizations based on states with cultural commonality, such as the European Union, have witnessed greater success rates than those that attempt to transcend cultures. If the Iron Curtain was the central dividing line in Europe for forty-five years, today, the line has shifted towards the east. It is now the line separating the peoples of Western Christianity on the one hand, from Muslim and Orthodox peoples on the other.

Civilizations differ on philosophical assumptions, underlying values, social relations, customs, and overall outlooks on life. And the revival of religion throughout much of the world is reinforcing these cultural differences. Culture had and has an impact on politics as well as economics, yet different civilization has reacted differently on the development aspect.

East Asian economic success has its source in its culture, as do the difficulties these societies have had in achieving a stable democratic political systems. If we take the example of Islamic civilization, we see most of the Muslim countries have failed to achieve a democratic political system. Developments in the post-Communist societies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are shaped by their civilizational identities. Countries whose heritage lies in Western Christian have witnessed democratic polity and more economic development, while for countries with orthodox values, the development process is uncertain. The prospects in the Muslim republics are bleak.

The Western civilization is a powerful one which is now on a southward slope. It is confronted by non-Western societies, such as Confucian and Islamic societies, as it tries to assert itself and protect its interests, although some of the non-Western societies try to emulate or join the West. Hence, it can be said that the conflict is between the Western civilization against the non-Western ones. The predominant patterns of political and economic development differ from civilization to civilization. Cultural commonalities and differences shape the interests, antagonisms, and associations of states. International politics has become multipolar and multicivilizational.

Response to American hegemony

America's superpowerdom has had different levels of response, mostly negative. At one level, which is relatively low, there is resentment, envy and fear. At a little higher level, the resentment may turn into dissent, with other countries refusing to cooperate with it. There have been instances where resentment has turned into opposition, with countries attempting to defeat the US policies. The highest level of response would be collective counteraction, the formation of an anti-hegemonic coalition of major powers.

In an unipolar world, an anti-hegemonic coalition is not possible, because the remaining states are too weak to counter it. Similar is the case with multipolar world because no state is strong enough to provoke it. It is, however, a natural and predicted development in a uni-multipolar world.

The most important move toward an anti-hegemonic coalition antedates the end of the Cold War: the formation of the European Union and the creation of a common European currency. But why has there not been a more broad-based, active and formal anti-American hegemony coalition?

States may reject and resent US power and wealth but no doubt they benefit from it.

The international relations theory that predicts balancing under the current circumstances is a theory developed in the context of the Westphalian system established in 1648. The member countries in this system recognized the existence of a common cultural bond starkly different from the Ottoman Turks and others.

The tendency of a superpower to intervene to limit, counter, or shape the actions of the major regional powers in its region of influence is a major point of contention. While regional powers do not see it lightly, the secondary regional powers take the opportunity to unite against the threat they see coming from their region's major power.

Implications for the US

So, what does a uni-multipolar world mean to the United States? Americans should stop acting and talking as if this was a unipolar world. It is unnecessary for the US to expend effort and resources to achieve that goal. Since the US cannot create a unipolar world, it is in Americ's interest to maintain, for as long as possible, its position as the only superpower in a uni-multipolar world. In a multipolar system, the appropriate replacement for the global sheriff is community policing: devolving to the major regional powers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international order in their regions.

In the multipolar order of the 21st century, the major powers would compete, conflict, and coalesce with each other in various permutations and combinations. But this system would be devoid of the tension and conflicts between the superpower and the major regional powers, a defining feature of a uni-multipolar world. And for that reason the US could find life as a major power in a multipolar world less demanding, less contentious, and more rewarding than it has been as the world's only superpower.

This picture of post-Cold War world politics shaped by cultural factors and involving interactions among states and groups from different civilizations is highly simplified. It omits many things, distorts some things, and obscures others. Yet if we are to think seriously about the world, and act effectively in it, some sort of simplified map of reality, some theory, concept, model, paradigm, is necessary. Without such intellectual constructs, there is, as William James said, only 'a blooming buzzing confusion'.

Intellectual and scientific advance, Thomas Kuhn showed in his classic *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, consists of the displacement of one paradigm, which has become increasingly incapable of explaining new or newly discovered facts, by a new paradigm, which does account for those facts in a more satisfactory fashion. 'To be accepted as a paradigm,' Kuhn wrote, 'a theory must seem better than its competitors, but it need not, and in fact never does, explain all the facts with which it can be confronted.'

'Finding one's way through unfamiliar terrain,' John Lewis Gaddis observed, 'generally requires a map of some sort. Cartography, like cognition itself, is a necessary

simplification that allows us to see where we are, and where we may be going.' The Cold War image of superpower competition was, as he points out, such a model, articulated first by Harry Truman, as 'an exercise in geopolitical cartography that depicted the international landscape in terms everyone could understand, and so doing prepared the way for the sophisticated strategy of containment that was soon to follow.' World views and causal theories are indispensable guides to international politics.

For forty years students and practitioners of international relations thought and acted according to a Cold War paradigm of world affairs. This paradigm could not account for everything that went on in world politics. There were many anomalies, to use Kuhn's term, and at times the paradigm blinded scholars and statesmen to major developments, such as the Sino-Soviet split. Yet as a simple model of global politics, it accounted for more important phenomena than any of its rivals, it was an essential starting point for thinking about international affairs, it came to be almost universally accepted, and it shaped thinking about world politics for two generations.

Criticism of Unipolar and Multipolar World Orders

It was tradition to call the world bi-polar during the Cold War period. But since the disintegration of the USSR (on 26 December, 1991), according to Derek Kelly, the world had a unipolar order. Former French President Jacques Chirac gave a framework of the multipolar world order in his speech in November 1999 in Paris. According to him, a unipolar world is essentially unbalanced and the world must be re-balanced by a multipolar world order where a variety of powers balance or offset the power of the US.

On the other hand, in 'The National Security Strategy of the United States of America' report of 17 September, 2002, the US argued that unipolarity is a good thing and should be maintained, though not forever.

What we understand as a unipolar world is basically a pyramid where one country heads the power structure. In a multi-polar world, the existence of several major power balance out the concentration of power by a single state.

The debate on unipolar versus multipolar is still on. For obvious reasons, the US and some of its minor allies, like Britain, argue in favor of a unipolar world. This is opposed by the rest of the world arguing in favor of multi-polarity. Led by Chirac (France), powers such as Russia, China, India, Brazil, and a host of lesser powers are working towards a multipolar world. Even Charles Krauthammer, the cheerleader for the unipolar concept, says 'no doubt, multipolarity will come in time'. (*An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World*, 12 February, 2004).

On a more theoretical level, the constitutional foundation of the USA, and years of discussion by its founding fathers led to the formation of the new country. It was based on the realization that absolute power is misused and, if unchecked can lead to gross corruption.

Some thinkers perceive unipolarity as a form of narcissism. It is quite evident that the US is in the grips of a collective narcissistic disorder, led by a man with malignant narcissism – grandiose in claims, manipulating others for its own purposes, and believing its own press releases. Listen to Krauthammer, the leading apologist for the unipolar world:

This is now, he says, "*a unipolar world dominated by a single superpower unchecked by any rival and with decisive reach in every corner of the globe...This is a staggering new development in history, not seen since the fall of Rome...Even*

Rome is no model for what America is today,...because we do not have the imperial culture of Rome. We are an Athenian republic, even more republican and infinitely more democratic than Athens....[W]e are unlike Rome, unlike Britain and France and Spain and the other classical empires of modern times, in that we do not hunger for territory...We've got everything. And if that's not enough, we've got Vegas – which is a facsimile of everything. What could we possibly need anywhere else? That's because we are not an imperial power. We are a commercial republic. We don't take food; we trade for it. Which makes us something unique in history, an anomaly, a hybrid: a commercial republic with overwhelming global power? A commercial republic that, by pure accident of history, has been designated custodian of the international system.'

So, is there any power which can match the US? That may be difficult to answer. Marcel H. van Herpen argues that Chirac's argument in favor of multipolarity, for example, is based the assumption that France is a great power, but not as great as the US. France has nuclear weapons, so does North Korea, Pakistan, India, and Iran. France does not have the population or the acreage to be considered a world power. Others could speak in favor of Russia (or Eurasia) as a viable pole in a multipolar world. This, too, is an improbable proposition. With a declining population of 143 million people and a GDP of 1.3 trillion, Russia is inferior even to France.

So, is it India or Brazil or Nigeria or the Islamic states, over one billion strong, or Europe as poles in a multipolar world order? With at least three times the population and a 3 trillion dollar economy, India is not even close to competing on a level playing field with the US. Brazil with 184 million people and a 1.4 trillion economy is, again, not a competition. Neither is Nigeria with a population equal to Russia's but an economy less than Honk Kong's, with 7 million people. The combined population of the various Islamic states, of over a billion, and an economy based on oil cannot be a true competitor. Japan, which has a population of 127 million, a bit less than Russia, and a 3.5 trillion dollar economy, is basically a US puppet.

Can we then consider Europe, without England, with 456 million people and an equivalent GDP of 11 trillion dollars? This is a Europe similar to a free trade agreement with a hybrid English-like language as lingua franca, and 25 current states at many different levels of development. After thousands of years of wars, the warring European tribes emerged as nation states. But it would take several decades for the Germans and French to shake off their egocentricisms a truly unite as a union. In case Turkey is brought into the picture, it is highly unlikely that that a unified nation state will emerge from a merging of a secular Western civilization and Islam. It is, hence, doubtful that Europe will at any time soon develop as a pole in a multipolar world.

According to Huntington, China's growing economy is many times the economy of the USA is respect of buying power. China is the world's largest consumer country. It is also coping up with the USA in technology and defence equipment. Huntington visualizes a mutually assured competition, instead of a mutually assured destruction between a bloc comprising the US, Europe and Japan, and another comprising China, India and Brazil to the benefit of the whole world.

6.4 NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT—CTBT

A major irritant in the Indo-US relations was non-suspension or non-termination of nuclear programme by India. India decided that it would stop its nuclear programme

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Check Your Progress

6. A unipolar world is one in which a single state acts unilaterally but takes help of major coalition powers to resolve important international issues. (True/False)

7. _____ remain the principal actors in world affairs.

8. For forty-five years the Iron Curtain was the central dividing line in Europe. (True/False)

9. Developments in the post-Communist societies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are shaped by the civilization of the West. (True/False)

10. Unipolarity is, in fact, a narcissism, a collective personality disorder says Derek Kelly. (True/False)

only if all the nuclear weapon states (NWS) made a strict commitment that they would, in course of time, also stop complete nuclear programme. This commitment should be time-bound so that the world knows by what time it would be free of nuclear weapons. However, these views of India were not taken seriously by the US. Meanwhile, India had not conducted any nuclear test since its only explosion in 1974. It was believed by the US that India's security could be ensured only if it gave up its nuclear programme.

The US had always wanted that both the neighbouring countries India and Pakistan should sign Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This policy was forcedly pursued by US Presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton. Pakistan had already made it clear to former US President George Bush and later the Clinton Administration that it would sign NPT only after India signed it. India consistently refused to sign the NPT because it regarded it as discriminatory. India has always argued that three countries in its neighbourhood had nuclear weapons, so it could not give up its nuclear option unilaterally. India had continued on pressure not only to sign NPT, but also not to develop its missile programme by the US. India's decision to test Prithvi and Agni missiles provoked serious criticism in America and elsewhere. India did not make any compromise on its stand on the question of signing NPT and later on the proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). In 1996, India opposed the CTBT at the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva and voted against it even in the UN General Assembly.

The question of NPT, CTBT, the missiles programme also the whole issue of Kashmir and human rights have been resulting in continuing of the Indo-US differences since 1997. However, for the first time in September 1997, US President Bill Clinton advised Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that Kashmir question must be bilaterally solved by India and Pakistan themselves and the US need not mediate between the two countries. This development was welcomed by India. India's Prime Minister I.K. Gujral met President Clinton, on the latter's initiative during the UN General Assembly session in September 1997. In accordance with Gujral's wishes, President Clinton did not raise the issue of Kashmir. Later, the US Secretary of State Albright also said during a visit to these two countries that the US did not have any interest in mediating in the Kashmir question.

On behalf of the Clinton Administration, it was claimed that the US wanted to ensure stability in Indo-Pak ties, so that the tensions of the past could be lessened. The US was keen to strengthen friendship with all the countries of South Asia. It was felt by the US Administration that the Gujral Doctrine would be highly beneficial to the entire Asian region. The accords that were concluded in 1996 between India and Nepal, and India and Bangladesh were appreciated by the US and credit was given to the doctrine of developing good neighbourly relations with smaller nations advocated by the then Foreign Minister I.K. Gujral.

When the US President Clinton met both the Prime Ministers I.K. Gujral and Nawaz Sharif, in September 1997, for the first time, he made it clear that the US had no intention of mediating on the Kashmir issue. If both India and Pakistan could resolve their difference bilaterally, that would be the most-welcome development. At the end of 1997, there were clear signs of improvement in the Indo-US relation as both India and Pakistan were engaged in taking confidence-building measures. The seriousness with which both the Prime Ministers initiated a step to find the solutions on all outstanding bilateral issues was appreciated by the US, and the Clinton

administration was likely to re-examine its entire Asia policy. However, the problem is that the US interests appeared to be mainly limited to market operations.

The two states like India and the US began to start the strategic talks to reach an agreement on the US demand of India signing the CTBT and India's insistence on meeting its security requirement. Ten rounds of talks were held on the twin issues between the US President Clinton's envoy Strobe Talbott and Prime Minister Vajpayee's representative Jaswant Singh during June 1998–January 2000. India cleared that it would adhere to CTBT only if its security was ensured and steps were initiated for total nuclear disarmament.

The ties between the two largest democratic states of the world suddenly improved during and after the Kargil crisis. Credit for this development must be given: (i) to Pakistan for having created a muddle in Kargil, and for having given the evidence that it did not have respect for treaties and laws and that it has been giving assistance and encouragement to cross border terrorism against India; (ii) to India having acquired nuclear weapons and its bold and courageous stand against discriminatory non-proliferation regime and the CTBT and that India had the courage of conviction to announce unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and the doctrine of no-first-use; and (iii) to the Clinton administration itself for having realized that India was soon going to be a power to be reckoned with and that Indian economy had become vibrant and stable that it could easily withstand not only economic sanctions but also the expenses in the Kargil War. Americans came to the conclusion that India could not be compelled, it could perhaps be persuaded.

Bill Clinton in March 2000 paid a visit to India. After 22 years, this was first visit of a US President. During his visit, a warm and friendly rapport was established by Clinton not only with Prime Minister Vajpayee but also with the whole lot of political leadership as well as common men and women. External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh on the eve of Clinton visit, had said that both India and the US must put behind them the 'wasted decades' of the Cold War and look for a new relationship in the 21st century. Clinton said: 'India's economy is one of the ten fastest…in the world, its thriving high technology sector is one of the brightest spots in the new global economy'. He added, 'after 50 years of missed opportunities, it is time that America and India become better friends and stronger partners. We should find common ground in opening the global trading system in a way that lifts the live of rich and poor alike'.

A historic document called 'Vision for the 21st century' was signed by the two leaders and released, at the end of their Summit level talks between the President of US Clinton and the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee. Taking pride in being the two largest sign democracies, India and the US declared: 'From vastly different origins and experiences we have come to the same conclusions that freedom and democracy are the strongest bases for both peace and prosperity, and that they are universal aspirations, constrained neither by culture nor levels of economic development'. The two countries pledged to be partners in peace and shared a commitment to reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons. 'They promised to work together to preserve stability and growth in the global economy, and to join in an unrelenting battle against poverty so that the promise of a new economy is felt everywhere and no nation is left behind.' The Vision Statement went on to state: 'Today, we pledge to deepen the Indian-American partnership in tangible ways, always seeking to reconcile our difference through dialogue and engagement. Therefore, the US President and

Indian Prime Minister should meet regularly to institutionalize the bilateral dialogue'. While the two countries drew closer on several issues, they agreed to disagree on the nuclear question. While the US reiterated its belief that 'India should forego nuclear weapons', India proclaimed its determination to 'maintain a credible minimum deterrent'.

ACTIVITY

Find out from the Internet, what is India's present stand on CTBT.

6.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The theory, clash of civilization, was proposed by Samuel P. Huntington in the 1993.
- One of his hypotheses predicts a world war among the world's major civilizations in 2020. According to this hypothesis, American troops will have left Korea, which will lead to Korean reunification and a reduced presence for American troops in Japan.
- According to Huntington's hypothesis, the United States will refrain from escalating this war because domestic public opinion will regard it as a war for American hegemony in Southeast Asia or control of the South China Sea.
- China will occupy Vladivostok, the Amur River valley, and other key parts of eastern Siberia. As fighting spreads between Russian and Chinese troops in central Siberia, uprisings occurs in Mongolia, which China had earlier placed under a "protectorate."
- Huntington's hypothesis postulates a global conflict between two alliances— the U.S., Europe, Russia, and India on one side, and China, Japan, and most of Islam on the other.
- The 2001 attack on the World Trade Center and subsequent U.S. attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq have led political scientists to believe in Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations.
- In the post-Cold War world flags count and so do other symbols of cultural identity, including crosses, crescents, and even head coverings, because culture counts, and cultural identity is what is most meaningful to most people.
- While Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations presents a compelling argument for the events that happened in the former Yugoslavia, the main argument that was set forth by him using religion as the sole cause of the conflicts in the region–in what he regards as 'fault line' wars–is erroneous.
- In the former Yugoslavia, Huntington concluded that there is a cultural fault line running through the republic itself, which separated the Christian Croats and Slovenes from the rest of Yugoslavia, which were Orthodox Christians, and Muslims.

- In the Yugoslav-era, everyone was referred to as a Yugoslav. Hence, Huntington's amplification of the role of religion in creating the civilizations in his thesis was inaccurate.
- Huntington thinks that fault line wars have the potential to escalate into major world wars. This is because of what he calls the 'kin-country syndrome', where one state that is in a war with another in a different civilization rallies up support within their own civilization
- A unipolar world is one in which a single state acting unilaterally with little or no cooperation from other states can effectively resolve major international issues, and no other state or combination of states has the power to prevent it from doing so.
- A multipolar world is one in which a coalition of major powers is necessary to resolve important international issues and, if the coalition is a substantial one, no other single state can prevent the coalition from doing that.
- In the post-Cold War world, for the first time in history, global politics has become multipolar and multicivilizational.
- During the Cold War global politics became bipolar and the world was divided into three parts.
- In the late 1980s the Communist world collapsed, and the Cold War international system became history. In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political, or economic.
- Nation states remain the principal actors in world affairs. Their behavior is shaped as in the past by the pursuit of power and wealth, but it is also shaped by cultural preferences, commonalities, and differences.
- In this new world the most pervasive, important, and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between peoples belonging to different cultural entities. Tribal wars and ethnic conflicts will occur within civilizations.
- In the post-Cold War world, culture is both a divisive and a unifying force. People separated by ideology but united by culture come together, as the two Germanys did and as the two Koreas and the several Chinas are beginning to.
- In the multipolar world of the twenty-first century, the major powers inevitably will compete, conflict, and coalesce with each other in various permutations and combinations.
- A major irritant in the Indo-US relations was non-suspension or non-termination of nuclear programme by India.
- India decided that it would stop its nuclear programme only if all the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) made a strict commitment that they would, in course of time, also stop complete nuclear programme.
- India's decision to test Prithvi and Agni missiles provoked serious criticism in America and elsewhere.
- The question of NPT, CTBT, the missiles programme also the whole issue of Kashmir and human rights have been resulting in continuing of the Indo-US differences since 1997.

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11. Which two US president forcefully persuaded the non-proliferation treaty with India and Pakistan?
12. India's decision to test Prithvi and Agni missiles was hailed by countries world over. (True/ False)

6.6 KEY TERMS

- **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT):** The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons obligates the five acknowledged nuclear-weapon states (the United States, Russian Federation, United Kingdom, France, and China) not to transfer nuclear weapons, other nuclear explosive devices, or their technology to any non-nuclear-weapon state.

- **Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD):** Mutual assured destruction, or), is a doctrine of military strategy and national security policy in which a full-scale use of high-yield weapons of mass destruction by two opposing sides would effectively result in the complete, utter and irrevocable annihilation of both the attacker and the defender, becoming thus a war that has no victory nor any armistice but only effective reciprocal destruction.

6.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. According to Samuel P. Huntington, the future fault line will center around culture and religion. His theory of the clash of civilizations predicts alignments and wars among various civilizations—Western, Islamic, Chinese, Japanese, Orthodox/Russian, Hindu, African, and Latin.

2. True

3. Indian subcontinent

4. True

5. Civilization

6. False

7. Nation state

8. True

9. False

10. True

11. Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton.

12. False

6.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is a uni-multipolar system?

2. Why did India refuse to sign the non-proliferation treaty?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse Huntington's theory of clash of civilization.

2. Derek Kelly has criticized the unipolar and multipolar world order. Discuss.

3. What are the main arguments of nuclear disarmament?

6.9 FURTHER READING

Huntington, S.P.; *The Clash of Civilizations?* Council on Foreign Relations, 1993.

Huntington, S.P.; *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.* Simon and Schuster, New York, 2007.

UNIT 7 THE MAKING OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Structure

7.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the debates regarding the new world order. We discussed the clash of civilizations, the unipolar and multi-polar world system and also nuclear disarmament—CTBT.

The foreign policy of India has always been based on the Non-Aligned Movement. Jawaharlal Nehru believed that it was better not to align with any one power bloc. He was in favour of formulating a policy that was based on the country's own principles and objectives. He firmly believed in the principles of Panchsheel and peaceful co-existence. This was hence, the reason for India to adopt a non-alignment policy. However, Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy for India has not always been appreciated. There have been times when it was also criticized, particularly, in the case of China and Kashmir. We will learn more about India's foreign policy in this unit, the philosophy behind it, the determinants, objectives and goals.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the philosophy behind India's foreign policy
- Interpret the internal and external determinants
- Analyse the goals and objectives
- Describe decolonization, peace, security and development
- Analyse non-alignment

7.2 PHILOSOPHY OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

During the British period, India was surrounded by states like Afghanistan, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet on its north and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to the south. The Partition of 1947 created two states—India and Pakistan. This division was based on religious, social, ethnic and linguistic entities. This disrupted the economic and cultural ties between both nations. The geographical partition of India was created out of the western and eastern parts of India, the western part was called West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and the eastern part was called East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). After Independence, the leaders of India tried to build a secular state in which national identity would supersede regional, religious or cultural identities.

The British colonial rulers regarded most of South Asia as a strategic unit and tried to exclude external powers from this region. To defend this strategic region, the British rulers set up a barrier of buffer states which surrounded India and tried to safeguard India from Russia and China, from the north side and used naval power to protect India from the South side. After Independence, the leaders of India adopted this policy by establishing a position in cultural as well as geographical perspectives. India's foreign relation was affected by this geo-strategic perception in three ways. First, India endeavoured by treaty, alliance or threats of force or economic embargo, to overthrow any move by its neighbours that is judged harmful to its own security interests, only Pakistan and China being its neighbours, have been able to resist Indian actions. India always itself regarded as a regional peace-keeper whose efforts were completely defensive, rather than as a regional enforcer who imposed difficult conditions on its neighbours by virtue of its size and military strength. Second, the intervention of extra-regional powers in South Asia threatened the security of India, although India already had the predominant position in the region. India opposed any attempt by powers external to the region, whether by invitation of New Delhi's neighbours or not, to involve themselves or to establish a presence in the region. Therefore, India always criticized Pakistan's alliance with China, the Soviet aggression of Afghanistan and the US military assistance to Pakistan and naval presence of the US on Diego Garcia. India never accepted Moscow's request of the Soviet navy base in the region in spite of the 1971 friendship treaty with the Soviet Union.

The programme of India to build its military strength to defend its territory was essential and security interests got intertwined in the foreign policy of India. India's nuclear programme strained its ties with Pakistan, China and the US. India's refusal to sign the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons stemmed as much from Pakistan's similar stance as from India's belief that the treaty discriminated against the development of peaceful nuclear technology by non-nuclear weapons states and failed to prevent the qualitative and quantitative vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons among the nations already possessing nuclear arms. In 1995, 174 other states approved an indefinite extension of the treaty. India continued to refuse to sign and condemned the treaty as 'perpetuating nuclear discrimination'.

Historical Background

Even before Independence, the Government of British India maintained semi-autonomous diplomatic relations. It had colonies, such as the Aden settlement, that sent and received full diplomatic missions and was a founding member of both, the League of Nations and the United Nations. After Independence it soon joined the

Commonwealth of Nations and strongly supported freedom movements in other colonies like the Indonesian National Revolution. The Partition and various territorial disputes, particularly disputes over Kashmir, strained its relations with Pakistan for several years. During the Cold War era, India adopted a foreign policy of not aligning itself with any major power bloc. However, India developed close ties with Soviet Union (now Russia) and received extensive military support from it. The ending of the Cold War significantly affected India's foreign policy, as it did for the majority of the world. The country now seeks to strengthen its diplomatic and economic relations with the US, the People's Republic of China, the European Unions, Japan, Israel, Mexico and Brazil. India has also close relation with the members of states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the African Union, the Arab League and Iran. India continues to have military ties with Russia. Israel has emerged as India's second largest military partner, while India has built a strong strategic partnership with the US. The Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement signed and implemented in 2008 highlighted the growing sophistication of the Indo-American relations.

7.3 DETERMINANTS OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

India's foreign policy, like that of any other country, is an extension of its domestic policy and reflects the dominant domestic concerns. 'Our policy' wrote Nehru, 'will ultimately be governed by our internal policy'. Foreign policy is a product of interest, which are governed by a country's political, economic and social structure perceived through its history, culture and tradition. There are broadly two kinds of determinants, i.e., internal (domestic) and external (international).

7.3.1 Internal (Domestic) Determinants

Geography

Geographically, India is a very big country. India had to secure its borders on the Himalayan side from countries like Pakistan and China and the Soviet Union, which was not very far. Also India has common border with a number of countries like Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Burma (now Myanmar), and Afghanistan. India's border runs a total length of 15106.70 km. Its borders with Pakistan and Bangladesh were delineated according to the Redcliffe Line, which was created in 1947 during Partition of India. Its western border with Pakistan extends up to 3,323 km; dividing the Punjab region and running along the boundaries of the Thar Desert and the Rann of Kutch. Both countries delineated a Line of Control (LoC) to serve as the informal boundary between India and Pakistan-administered areas of Kashmir.

India's border with Bangladesh runs a total length of 4096.70 km. It is estimated that there are 92 enclaves of Bangladesh on Indian soil and 106 enclaves of India on Bangladesh soil. The Teen Bigha Corridor is a strip of land formerly belonging to Bangladesh so that it can access its Dehgram-Angalpota enclaves.

The Line of Actual Control (LAC) is the border between India and China. It traverses 4,057 km along the Indian states of Jammu and Kashmir, Uttrakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. Both countries claim to the Aksai Chin region of northeastern Kashmir, which fell into Chinese control during the Sino-

Indian War of 1962. The border with Burma extends up to 1,643 km along the southern border of India's northeastern states. Located amid the Himalayan range, India's border with Bhutan runs for 699 km. The border with Nepal runs 1,751 km along the foothills of the Himalayas in northern India. The Siliguri Corridor narrowed sharply by the borders of Bhutan. Nepal and Bangladesh connects peninsular India with the northeastern states.

Indian Ocean is situated on the eastern part of India and the Arabian Sea is located on the western side. Both sides are considered important for trade, transport and defence for India. India is a gateway for Southeast Asiaan countries as well as the Middle East. In fact, it is surrounded with waters from three sides. Hence, India had to adopt a policy which could secure its border and keep the region of Indian Ocean free from the superpower rivalry. The politics of Indian Ocean also influenced India's ties with the countries of Southeast Asia. Most of the countries of Southeast Asia demanded creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region. Any foreign domination of Indian region could be injurious to its national interests. Vast coastline of India necessitates not only a powerful navy but also friendly relations with other naval power present in the Indian Ocean. The US as well as the UK has a powerful naval base at Diego Garcia.

India always wants to establish friendly relations with all neighbouring countries. There are other regional powers in Asia like Iran, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia and Indonesian with whom India seeks to maintain friendly and conflict-free relations.

History and tradition

India has had a legacy of peace and internationalism. India has not launched a single aggression against any country. It has been a country of tolerance, devotion, mediation, assimilation and compromise. Its philosophy revolve around, non-violence, internationalism, peaceful settlement of disputes, justice, mutual love, peaceful co-existence and respect for one another. The traditional values instilled in us are from the scriptures like the *Vedas* and *Dharmashastra* and the writings of great men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekanand, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others. The humanistic and internationalist thrust in Indian thought and philosophy could not but be reflected in its foreign policy.

Again, the three values that have helped shaping India's foreign policy are:

(i) tolerance, (ii) equation of means and ends, and (iii) non-violence.

(i) Tolerance

Tolerance is the essence of Indian tradition. It is not necessary that views of other be the same as one's own views. To respect the views of others is a great virtue. As Y Raghavan said, 'Tolerance is one of the most important, if not the most important, concepts which preserves invest the Indian traditional with a distinction and distinctness.'

Mahatma Gandhi, based on the teaching of *Rigveda*, had said, 'Hindusim tells everyone to worship God according to his own faith or dharma, and so it lives at peace with all the religions'. Inscription of Ashoka, the Great also advocated tolerance. This is evident from his rock pillars.

In our domestic policy, India is committed to secularism which is rooted in the above mentioned philosophy of tolerance. In 1954, Nehru and his Chinese counterpart signed the famous declaration of Panchsheel. Mutual non-interference and peaceful co-existence are the guiding principles of our foreign policy based on the tolerance of view of others.

(ii) Equation of means and ends

It is another important Indian tradition. Indeed, Mahatma Gandhi insisted on the purity of means to achieve noble ends. Because he was deeply impressed by Manu's *Dharmashastra* which says: 'One should not do a good thing by following a bad path'. Indian tradition thus is: 'To seek to further the welfare of the state by enriching it through fraud and falsehood, is like storing water in an unburnt pot and hoping to preserve it'. While the purity of means is the basic thrust of India's philosophy, there is no dearth of realistic approach either. Kautilya, in his book *Arthashastra*, had explained the view that what produces unfavourable results is bad policy. In the words of Kautilya, diplomacy was an art, not concerned with ideals but with achieving practical result for the state. A very important technique of this statecraft could not be ignored by India's foreign policy-makers. Thus, reconciliation between the 'purity of means' and 'reduce the enemy's men' had to be brought about. This is the reason why Nehru frankly admitted that moral principles could be followed in statecraft only to a limit. The action which India took in Goa in 1961 and in Bangladesh crisis in 1971 were in accordance with the leadership's perception of national interest even if it compromised with the principle of purity of means.

(iii) Principle of non-violence

Non-violence is not only an uncomprising faith of Mahatma Gandhi, but is also deeply rooted in Indian tradition. It does not only mean non-killing or abstention from doing harm to others, but indicates harmlessness in thought, word and deed and also promotion of bondless love in the entire universe. Perfect non-violence is not always possible because non-violence is a virtue. It was the view of Gandhi that the use of force by the democratic state or nation is immoral. Democracy and violence cannot co-exist at the same time. Gandhi would apply non-violence to international relations too. Acceptance of non-violence is an important means to ensure lasting world peace. The application of the tradition of non-violence in India's foreign policy was explained by Appadorai, as 'the deliberate acceptance of a method of approach to foreign policy problems which emphasized reconciliation, and the temper of peace, as opposed to a spirit of revenge and hatred'.

World peace has been committed by the Government of India and has also been included in Part IV of the Constitution as a Directive to the State to seek peaceful settlement of international disputes. British rule's impact on India and the influence of the national movement and freedom struggle has shaped India's foreign policy. According to Appadorai, the British rule in India had a threefold impact on India's foreign policy. First, it gave a stimulus to the national movement for freedom which in turn led to India's support for the freedom of dependent peoples. Second, racial discrimination during the British rule made India realize the evils of racial inequality that existed during the British rule in its foreign discrimination and, in turn, led to India's emphasis on racial equality in its foreign policy; and third, India voluntarily chose to remain a member of the Commonwealth

even after becoming a Republic. Based on these principles Nehru sought to redefine India's relationship between Britain and other sovereign members of the Commonwealth.

It will not be out of place to consider the ideals and values propagated during India's national movement. The movement progressed from Gokhale's moderate stand to Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai's active demand for self-rule and reached its climax under Gandhi and Nehru. Ideals of truth and non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi was based on a peaceful struggle for India's freedom movement.

Gandhi directed Indian people not to hate the sinner but to hate the sin. Most of the leaders of freedom movement were educated in Britain. In accordance with the Western pattern of education, they valued liberty, equality and democracy. The foreign policy-makers of India valued these ideals. While cooperating with liberal democratic countries, India did not oppose the socialist countries either. Non-alignment policy is not only an outcome of keeping aloof from bloc politics but also in accordance with the goals and ideals of the Indian freedom struggle.

Through its foreign policy department, headed by Nehru, the Indian National Congress had clearly opposed dictatorship and racial discrimination. In 1946, Nehru had said, 'We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised'. Therefore, in 1949 in the Constituent Assembly, he declared 'one of the pillars of our foreign policy is to fight against racial discrimination'. The idea of the above discussion is to underline the fact that traditional values and historical developments have had distinct impact on India's foreign policy.

Culture

Culture is the most important factor or element of foreign policy. India is at a very advantageous position as far as culture is concerned. According to T.V. Paul and Baldev, 'Indian culture offers one of the most dynamic alternatives to Western cultural values'. India has had a long history of civilizational and cultural links with countries as far-flung as Iran and Rome. Its riches and splendour have attracted traders and travellers for thousands of years. Countries in Southeast Asia still have remnants of Indian traditions: the Angor Wat temple in Cambodia, temples and pagodas in Thailand, Myanmar as well as the presence of several Sanskrit words in languages like Bahasa, Indonesia; prove the influence of Indian culture on these countries.

India's spirituality is much needed in these days of conflict and strife. India's tolerance for different religions and cultures in legendary. This is the land which has preached '*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*' (the world is my family) and *Loka Samatha Sukhino Bhavanthu* (let there be peace in the whole world). India's message of secularism which actually means different religions co-existing in harmony with one another, rather than the Western concept of separation of religion and the state, is a valuable lesson in these days when there is so much strife in the name of religion.

India's diplomats have also played a role, though how big it is cannot really be measured that being the nature of foreign policy itself, in the expansion of India's foreign policy. India's diplomats are trained in India's culture and values, communication skills as well as the work in the media and Indian Parliament. This helps them connect with governments as well as people of other countries. With increasing globalization in culture as well as the media, India's influence through its culture is likely to increase in the future.

Economic and military factors

India started with a weak economic base and it did not have technology or the military strength. Soon after Independence, India's trade and economic ties were limited to Britain and the Commonwealth countries. So, it was natural to have friendly ties with the Western liberal countries, economically as well as militarily. India was a poor country, and its aim was economic development through industrialization and modernization. The precondition of economic development was peace at home and generous economic and technical assistance from developed nations.

Nehru was very conscious of the fact that economic progress was and should be the root of foreign policy. Foreign aid was needed by a developing country like India whether in the form of capital or technology. However for this, India did not want to attach itself with a particular bloc—whether the capitalist or the socialist. Rather it wanted to keep its doors open to all sources of aid, whether Western or Soviet. Even in pursuing the path of economic growth, India neither adopted free trade capitalism nor did it go the communist way; but adopted a middle path of democratic socialism.

India decided to follow liberal democracy and evolutionary socialism. India adopted Soviet pattern of planned economic development, but not the Soviet type of government. India wanted aid and assistance from the both blocs and World Bank, but without entangling alliances with anyone. India desired a peaceful world order because only in that situation could India hope for its rapid development. A developing country could get from the developed countries a number of experts who would provide specialized training for development. Most of the developed countries cleverly avoided technology to transfer the Third World countries. In that circumstance, India tried to formulate her foreign policy in such a way that India gets foreign economic assistance without strings. Transfer of technology was easily made possible and that it received assistance both from the West and the East. But, America and her allies were in a far better position to provide assistance than the countries of the East.

This factor played its role in shaping India's foreign policy. In the early time, non-aligned India was said to be tilted towards the West. Such allegations were indirectly made by the Soviet media. But once India demonstrated strength of its will and independence of decision-making during the Korean and Suez crises, the Eastern bloc began appreciating its position. In 1971, war with Pakistan and Indo-Soviet Treaty of friendship and cooperation concluded, and the West became critical with its non-alignment and alleged pro-Soviet policy. But after the Indo-China War of 1962, Indian foreign and defence policy could not remain complacent. To buy weapons, the scope of market was broadened by India to train its defence personnel to meet any situation from any quarter. Within a short period of time, India's defence forces, using tanks and planes (made in India) successfully repulsed the Pakistani attack in 1965. Pakistani armed forces were mostly using American and other weapons obtained from the US as well as China. India did not seek any military alliance and followed the policy of non-alignment when it became self-sufficient. India took the decision to develop nuclear energy and told the world that India could soon become a nuclear power, if it chose to do so.

After keeping its nuclear option open (1974–98) for several years, India finally conducted five nuclear tests in 1998. The government's bold decision surprised the international community, but India exercised its sovereign right. Many countries,

including the US, condemned India but it was short lived and world powers came to terms with a nuclear India, whether or not, countries formally recognized India as a nuclear weapon state. Even after agreeing in 2005 on civilian nuclear deal with India, the US described India as a 'state with advanced nuclear technology'.

Ideological factor

Nehru was the founder of India's foreign policy and was deeply impressed by the liberal democratic ideology of the Western countries. He was also influenced by the Soviet Union's economic policies. Incorporation of a synthesis of the virtues of Western liberal democracy and the Soviet socialism was desired by Nehru. But he wanted to keep away from the evils of both. Therefore, he decided not of blindly following the principles of foreign policy of either of the two. In an indirect way, the policy of non-alignment was a result of the synthesis of Liberalism and Marxism. India's policy was also influenced by the Indian philosophy of humanism and universal brotherhood. During the Cold War era, this ideology got credit for India's attempts at friendship with both the power blocs. Gandhiji's ideals of truth and non-violence were also sought to be incorporated by Nehru while shaping India's foreign policy.

Pluralistic nature of Indian society

At a social level, India has been a pluralist society, consisting of different castes, classes, ideologies, languages, religions and races. Socially, economically, culturally and politically it was and continues to be a land of diversity. Hence, in order to consolidate the integrity of the state in unity in diversity, India had to adopt a policy which could satisfy the different nationalities and sub-nationalities. So even internationally, it had to pursue a policy of reconciliation and consensus among the community of nations, keeping our national interests in mind. Similarly, while India was deeply impressed by the liberal democratic tradition of the West, it was equally appreciative of the achievements of Marxist socialism. But India did not blindly follow either the West or the Soviet and adopted a middle path of liberal democratic socialism.

7.3.2 External (International) Determinants

When India gained Independence, the Cold War had begun and the world was divided into two hostile power blocs. The shaping of India's policy of non-alignment was direct impact to her. The process of decolonization began simultaneously with the Independence of India. The main focus of international milieu was anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. India went in line with the efforts for acceleration of the process of decolonization and opposition to all forms of colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination. The economies of several countries had been ruined by Second World War. Efforts were already initiated for economic reconstruction and development. India took advantage and decided on its rapid economic development. For this purpose after the end of Second World War, India freely sought help from the institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Ideological conflicts were responsible for disputes, aggressions and wars. Conflict between Fascism and Communism, between democracies and totalitarian states were replaced by ideological clashes between liberal democracy and Marxism. India opted to remain out of these ideological conflicts in post-War period.

With the end of the Cold War, a new international environment began to emerge with emphasis on liberalization in economies even of countries like China; India was

inspired to shift emphasis from the public sector and partially-controlled economy to liberalization, reduction of state control and encouragement to foreign investments in private and joint sectors. The process of reconciliation that began after the Cold War in areas such as Israel–Palestine, opened the doors for negotiation of bilateral disputes in different parts of the world. India also tried to accelerate resolution of its disputes with China, Bangladesh and even Pakistan. Thus, we can say that international milieu had, and still has, its impact on the shaping of India's foreign policy.

Indeed, there was direct impact on India's foreign policy of the events of 1990s. The disintegration of the Soviet Union into 15 independent republics after the collapse of communism, fall of socialist (communist) governments in East European countries and their transition to democracy; reunification of Germany; emergence of the US as the sole super power and end of bipolarity, influenced India's foreign policy. One of the major developments was India's veto to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) at Conference on Disarmament (CD), and later refusal to sign the CTBT as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. Finally, India conducted five nuclear tests in May 1998 leading Pakistan also to conduct such tests.

Did You Know?

The founder of the Non-Aligned Movement was Yugoslavian strongman Josip Broz Tito who was trying to escape the iron grip of the Soviet Union, but he got Egypt, Ghana, Indonesia and India to join too. Leaders such as Nasser, Nehru and Nkrumah gave the movement considerable prestige in its early years.

7.4 GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Objectives of India's foreign policy in 1947 were: a peaceful environment, strategic space and autonomy, no entanglement in Cold War conflicts or alliances, concentration on domestic tasks of integration and nation building. Indian nationalism has not been based on a shared language or common religion or ethnic identity. As it sought to build a plural, democratic, secular, and tolerant society of its own, it was natural that it would look for and promote the same values abroad.

Objectives of India's Foreign Policy

The goals of India's foreign policy are simple and straightforward. The primary and overriding goal has always been the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. The ideals and objectives of its domestic as well as foreign policy are enshrined in the Constitution of India. A former foreign secretary of India, Muchkund Dubey, wrote; 'The primary purpose of any country's foreign policy is to promote its national interest, to ensure its security, safeguard its sovereignty, contribute to its growth and prosperity, and generally enhance its stature, influence and role in the growth and prosperity, and generally enhance its stature, influence and role in the comity of nations. A country's foreign policy should also be able to serve the broader purpose of promoting peace, disarmament and development and of establishing a stable, fair and equitable global order.'

Check Your Progress

3. Name the three values that have helped shaping India's foreign policy.
4. Who was the founder of India's foreign policy?
5. Gandhi's ideals of truth and non-violence were not incorporated by Nehru while shaping India's foreign policy. (True/False)

The foreign policy-makers set out certain objectives before they proceed to lay down basic principles and formulate the policy. Several of these objectives are common though the degree of emphasis always varies.

After Independence, India had to determine objectives of its foreign policy under difficult situations. Internally, the Partition of British India created many economic problems, which were further complicated by the arrival of millions of Hindus and Sikhs who migrated from Pakistan.

India, very soon, was involved in a war in Kashmir that was imposed by Pakistan—backed tribals from the North-West frontier. The leftists organized strikes which further threatened the Indian economy. India had to tackle the 'gigantic problem' to provide its vast population with the basic necessities of life. On the military front, India was not strong. A hostile Pakistan compounded India's security problem. There was another problem. It was related to internal consolidation. When British left India in 1947, there were small pockets of French and Portuguese possessions. India's first efforts naturally were to negotiate with the two powers. After prolonged negotiations the French agreed to withdraw, but military action were taken in 1961 to liberate Goa and other Portuguese pockets.

The Cold War had begun and East–West ties were deteriorating very fast, and international situation was not very comfortable. In this situation, India decided that world peace would be a cardinal feature of India's foreign policy. India desired peace not merely as an ideal but also as an essential condition for its own security. As Nehru opined, 'India's approach to peace is a positive, constructive approach, not a passive, negative and neutral approach.' India's message to the world has been insistence on peaceful methods to solve all problems. Peace meant not only avoidance of war, but also reduction of tension, and if possible end of the Cold War. An effective United Nations is required for a world order based on understanding and cooperation. International peace is not possible until armaments are reduced.

A very important objective was to root out causes of war by measures such as liberation of subjects and the elimination of racial discrimination. In order to achieve this goal, India would pursue an independent foreign policy without being any big power camp follower. It would also require total faith; and support of the United Nations. A primary objective of the foreign policy meant pursuit of peace. Thus, India's goal of peace was not only directed by its self interest but also by Gandhian idealism.

Eliminations of want, disease and illiteracy were also regarded as important objectives of foreign policy. These are ills not only of Indian society but also the developing countries of Asia and Africa. While domestic policy of India was directed at removal of want and disease, it was closely related to the question of foreign aid and assistance. Besides, India cooperated with various international agencies for fighting disease, starvation, poverty, illiteracy and famine in various underdeveloped or developing countries.

Voluntarily, India has chosen to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. This association of free and sovereign countries, who were colonies in the erstwhile British, Empire, now recognizes the British Queen only as Head of the Commonwealth, not as Crown of the Republic like India. Before 1949, only British Dominions were member of the British Commonwealth. All the dominions had the British Crown as their monarch too. After becoming a Republic, India did not want to

leave the Commonwealth and decided to accept the British monarch as the head of state. India considered the continued cooperation with the Commonwealth as mutual benefit to India and all other member countries.

India's objective is to maintain friendly relations with all, it avoided military alliances, pursued non-alignment as a moral principle, sought peaceful settlement of international dispute and promoted universal brotherhood and humanism by pursuing and advocating the five principles contained in Panchsheel. The ideals of non-interference and peaceful co-existence have faithfully been observed by India.

India has remained committed to peaceful settlement of disputes between states or nations. It has been seeking to pursue friendly relations with all countries, particularly with neighbours. That is why, India still wishes to work in pursuit of world peace, and in search of that it has been insisting on complete elimination of nuclear weapons and strengthening of the United Nations.

Principles of India's foreign policy

The basic principles of the Indian foreign policy are based on Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The term 'non-alignment' was coined by Jawaharlal Nehru of India. Non-alignment means not aligning to any of two power blocs during the era of Cold War. It means that India is independent to pursue its own foreign policy. Again Panchsheel, the second most important principle of Indian foreign policy, was signed on 29 April 1954 between India and China.

(i) Non-alignment

India played an important role in the multilateral movements of colonies and newly independent countries that developed into NAM. The chief architects of the policy of NAM were Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia and President Nasser of Egypt. Most of the countries of Asia and Africa were impressed by this policy and joined the movement. Today, almost all the countries of Asia and Africa are its members.

NAM is for peace, independence, and disarmament and is against imperialism, colonialism, and racial discrimination, etc. It succeeded in following its programme of support to countries struggling for their independence, cooperating and providing financial assistance to countries for their economic development and condemning any form of discrimination. NAM also supported disarmament.

The concept of non-alignment is neither non-involvement in world affairs nor neutralism therein. It is, in fact, an activist policy demanding taking up specific sides on merit of each case. This implies that issue-bound tilts in non-alignment are legitimate and the concept, therefore, does not imply equidistance from both the super powers. Non-alignment is the soul and substance of India's foreign policy. It is a policy of avoiding alignment with any power bloc. It signifies a deliberate detachment from either bloc or determination to judge every issue of international concern on its own merit. According to Nehru, non-alignment is freedom of action, which is a part of independence. It is a means of safeguarding national independence and contributing to world peace. On the other side, India's geographical situation—its location at the junction of Southeast Asia and Middle East and its strategic position in the Indian Ocean and as a neighbour of communist China in the North—made it imperative to keep away from military alliances.

(ii) Panchsheel and peaceful co-existence

With the end of World War II, movements of national independence and liberation blossomed in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Newly independent countries demanded the establishment of new patterns of international relations based on equality to maintain their national sovereignty and develop their economies. The five principles of peaceful co-existence were produced in response to this strong and common demand of newly independent nations. India and China, being two giants of Asia, established diplomatic ties on 1 April 1950. On 29 April 1954, the two nations signed an agreement on trade and communications between Tibet and India. The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence were introduced into the preface of the agreement. The then Chinese Premier Zhou En-Lai visited India and Myanmar in 1954, at the invitation of the two countries and held talks with the then Indian and Myanmese counterparts, Jawaharlal Nehru and U Nu, respectively.

Consequently, in the 'Joint Declaration of Chinese and Indian Premiers' issued on 28 June 1954, and the 'Joint Declaration of Chinese and Myanmese Premiers' issued on the next day, the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence were officially announced as the basic norms guiding the Sino-Indian and Sino-Myanmese relations. The Sino-Indian joint declaration proposed that 'these principles not only be applicable to relations between nations but also to the general international relationship', while the Sino-Myanmese joint declaration expressed the hope that 'these principles will be observed by all nations'. After one year in April 1955, China, India and Myanmar initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and a total of 29 newly independent countries from Asia and Africa held the historic 'Asian-African Conference' in Bandung, Indonesia. As a result of the common efforts of the participants, the conference adopted the 'Declaration on Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation' and formulated the 10 principles of the Bandung Conference.

These 10 principles, which contained all points in the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, represented an extension and development of the latter. Since then, the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence have been recognized and accepted by more and more nations, international organizations and international meetings and have been incorporated into a series of major international documents, including declarations adopted by the UN General Assembly. The Five Principles were also reaffirmed in the documents of China's establishment of diplomatic ties with more than 160 states and in treaties as well as communiqués. The Five Principles mentioned in the preamble of the agreement were as follows:

(a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;

(b) Mutual non-aggression;

(c) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;

(d) Equality and mutual benefits; and

(e) Peaceful co-existence.

The term 'Panchsheel' is found in ancient Buddhist literature and refers to five principles of good conduct of individuals. These are truth, non-violence, celibacy, refrain from drinking, and vow not to steal. The term 'Panchsheel' was so popular that Nehru called it an 'international coin'. By the end of 1956, many countries of the world including Afghanistan, Myanmar, Indonesia, Egypt, Nepal, Poland, USSR, Saudi Arabia and Yugoslavia had endorsed the Panchsheel. In 1959, the UN General Assembly also resolved to adopt the Five Principles. In 1955, Indonesian President

Soekarno had announced Five Principles of Indonesian National Policy. These Five Principles called Panjashila were: faith in nationalism, faith in humanity, faith in independence, faith in social justice, faith in God. However, the Five Principles of Panchsheel declared in 1954 were neither principles of good conduct of individual nor of nationalism. These are principles of behaviours of sovereign states in their foreign relations. These are normal expectations from civilized nations in their behaviour with each other. To respect the territorial integrity of others and not to commit aggression are vital objectives of friendly international relations.

Within a few years when China began encroaching upon Indian territory by building a road in Aksai Chin area, Panchsheel was threatened. When China attacked India in 1962, it was a clear violation of 'mutual non-aggression'. The Fifth Principle, i.e., peaceful co-existence, emphasizes the importance of peaceful living by all nations irrespective of their ideology. A liberal democracy, India, and a communist state China, need not attempt to force their ideologies on the other. The principles contained in Panchsheel were, according to Nehru, a consequence of democratic outlook: 'The person who rejects the idea of co-existence rejects basically the democratic outlook'. If a country violated the principles of Panchsheel, Nehru had opined that it was 'likely to find itself in a quandary'. None other than China violated the principles of non-aggression. Despite the 1962 border war with China, India has remained firmly committed to the principles of Panchsheel.

(iii) Freedom of dependent peoples

Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism has been a matter of faith with India's foreign policy-makers. India decided to extend full support to the cause of freedom of dependent peoples of Asia and Africa. The Dutch colony of Indonesia had been taken by the Japanese during the World War II. India opposed it even in the United Nations and cooperated with Indonesia in its efforts to get independence. India also supported the freedom struggles in Asian and African countries such as Indo-China, Malaya, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, and Gold Coast (now Ghana). India also supported the cause of independence of the people of Namibia who were under prolonged colonial rule of racist South Africa. Promotion of self-determination of all colonial peoples was, thus, an important objective and principle of India's foreign policy.

In the context of Cold War, the Western view was that international communism was a bigger threat than colonialism. India did not agree with this view. In the words of Nehru, the real-question in Asia was that of 'colonialism *vs* anti-colonialism'. It was likely to encourage communism among the colonial people, if colonialism was not quickly abolished. Once Nehru said, 'Colonialism represents the biggest threat to Asia and Africa and leads to communism'. Both colonialism and communism are of European origin and India emphasized the end of colonialism.

In the present time, colonialism and imperialism have been terminated; one might think that there is no relevance of this principle any more. But, Western powers have not given up their efforts to dominate their former colonies. Most of Afro-Asian nations, including India, were being subjected to a new form of colonialism, commonly called 'neo-colonialism'.

In its new embodiment, colonialism seeks to dominate independent underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa through various instruments of exploitation. India is determined to oppose neo-colonialism as this type of colonialism aims at

economic exploitation which may lead to political control. Various means such as economic assistance and multinational corporations are used for the promotion of neo-colonialism.

(iv) Foreign economic aid and India's independent policy

Economic development of a nation was an urgent necessity. Soon after independence, India devoted its energies to a planned and rapid all-round development. The financial and technological help that India needed could come either from the US or the USSR. It was believed that the USSR would not help a non-communist country. The government as well as business community in India realized that the US is only country that could give substantial help to India. Still India did not want to compromise with the principle of non-alignment, independence and sovereignty. By 1949, India had come quite close to the United States, despite, its firm decision not to accept any aid with strings. Many sections of Indian industry were pressurizing Government of India to secure foreign capital as nationalization of industry was not practical. The success of communist China made India realize that there was a danger of communism raising its head in India also unless its economic development was initiated in a big way, with foreign aid. To avoid Chinese Communist type success in India, there was growing realization of urgent need in helping India, even in the US. Thus, the process of economic assistance began in India from the US.

India began accepting aid from the World Bank, and other countries, as the process of development was accelerated. In course of time, Soviet suspicion of India being a pro-West country was removed and India welcomed aid from Eastern bloc also. Then two new economic powers began to emerge as Soviet Union experienced difficulties. Germany and Japan have become industrially developed states and are gave aid to many states, including India. Unfortunately, the Western states have been unwilling to transfer technology to India and other developing states. India tried to maintain independence in decision-making and foreign policy. At times, it was charged with being pro-West and at other times clearly tilted towards the Soviet Union. However, India tried to maintain balance and pursue independent policy. Under Indira Gandhi's regime, India chose to go for large-scale nationalization. As socialism was made a goal of Indian economy (42nd Amendment, 1976), the Western nations began to disbelieve India's policy of independent decision-making and non-alignment. India decided to liberalize its economy in the mid-1991, and after the disintegration of Soviet Union, India's economy naturally moved closer to the capitalist world.

(v) Opposition to racial discrimination

India believes in equality of all human being. Its policy is aimed at opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. South Africa was the worst example of discrimination and exploitation of the coloured peoples, including people of Indian origin. It gave its full support to the cause of victims of social discrimination. Not only India had cut off its diplomatic ties with South Africa in 1949, but also used its influence in the application of comprehensive sanctions against the white minority racist regime of South Africa. Any facility to the racist regime was not allowed by India, and it opposed the system, both inside and outside the United Nations, and stood by the demand of racial equality. Indian sportsmen boycotted racial discrimination and even its symbol, i.e., South Africa.

In the early 1994, apartheid came to an end in South Africa and a majority government of the African National Congress and was elected an under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. After achieving the goal, of racial equality in South Africa, India re-established its ties with the country. India has regularly supported the establishment of an egalitarian society in which discrimination based on colour, race, and class, etc., do not exist. India has also supported the UN efforts leading to adoption of covenants of human rights and the observance of fundamental freedom all over the world.

(vi) Support to the UN

India is one of the founder member of the United Nations and many of its specialized agencies. It has full faith in the international organizations and agencies. India also believes in international peace and security. It is also a prominent Afro-Asian member of the world body. India has sponsored and supported several progressive measures in the UN and its agencies.

India's Vijay Laxmi Pandit, was elected the president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1953. India has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for a number of terms. Again, it has been elected for a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. India's contribution in the cause of world peace has been universally recognized. To serve in collective security and peace-keeping efforts, India has enthusiastically responded to the call of the United Nations. India sent a medical unit in the Korean War and participated actively in the repatriation of prisoners of war after the Korean crisis. India has also sent help at the call of the United Nations to Egypt, Congo and Yugoslavia for peace-keeping.

In 1953, India held the chairmanship of the Neutral Nation Repatriation Commission (NNRC) for Korea and was charged with the custody and repatriation of the prisoners of war. In July 1954, India also chaired the International Commission for Supervision and Control for Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. During 1960–63, peace-keeping operations were organized in Congo by the Indian Independent Brigade. In 1992, the responsibility of heading the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia was also entrusted to an Indian general.

India continuously supported the efforts of universalization of the United Nations. Many countries' applications for membership of the UN were being rejected in mid-1950s, as either the USSR or the U.. used veto to bar their entry. At that time, Krishna Menon of India, used his diplomatic skill and with the support of many other like-minded countries persuaded the big powers to allow admission of sixteen new members in 1955. After the revolution in 1949, India was one of the first countries to recognize Communist China. India firmly supported application of People's Republic of China for representation in the UN and expulsion of Nationalist China. On the question of Chinese representation, India had taken a value based stand. Even after the Chinese invasion of 1962, its stand did not change. There are several other areas in which India has played significant role in the United Nations. For example, India played a firm, positive and energetic role in arms control and disarmament. In the field of human rights, issues which attracted India worked against racial discrimination and colonialism. India's contribution has also been significant in the areas of health, food, children's welfare and improvement in the condition of working people.

NOTES

(vii) Peaceful settlement of international disputes

Disputes among nations are unavoidable. There can only be two methods of setting international disputes—war through or peace. War has been the most commonly used method for deciding disputes since the pre-historic days. War was considered the legitimate means for deciding disputes. It resulted in the victory of one nation over the other. India's foreign policy goal is peaceful settlement of dispute—here the emphasis is on the term 'peaceful' rather than on 'settlement'. Thus, if India's goal is international peace, peaceful settlement of disputes is the natural means. The founding fathers of the Constitution of India were keen to remind all future governments that India as a nation desired peaceful settlement of international dispute. That is why Article 51 of the Constitution of India (in part IV, Directive Principles of State Policy) lays down that the state shall endeavour to seek peaceful settlement of international disputes. India does not believe in 'negotiation through strength' because that is illogical. As Nehru himself pointed out, '... the world had arrived at a stage when even if one party was relatively weaker, the effect on both was the same; they had reached a saturation point in regard to weapons of mass destruction'. Thus, India has made it a matter of faith to seek peaceful settlement of dispute.

Generally, in nations like Britain, basic principles of foreign policy do not radically change whenever there is change of government. India has adopted this tradition and even when prime ministers and foreign ministers have changed, India's basic policy commitments have remained unaltered or unchanged.

(viii) The Gujral doctrine

The Gujral Doctrine is a set of five principles to guide the conduct of foreign relations with India's nearest neighbours as spelt out by I.K. Gujral, first as external affairs minister and later as the prime minister. Among other factors, these five principles arise from the belief that India's stature and strength cannot be divorced from the quality of its relations with its neighbours. It, thus, recognizes the supreme importance of friendly, cordial relations with neighbours. These principles are: (i) with neighbours like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity, but gives and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust; (ii) no South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region; (iii) no country should interfere in the internal affairs of another; (iv) all South Asian countries must respect territorial integrity and sovereignty of one another; and (v) they should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

In the words of Gujral, these five principles, if thoroughly adhered to, would achieve a fundamental recasting of South Asia's regional relationships, including the difficult relationship between India and Pakistan. Further, the implementation of these principles would generate a climate of close and mutually favourable cooperation in the region, where India is regarded as an asset by these countries.

Gujral Doctrine advocated people to people contacts, particularly between India and Pakistan, to create an atmosphere that would enable the countries concerned to sort out their differences amicably. In late 1996, in pursuance of this policy, India concluded an agreement with Bangladesh, to draw in lean season, slightly more water than the Agreement of 1977 had provided. India and China in November 1996 agreed in confidence-building measures and efforts were made by the two countries to improve bilateral relations and freeze, for the time being the border dispute. In 1997, India

unilaterally announced several concessions to Pakistani tourists, particularly the elderly citizens and cultural groups, in regard to visa fees and police reporting, in forcefully pursuing Gujral doctrine.

The Gujral Doctrine, summed up in one sentence, as the policy of giving unilateral concession to neighbours and promoting people to people contact, is aimed at improving relations by friendly gestures or actions. India as a big country willing to unilaterally help the smaller neighbours is presented by Gujral Doctrine.

India and nuclear weapons

Nehru had initiated research in atomic energy. Homi Bhabha headed the Atomic Energy Commission as its first chairman. Though Nehru never said that he wanted India to ever acquire nuclear weapons, yet he did not specifically reject the idea. Initially, the idea was to develop and use the atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Later, at some stage, India began working on the nuclear power. After the Bangladesh crisis of 1971, when it became clear that China, an ally of Pakistan, could assist Pakistan to develop nuclear weapons; India seriously considered developing; nuclear weapons. China had exploded its first bomb in 1964 and became the fifth nuclear weapon state.

In view of evolving China-US Strategic relationship, India conducted its first nuclear test in May 1974. But in view of hue and cry in international community, India declared that the 1974 test was only 'peaceful nuclear explosion'. India had refused to sign the discriminatory Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 which recognized only five nuclear weapon states and bound the signatories not to proliferate nuclear weapons. Indira Gandhi for the time being had to abandon the idea of nuclear weapons, though India was getting enriched uranium and working on nuclear power, peaceful or otherwise. Successive governments maintained silence but indicated that India was keeping its nuclear options open.

India took the bold decision of ordering five nuclear tests in May 1998. The tests conducted in absolute secrecy enabled India to declare itself a nuclear weapon state. India boldly faced bombardment of criticism and severe sanctions imposed upon it by the US and its allies.

7.5 DECOLONIZATION, PEACE, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

As nationalism spread, demand of 'self determination' thrived at the global level. In fact, issue of self determination was in the forefront during World Wars. Aspirations of self determination and independence initiated process of decolonization-an occurrence that deeply affected international relations in the 20th century. It was anticipated that after obtaining independence from colonial masters newly independent states will have greater role in international politics and would get chance to developed and flourished through abandon resources available in their states. However, soon it was realized that in most of the cases those states have gained mere political independence. Ex-colonial masters still hold stake through various measures. In fact, many new tactics have been evolved by powerful states to exploit weak states. This has been studied with the perspectives of neo-colonialism. In this section you will learn about those aspects.

> **Check Your Progress**
>
> 6. India desired peace not merely as an ideal but also as an essential condition for its own security. (True/False)
>
> 7. India was pushed by the USSR to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. (True/False)
>
> 8. What does non-alignment mean?
>
> 9. _____ was elected the President of the United Nations General Assembly in 1953.

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Decolonization

Modern colonialism appeared on the political horizon of the globe as an outcome of industrialization in Europe. European nations like Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Holland and many others build their empires over Asia, Africa and Latin America. The European powers exploited the resources of what came to be known as the Third World countries and subjugated their people for about four centuries by their colonial and imperialist policies. The exploitation inevitably provoked its own contradictions in the form of nationalism and nationalist movements and that led to the process of decolonization. In general decolonization refers to the undoing of colonialism, the unequal relation of polities whereby one person or nation establishes and maintains dependent territorial governments over another. Thus, decolonization is the attainment of rights of self-determination and establishment of a sovereign government.

Subjugated people challenged colonial powers by continuous struggle as in Indian in 1857 and other forms of disconcert. However, the actual progress in decolonization began only during the inter war period as 'right to self-determination' was stated a crucial reason. The process of decolonization was accelerated with the end of World War II and the establishment of the United Nations. United Nations constituted a 'Special Committee on Decolonization' and stated that there is no alternative to self determination. By end of the 20th century major parts of the world achieved 'self determination' (except territories mentioned in Table 7.1) and, thus, the process of decolonization is completed. However, the process of decolonization varied. Some nation achieved independence within the framework of liberal democratic movement (peaceful transition) while other attained it through violent struggle. A thorough study of effort of the United Nations and attitude of colonial masters also required to understand decolonization.

Table 7.1 *Non-Self Governing Territories (as of 2006)*

Territory	Administering Power
Africa	
Western Sahara*	
Asia and the Pacific	
American Samoa	United States
Guam	United States
New Caledonia**	France
Pitcairn	United Kingdom
Tokelau	New Zealand
Atlantic Ocean, Caribbean and Mediterranean	
Anguilla	United Kingdom
Bermuda	United Kingdom
British Virgin Islands	United Kingdom
Cayman Islands	United Kingdom
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)***	United Kingdom
Gibraltar	United Kingdom
Montserrat	United Kingdom
St. Helena	United Kingdom
Turks and Caicos Islands	United Kingdom
United States Virgin Islands	United States

* On 26 February 1976, Spain informed the UN Secretary-General that as of that date it had terminated its presence in the territory of Sahara and deemed it necessary to place on record that Spain considered itself, thenceforth, exempt from any international responsibility in connection with its administration, in view of the cessation of its participation in the temporary administration established for the territory. In 1990, the General Assembly reaffirmed that the question of western Sahara was a question of decolonization that remained to be completed by the people of Western Sahara.

** On 2 December 1986, the General Assembly determined that New Caledonia was a Non-Self Governing Territory.

*** A dispute exists between the governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

Source: United Nations Department of Public Information, DPI/2448—07-22351—March 2007

Decolonization process

Colonialism was a means to exploit weaker states by the powerful ones. Colonies were established through deceit, war, annexations, and other means. Loosing territorial ownership and control over resources of those was of much painful for colonial masters. Therefore, the process of decolonization was not smooth and often linked violent means. In most cases, it began with a 'war of independence' and at times followed by means. It is, however, a dynamic cycle which involves failed negotiations, frequent a revolution. It is, however, a dynamic cycle which involves failed negotiations, frequent protests and processions, short-term upheavals, and suppression by authorities which lead to violent risings, deaths and more intense negotiations until independence is granted. The show of violence was a reaction to the iron-hand oppression by the ruling regime and its administration.

Very rarely did a decolonization process show signs of non-violence. In India under Mahatma Gandhi, the freedom movement took to the path of non-violence.

For example, war of independence in French Indochina began in December 1946 and ended in August 1957. In countries in west Africa (Francophone such as Senegal, Ivory Coast or Anglophone such as Nigeria and Ghana) the decolonization process was a combination of insurrections and negotiations. While in others, the intervention of international organizations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations was required. Mandated territories under the League of Nations such as Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi, Cameroon, and Pacific territories either became independent or were placed under the trusteeship council of the United Nations. The objective was to bring self determination among these countries that would eventually lead to independence.

The Portuguese colonies in Africa, such as, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau, saw long-drawn armed struggle, but independence was not easy to come. It was only in 1974 when Portugal herself witnessed a democratic revolution that overthrew the military dictator Salazaar. The former French colony of Algeria too witnessed seven years of armed struggle, from 1954 to 1961. The fight was led by Ben Bella and Ferhat Abbas of National Liberation Front of Algeria (FNLA). Even Indonesia and Vietnam attained independence through violent struggle. However, countries like Morocco and Tunisia achieved independence with comparative ease.

Check Your Progress

10. The process of decolonization was accelerated with the end of First World War and the establishment of the League Nations. (True/False)

11. The process of decolonization was a smooth transition. (True/False)

7.6 NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The Non-Aligned Movement, founded in 1961, was a product of the Cold War. A group of world leaders, India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru; Indonesia's first president Sukarno; Egypt's second president Gamal Abdel Nasser; Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah; and Yugoslavia's president Josip Broz Tito, renounced the bi-polar division of the countries across the globe and advocated a middle path for the developing world. The phrase, used for the first time by V.K. Krishna Menon in 1953 at the United Nations, highlighted an ideological difference between the East and West camps. The end of the Cold War, with the fall of the USSR, erupted a wide debate on the relevance of the NAM in the contemporary scenario.

The debate

The last decade of the 20th century witnessed fiery debate on role and relevance of the NAM in change circumstances in the international arena. There were two main arguments. The first group held that the very purpose of the organization did not hold ground any longer and the political developments had altered the geography and character of the founding members. For example, Yugoslavia no longer existed and some of the countries had entered into strategic alliance with the United States, which had now become the only dominant power.

The second group argued that the movement's existence was important because justifications for its continuation are much more than those for its disappearance. They said its achievements could not be nullified and some of the challenges NAM stood for still existed.

Late Prime Minister P.V.N Rao had stated, 'The pursuit of a non-aligned policy is even more relevant today than ever before. Non-alignment basically consists of the espousal of the rights of nations to independence and development, regardless of the bloc phenomenon. Whether there is one bloc or more at a given moment, the urge of a non-aligned country would continue to be maintain its independence, to take decisions according to its rights, not tagging itself in advance to others.'

Relevance of non-alignment

It is, however, pertinent to discuss the relevance of the NAM in the present geo-political situation. NAM was not another political front opposing the two power blocs led by the US and the USSR. It represented different ideological and philosophical values advocating freedom, independence, development, and progress in the Third World. It is a legal framework that comprises countries with similar characteristics so that they could be a viable entity capable of contributing in shaping the new world order and outline its agenda. This is clear in the voting power of the movement members inside the United Nations.

In fact, the end of the climate of ideological polarization and the Cold War should act as an incentive to implement those values through new mechanism in accordance with the new world order.

As of 2012, the movement has 120 members and 17 observer countries. It still has great political, economic and strategic influence on international affairs. The movement holds conferences and summits through which the member countries presents their causes and issues of interest and address the world public opinion in a

bid to give the world countries an insight into the difficulties the NAM members are faced with. Interestingly, major powers have not been able to ignore the effect of NAM both within the framework of inter-NAM dialogue, or while examining issues and problems associated with the relationship between the North and South.

It may, hence, be said that those who advocate that NAM be dissolved, questioning the relevance in todays world politics, are unable to comprehend the objectives of the founders. The movement's presence is still a reminder to the world of an alternative to war and aggression and can stop any country from establishing its hegemony on a weaker state.

ACTIVITY

The last NAM summit was held in 2012. In your opinion, what is the relevance of NAM today? Give your arguments.

7.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- India's foreign relation was affected by this geo-strategic perception
- India's foreign policy like that of any other country is an extension of its domestic policy and reflects the dominant domestic concerns.
- There are broadly two kinds of determinants, i.e., internal (domestic) and external (international).
- India has had a legacy of peace and internationalism. India has not launched a single aggression against any country.
- Culture is the most important factor or element of foreign policy.
- When India gained Independence, the Cold War had begun and the world was divided into two hostile power blocs. The shaping of India's policy of non-alignment was direct impact to her.
- The goals of India's foreign policy are simple and straightforward. The primary and overriding goal has always been the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security.
- A very important objective was to root out causes of war by measures such as liberation of subjects and the elimination of racial discrimination.
- The basic principles of the Indian foreign policy are based on Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).
- In the present time, colonialism and imperialism have been terminated; one might think that there is no relevance of this principle any more. But, Western powers have not given up their efforts to dominate their former colonies.
- Gujral Doctrine advocated people to people contacts, particularly between India and Pakistan, to create an atmosphere that would enable the countries concerned to sort out their differences amicably.

Check Your Progress

12. Who were the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement?
13. How many countries are members of NAM today?

- Modern colonialism appeared on the political horizon of the globe as an outcome of industrialization in Europe.

7.8 KEY TERMS

- **Commonwealth of Nations:** Normally referred to as the Commonwealth and formerly known as the British Commonwealth, is an intergovernmental organisation of 54 independent member states. All members except Mozambique and Rwanda were part of the British Empire, out of which the Commonwealth developed.

- **Radcliffe Line:** It was announced on 17 August 1947 as a boundary demarcation line between India and Pakistan upon the Partition of India. The Radcliffe Line was named after its architect, Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

- **Line of Actual Control (LAC):** Also known as the MacCartney-MacDonald Line, it is the effective border between India and the People's Republic of China.

7.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Peace-keeper
2. False
3. The three values that have helped shaping India's foreign policy are: (i) tolerance, (ii) equation of means and ends, and (iii) non-violence.
4. Jawaharlal Nehru
5. False
6. True
7. False
8. In the era of Cold War, non-alignment meant not aligning with any of two power blocs.
9. Vijay Laxmi Pandit
10. False
11. False
12. The founder of the Non-Aligned Movement were Yugoslavia's president Josip Broz Tito, India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesia's first president Sukarno, Egypt's second president Gamal Abdel Nasser and Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah.
13. As of 2012, the movement has 120 members and 17 observer countries.

7.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the geo-strategic perceptions that affected India's foreign relation?
2. How has the pluralistic nature of Indian society shaped it foreign policy?

3. What is the historical background of India's foreign policy?
4. Explain the circumstances that led to the signing on Panchsheel.
5. What is the debate regarding Non-Aligned Movement?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the determinants of India's foreign policy.
2. Critically analyse the objectives of India's foreign policy.
3. Critically evaluate the basic principles of India's foreign policy.
4. Explain how self determination led to decolonization.
5. Discuss the policy of non-alignment as a tenant of India's foreign policy.

7.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 8   INDIA AND MAJOR POWERS

Structure

8.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the principles and philosophies on which India's foreign policy is based. You were also introduced to the process of decolonization and the concept of Non-Aligned Movement.

After Independence, India did not want to be dominated by military blocs and wanted to use its resources for rebuilding and developing the country rather than spending it on arms. After World War II, two military blocs led by the Capitalist US and the Communist USSR dominated the world. The ideological differences between the US and the USSR led to tensions and rivalry between these two blocs. India has always believed in a policy of peace and non-violence, both in domestic and foreign affairs. India's foreign policy is based on the policy of non-alignment, i.e., not aligned to either of the military blocs.

In this unit, we would discuss in detail India's foreign policy and relations with the US, Russia, China and Japan.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe India's relationship with the US in relation to the changing political atmosphere
- Explain India's relation with China
- Analyse the friendship India shared with Russia
- Interpret India's foreign policy towards Japan

8.2 INDIA'S RELATION WITH THE US

Some foreign policy-makers believe that India's strong democratic tradition, although much younger than that of the United States, is an important ingredient in Indo-United States relations. Soon after Independence, India developed friendly ties with the United States. The democratic ideals of America fascinated the Indian leaders, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, and they tried to develop cordial relations with the United States. However, India's decision to pursue the policy of non-alignment was not favoured by US leaders and they considered it an unfriendly gesture towards their country. India's refusal to join the military alliances sponsored by the US and different stands taken by India on various international issues like grant of independence of Indonesia and recognition of the Communist China annoyed the leaders of the United States. On the other hand, the United States support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council as well as grant of military aid irritated Indian leaders.

American Policy of Containment towards communist Soviet Union and China through military alliance was not approved by India and it sought to promote peaceful co-existence and cooperation by recognizing the difference between their political institutions. Despite these differences in the political sphere, the relations between the two nations in the economic, cultural and educational spheres continued to grow and the US provided valuable assistance to India under the Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1951. To tide over the problem of food-shortage facing India, the US also made available huge quantities of food grains. India also received enormous assistance from various private foundations like the Ford Foundations, Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie.

India's ties with the US became much more cordial after the Indo-China border war of 1962. The US provided India with useful moral and material help during the war when India stood alone. At this juncture, the two states got very close and made a joint responsibility to check Communist China. Yet, after that the ties between the two nations deteriorated again when India condemned the US for use of gas in North Vietnam. After this incident, the US president postponed his visit to India in 1965. During the Indo-Pak War of 1965, the use of American arms by Pakistan further deteriorated the ties between the two countries. The US government had given the assurance that Pakistan would not use these arms against India. It also asked Pakistan to prevent the use of these arms against India. However, no concrete measures were undertaken by the US leaders in this regard. This was interpreted by the Indian leaders as a pro-Pakistan stand.

India's relations with the US continued to be far from friendly due to the former's consistent support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and the US' decision to give shelter to the Naga rebel leader Phizo in the United States in 1967. Relations between the two states bent on the antagonistic throughout the 1970s. After Nixon abruptly terminated $82 million in economic assistance, India closed down a large United Sates Agency for International Development Programme. The flow of American scholars and students to India was also restricted by the government of India. India's criticisms of the United States policies in Vietnam and Cambodia increased, and it upgraded its representation in Hanoi.

When the United States expanded its naval base on the island of Diego Garcia and engaged in naval exercises with Pakistan in the Indian Ocean in 1974, India realized that its security was further threatened. An agreement in 1973 defused a

dispute over the United States rupee holdings by writing off more than 50 per cent of the debt and directing use of the remainder to mutually acceptable programmes. In 1974, the Indo-United States Joint Commission was established to keep bilateral dealings in the fields of education and culture, economics, and science and technology, away from political controversy and to provide mechanisms for regular exchanges at high levels of public life.

During a series of meetings in the early 1980s, the personal rapport between Indira Gandhi and President Ronald Reagan was established and enabled the two countries to gradually improve bilateral relations. The Reagan administration reassessed its policy towards India and decided to expand areas of cooperation, particularly in the economic and scientific realms, as a means of counteracting Soviet influence in the region. New Delhi's status as the major regional power in South Asia was regarded by the Reagan administration. Indira Gandhi realized that India was unable to block the United States arms supply to Pakistan, but that was improved through a dialogue with the United States, which opened up other areas of interaction benefiting Indian interests. Indira Gandhi's successful visit to the United States in 1982 was followed by a series of high-level exchanges, including the visits of two US leaders, Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz, to India. In addition to this, in 1982 the two sides also resolved their dispute concerning supplies of fuel and spare parts for the nuclear power plant at Tarapur. In 1984, it was decided that technology transfers to India by the US government would be expanded.

Again, the ties between New Delhi and Washington continued to remain cordial during the 1985–1987 when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi regularly visited Washington. Furthermore, India's role as a force for stability in South Asia was appreciated by the US. Washington supported New Delhi's moves in Sri Lanka in 1987 and in Maldives in 1988. In the mid-and late 1980s, visits exchanged by the United States secretary of defense and the Indian defence minister symbolized a modest but growing programme of cooperation in military technology and other defence matters. In 1988, both the countries finalized an agreement to provide the United States technology for India's light combat aircraft programme and also agreed to transfer technology for the F-5 fighter. Cooperation between the two nations in a variety of scientific fields followed the signing of a bilateral agreement on scientific and technological exchanges in 1985. In 1987, India purchased a Cray supercomputer for agricultural research and weather forecasting. Furthermore, economic liberalization measure paved the way for increased trade and the United States investment in India. In 1988, the improved economic climate resulted in the conclusion of a deal for a Pepsi-Cola plant and the signing of a bilateral tax treaty. In 1989, the United States investment in India reached $1 billion.

India and the United States committed in 1993 to improve relations and bilateral cooperation in spite of differences over India's refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and participated in discussions with various nations like the United States, Russia, China, and Pakistan for establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. Nevertheless, Washington directed its efforts to create a climate of restraint between New Delhi and Islamabad in order to freeze their nuclear weapons programmes. India and the United Stated remained wary of each other's long-term strategy regionally and globally.

India decided to pursue the policy of friendship with all nations, but permanent alliances with none. In pursuance of non-alignment policy, it was natural that India not only maintained friendly relations with Britain, but also tried to develop cordial relations with super powers.

In general, the two countries have maintained good relations between them, but there have also been periods of bitterness and virtual hostility. Such ups and downs are natural in the bilateral relations of any two large and self-respecting nations.

It is believed that the United States did not place Indo-US relations at the level of high priority for nearly five decades. The policy of the US changed in India's favour during the period of Chinese aggression on India in 1962. For some time, the Kennedy administration adopted pro-India posture. India as a country was generally given low priority by the US foreign policy-makers. The United States found it difficult to appreciate India's approach to international politics, and often dubbed its non-alignment as pro-Soviet policy. Since India's Independence, there have been several cases of tensions in their relations and often allowed opportunities to go out of their hands. Indo-US relations have been described as relations of 'unfriendly friends'.

Both India and the United States have had trade relations for over two hundred years. Indo-US trade began in the 18th century when the Yankee Clipper ships brought ice from Boston and reached Calcutta and returned to America carrying spices and textiles from India. Only limited diplomatic ties were established in 1790 when US President George Washington appointed a counsel at Calcutta. The freedom fighters of India, from time to time received friendly help and encouragement from the US. Inter-governmental exchanges, tourism and religious experiences promoted friendly relations between the two countries.

Relations between India and the United States during the Cold War period are no longer relevant or necessary as there is no point in going over the five decade-long estrangement between the world's most powerful democracies. The adoption of policy of non-alignment did not mean that India refused to play a positive role in international politics. It expressed positive opinion on the issues facing the world on the basis of merit. Although, India always wanted to have a balanced relationship with both the super powers, however, in this mission it could never succeed. India's ties with the US have pursued a zigzag course during the first 50 years (1947–1997). India's ties with three of the most important neighbours, like Pakistan, China and the Soviet Union, in particular and the policy toward Asia and Africa, in general, have been the most significant determining factors in the Indo-US relations.

Soon after Independence, India developed friendly relations with the US. However, as mentioned earlier, the US policy of containment of communism against Soviet Union and China through a system of military alliance was not approved by India, which irked the US. The United States was also irritated by various other factors like Nehru's mild stand on Chinese invasion of Tibet, not branding China as an aggressor in Korea and opposition to the US-sponsored Uniting for Pease Resolution of November 1950. India's attitude towards the Peace Pact between the US-and Japan also caused bitterness. India did not even attend the conference convened by the US for the conclusion of US-Japan peace treaty.

Earlier, when Nehru visited the United States in 1949 he was given a warm welcome. During the period 1951–54, Indo-US ties were friendly and cordial. When Britain, France and Israel launched an invasion on Egypt in 1956, because Suez Canal had been nationalized, most of the countries in the world bitterly criticized these three aggressor nations. India did the same; India completely supported the US efforts to end the Suez conflict.

8.2.1 United States and Containment of Communism

The Truman Doctrine (1947) in the context of Greece and Turkey and the Eisenhower Doctrine (1957) in regard to the Middle East had been opposed by India. Both these initiatives were aimed at opposition and containment of communism. India had described both the doctrines as provocative in the context of Cold War. The US intervention in Lebanon and Jordan had also been criticized by India, which increased tension in the Indo-US relations. The founder of India's foreign policy Jawaharlal Nehru and his approach was generally supported by Indian people. However, the Nehru government was bitterly criticized by Indian people in regard to its policy on the question of Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956. The Soviet armed forces were sent to Hungary to crush the Hungarian people's uprising against Soviet domination over their country.

The aspirations and wishes of Hungarian people were openly suppressed by the Soviet army. The Soviet army destroyed Hungarian desire to pursue an independent policy. India was in no way concerned with this crisis. However, when a resolution was moved by the United States in the UN General Assembly condemning Soviet intervention in Hungary, India abstained from voting. This was an indirect way of supporting the Soviet Union and it was a totally unjustifiable action. India again took a wrong step when it voted along with the USSR to oppose the five-nation resolution calling for free and democratic elections in Hungary. It is impossible to understand why India voted against the proposal for democratic elections in Hungary. This pro-Soviet policy of the Nehru government naturally strained the already tensed Indo-US relations. Within India itself this anti-democratic action was criticized and opposed by a large number of people. Jayaprakash Narain led the opposition and a demand was made by Indian people and the media for the immediate recall of India's representation in the United Nations. The Indian representative, Krishna Menon voted on the side of the Soviet Union. Thus, a sharp difference was noticed between the two nations on several issues during the prime ministership of Nehru.

Liberation of Goa

In western India, Goa and four other small territories like Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, were under the Portuguese colonial rule for a very long time. It was expected that after the British left India, the Portuguese on the moral grounds would also withdraw forces from these small territories. However, despite numerous diplomatic efforts made by India, Goa could not be liberated from the Portuguese rule and therefore, could not be integrated into the Indian Union. The government of Portugal was not interested in cooperating with India. On the question of Goa, the United States policy was anti-India and the liberation movement of Goa was repeatedly criticized by the Americans. The United States had always been an opponent of imperialism. However, Goa's freedom from the colonial rule was not supported by the United States.

8.2.2 Indo-China Border War of 1962

The Indo-China conflict of 1962 introduced a new element in the Indo-US ties. A common element of China's hostility toward India and the US now introduced a new mood in the country. In January 1961, Kennedy took over as the president of United States and the prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru the paid a third visit to the US in the same year. India's foreign policy was generally appreciated by the Kennedy administration, except on the question of Goa. For the first time, US President Kennedy

recognized the principle of peaceful coexistence and appreciated the fact that a country could remain neutral in the ongoing conflict between democracy and communism. The Indo-US relations, from then onwards, began to improve again. Speaking in the US Congress, Kennedy publicly praised Nehru's high ideals. Therefore, when following upon China's aggression of October 1962 India appealed for help, the unconditional support was given to India and the necessary war materials were sent by the United States. Voices were raised in India for an alliance with the US against China, and drastic modification for non-alignment.

Thus, Indo-US relations brightened during the Kennedy administration. Earlier, in May 1960, PL-480 agreement was concluded between the two countries, which enabled India to get large quantities of wheat from the United States. The air forces of India, Britain, Australia and the United States carried out joint air exercise in different parts of India in 1964. Again, an agreement was signed by the two countries in December 1964 which provided for American assistance to the tune of 80 million US dollars, which enabled India to set up a plant for nuclear energy at Tarapur. After Nehru's death in May 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the prime minister. Despite the fact that Shastri did not have any experience in the field of foreign policy, he not only actively pursued the policy of non-alignment, but also led India to victory in the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965.

However, ties between India and the United States suffered a clear setback during Shastri's brief rule. Sardar Swaran Singh, as foreign minister of India, under Shastri government played an important role in world politics. During this period, the US had started heavy bombardment on north Vietnam. India was against this action of the United States, which resulted in strong anti-India opinion in America. As a result of India's views on the Vietnam crisis, the prime minister's scheduled visit to the United States in May 1965 was postponed, by president johnson of the US on account of his 'busy schedule'.

8.2.3 India-Pakistan War of 1965

The Indo-China war of 1962 weakened India to a great extent. Furthermore, China convinced Pakistan that India's defence was extremely weak and that Pakistan could also easily defeat India and capture the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, Pakistan accelerated its conflict with India first in the Rann of Kutch, and then later in the state of Kashmir. After the border war of 1962 with China, India was engaged in a war with Pakistan in September 1965. During this war, the use of American arms by Pakistan further worsened the Indo-US relations. India protested against the American Government that its arms were being used in the war despite assurances. India asked America to prevent this immediately, but no action was taken in this regard by the US leaders and it continued to maintain a pro-Pakistan stand.

8.2.4 Indira Gandhi and Indo-US Relations

Both Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement in January 1966 to normalize Indo-Pak relations. Within a few hours of signing of this agreement Shastri died at Tashkent. He was succeeded by Indira Gandhi. When Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister in January 1966, her first visit was to the US, which took place in March 1966. Although, she was received warmly by President Johnson, yet a pressure was put on India in regard to India's relations with the Soviet Union.

In 1966, India's currency (rupee) was apparently devalued by India due to the US pressure. The economic assistance to India, which was suspended by the US during the Indo-Pak war of 1965, now resumed, although it was much less than the earlier assistance. The early years of the Indira Gandhi period was marked by a major effort at aligning India and US policies as closely as possible. The first formal bilateral talks were held in 1968 and these talks took place in a changing political situation as well as international environment of the two countries.

For the first time an important American delegation visited New Delhi, without informing the Indians, to settle the Kashmir problem; however, the differences still remained wide. The johnson administration was replaced by Nixon in 1969. Nixon stood for assistance to India and he also visited India in August 1969. It was the first trip of a US president after Eisenhower's visit of 1955. His visit helped clear some air, and certain differences. However, the Indo-American relationship reached a low point again during the June 1967 war in West Asia when Indira Gandhi supported but also Arabs. This action of Indira Gandhi irritated not only President Johnson but also US Jewish members of the US Congress. President Nixon then did not try to inject US into the seemingly irresolvable Kashmir question.

As India and the US could not resolve their differences, this sharp difference remained highlighted with the US arms supplies to Pakistan, the West Asian conflict and the war in Vietnam. The perception of India and the United States regarding their interests in Asia in particular, and the developing countries and the world in general had for most of the time, been fairly divergent. Whether it was Kashmir, the Indian Ocean, the question of colonialism or international political and economic order, their outlooks have always differed. India and the United States could never see eye to eye in issues like what steps should be taken for resolving problems in South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia (Middle East), Africa and other countries. However, above all, the US policy to the sub-continent, with its consequence for the political and societal interests of India combined with differing policies towards other important areas and issues to cool their relationship often led to a dispute between the two.

8.2.5 Crisis of Bangladesh

Indo-American relations during Bangladesh crisis were never as bad as they turned in 1971. This crisis was the domestic problem of Pakistan as it had started in Bangladesh. However, it soon developed into a major uprising and resulted into another Indo-Pak war in December 1971. During this war, the United States' President, Richard Nixon, had declared that US might intervene on the side of Pakistan, yet in practice it refrained from doing so. Pakistan had always been the bone of contention between Indo-American differences. Initially, Pakistan was not America's first choice; it was only after India refused to join the US sponsored SEATO. After India's refusal, Pakistan was invited to join the Western alliance system. Pakistan had already been receiving military assistance since 1954 from the United States. In spite of assurance given to India by United States, Pakistan used the American weapons against India in both wars. The United States now openly supported Pakistan during 1971 war. It was noticed that a strange cooperation in 1971 between Pakistan, China and the United States of America, took place, and Pakistan started receiving massive military supplies from the US even before the Bangladesh Crisis began. America had decided in 1968 that about 100 tanks of M-47 category will be sent to Pakistan via Turkey. India had made it clear at that time itself that the supply of these tanks would make Pakistan stronger than India, but the US administration did not stop the supply of the tanks.

The Bangladesh crisis of 1971 led to a confrontation between the two largest democratic nations of the world. You have already been explained the events leading to the 1971 crisis and its consequences. It was clear that anti-India Policy had been adopted by President Nixon of the United States. Owing to this confrontation between the two states, a strange tri-lateral combination of Pakistan, China and the United States emerged. Pakistan had regularly been receiving armaments from the United States.

Pakistan adopted a rigid attitude and refused to appoint Sheik Mujibur Rehman (whose party had won clear majority in Pakistan's National Assembly) as the prime minister. Due to this refusal, people of Bangladesh launched agitation for an independent state. When Indira Gandhi visited Washington, she was directed by President Nixon to resolve and support the position of Pakistan.

8.2.6 Indo-American Relations after the Bangladesh Crisis

India tested its first nuclear device in May 1974 at Pokhran in the deserts of Rajasthan. For this testing, India had made it clear that its nuclear programme was entirely for peaceful purposes. However, the United States highly criticized this step of India and felt that this explosion might lead to nuclear proliferation in South Asia. Serious doubts had also been raised by Pakistan about India's actual intention. Despite this, the Indo-US tensions were eased a little by American Secretary of State Kissinger's visit to New Delhi in October 1974. A 35-nation conference was held in Helsinki where countries of both American and Soviet blocs signed the final act of Helsinki in 1975. This was a remarkable achievement that brought about détente in the East-West conflict. However, again Soviet Union intervention in Afghanistan revived the new tension between the two rival Blocs and gave rise to the 'New Cold War' in 1979.

Meanwhile, both in India as well as the United States, governments had changed in 1977. In the United States, Jimmy Carter took over as the president in January 1977. In India, after Indira Gandhi's Congress party was defeated in the Lok Sabha election, a new Janata Party government led by Morarji Desai assumed the office. After some time, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was over thrown in a coup led by General Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan, and Bhutto was detained. United States President Jimmy Carter visited India in January 1978 and Desai paid a return visit to America in June in the same year. These visits helped both nations in restoring of cooperation and friendship, though in a very limited way. America promised to increase economic cooperation to India. However, India did not agree to Carter's request to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which India had always asserted was discriminatory in nature. Carter had expressed his fear that if India did not sign the NPT, the US might stop supply of enriched uranium for the Tarapur nuclear plant. Therefore, despite Desai's refusal to sign the NPT, Carter succeeded in persuading the Senate to maintain the supply of uranium to India, but, this did not signify lasting friendship between the countries. The then foreign minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee, during his four-day state visit to the United States, discussed with the Jimmy Carter administration in Washington, the issues relating to the supply of uranium to India , the problem caused by Pakistan's attempt to develop nuclear bomb and the need to declare Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

In October 1981, the then Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi met the then US President Ronald Reagan at the Cancun meeting of the developed and the developing countries. After the summit, Reagan realized a new insight into the Indian thinking and began re-examining its assumptions on which India's foreign policy had

been based. The two assumptions of the US policy-makers had to be cleared before India. The US assumptions were, first, India's close relations with the Soviet Union necessarily meant hostility towards the west; and the second was good relations of India with one super power meant that the country would not have good relations with the other. As these assumptions were not valid; India tried to convince the US administration at that time.

When Indira Gandhi described her meeting with Reagan as an 'adventure in search of understanding and friendship' then the Indo-US ties showed signs of improvement and Reagan called it as a 'dialogue of discovery'. One result of Gandhi's visit to the US was the conclusion of an agreement between the two countries on the long drawn out problem of the supply of enriched uranium to the Tarapur nuclear plant. However, differences still persisted mainly with regard to three important areas.

   (i) Continued American military aid to Pakistan which was strongly resented by India

   (ii) American action in alerting Pakistan about an impending Indian strike against its nuclear installation

   (iii) Increasing militancy in Punjab and the US attitude towards the separatists who had strong organizational and financial links in the UK, USA and Canada.

However, a more amicable atmosphere was noticed in the Indo-US relations when Rajiv Gandhi assumed the office of prime minister, immediately after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Rajiv Gandhi visited the United States in 1985 and tried to repair the extremely strained ties. Rajiv Gandhi said, 'We feel we can cooperate to reduce our difference and to work together for the common ideals of freedom and democracy.' But, later the euphoria gave way to disenchantment. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Cuba and his air dash to Moscow in October 1985 were reasons for disenchantment of the United States. Again, both the leaders, Rajiv Gandhi and Ronald Reagan, met in November 1987 and signed an agreement on cooperation in high technology. The US also agreed to the transfer of high technology including the sale of high-speed computers and offered advanced military technology and weaponry.

With the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, India had considerably improved its relations with the United States. It was felt that India had an over-optimistic view about the future of the Indo-US relationship. As Inder Malhotra opined. 'Thanks to initiatives taken by Rajiv Gandhi and Ronald Reagan, military cooperation on a limited scale between the two countries had begun.' Joint exercises of the navies of the two states took place after a long time. During Gulf War in 1991, the American war planes flying from South East Asia to Gulf destinations were allowed to be refueled in India, for which US was very appreciative, though the then Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar was criticized in many quarters for the facility provided to the United States.

Soon after the end of World War II, the Cold War had commenced that ended in 1989. The two super powers also gave up the path of confrontation, but the Soviet Union soon began to collapse. In December 1991, Soviet Union finally disintegrated. Like the rest of the world, India was not prepared for this development. This left the United States as the only super power in the world. It became necessary to review foreign policies and diplomatic activities for most of the countries of the world. It was natural that India's ties with the United States must also undergo a substantial change.

8.2.7 Problem of Nuclear Non-Proliferation

A major factor in the Indo-US relations according to India was not whether it would suspend or terminate its nuclear programme. India had decided that it would stop its nuclear programme only if all the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) made a strict commitment that they would, in due course of time, also completely stop their nuclear programmes. As per India, this commitment should have been time-bound so that the world knew by what time it would be free of all the nuclear weapons. However, these views of India were not taken seriously by the United States. Meanwhile, India had not conducted any nuclear test since 1974. According to the US, India's security could be ensured only if it gave up its nuclear programme.

The United States had always wanted that both the neighbouring countries, India and Pakistan, should sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This policy was forcibly pursued by US Presidents Carter as well as Clinton. Pakistan had already made it clear to Bush as well as to the Clinton administrations that it would sign NPT only after India signed it. India consistently refused to sign the NPT because it regarded the treaty as discriminatory. India always argued that three countries in its neighbourhood had nuclear weapons, so it could not give up its nuclear option unilaterally. India not only refused to sign the NPT but also to develop its missile programme by United States. India's decision to test Prithvi and Agni missiles provoked serious criticism in America and elsewhere. India did not make any compromise on its stand on the question of signing of NPT and later on the proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). In 1996, India succeeded in preventing the CTBT in the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva and voted against it even in the UN General Assembly.

Thus, on the question of NPT, CTBT, the missiles programme as well as the whole issue of Kashmir and human rights continued be the major causes of the Indo-US differences. However, for the first time in September 1997, the US President Bill Clinton advised the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that Kashmir question must be bilaterally solved by India and Pakistan themselves and that there was no requirement of the US to mediate between the two countries. This development was welcomed by India. Again India's Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral also met President Clinton, on the latter's initiative, during UN General Assembly session in September 1997. In accordance with Gujral's wishes, President Clinton did not raise the issue of Kashmir. The US, till date, maintains its position that the Kashmir question should be bilaterally dealt with by both India and Pakistan. Later, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright also said during a visit to these two countries that US did not have any interest of mediating in the Kashmir question.

The importance of the Asian region was admitted as well as considered by the Clinton administration. The US was willing to discuss the common interests of India and Pakistan. On behalf of the Clinton Administration it was claimed that the US wanted to ensure stability in the Indo-Pak ties, so that the tensions of the past could be reduced. The United States was keen to strengthen its friendship with all the countries of South Asia. It was felt by the US administration that the Gujral Doctrine would be highly beneficial to the entire Asian region. The accords that were concluded in 1996 between India and Nepal, and India and Bangladesh were appreciated by the United States and credit was given to this doctrine for developing good neighbourly relations with smaller nations.

When US President Clinton met both Prime Minister I.K. Gujral and Nawaz Sharif in September 1997, for the first time, he made it clear that the United States had no intention of mediating on the Kashmir issue. If both India and Pakistan could resolve their differences bilaterally it would be the most welcome development. By the end of 1997 there were clear signs of improvement in the Indo-US relation, as both India and Pakistan were engaged in taking confidence-building measures. The seriousness with which both the Prime Ministers initiated a step to find solutions to problems and all outstanding bilateral issues was appreciated by the United States, and it was likely that the Clinton Administration was going to re-examine its entire Asia policy. However, the problem was that the US interests appeared to be mainly limited to market operations.

The two states, India and the United States, initiated strategic talks to reach an agreement on the US demand of India signing the CTBT and India's insistence on meeting its security requirement. Ten rounds of talks were held on the twin issues between the US President Clinton's envoy Strobe Talbott and Prime Minister Vajpayee's representative Jaswant Singh during June 1998–January 2000. India cleared that it would adhere to CTBT only if its country's security was ensured and steps were taken for total nuclear disarmament.

The ties between the two largest democratic states of the world also improved much more during and after the Kargil crisis. Credit for this development must be given to (i) Pakistan for having created a muddle in Kargil, and for having given the evidence that it did not have respect for treaties and laws and that it had been giving assistance and encouragement to cross border terrorism against India; (ii) India having acquired nuclear weapons and its bold and courageous stand against discriminatory non-proliferation regime and the CTBT and that it had the courage of conviction to announce unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and the doctrine of no-first-use; and (iii) the Clinton administration for having realized that India was soon going to be a power to be reckoned with and that Indian economy had become vibrant and stable that it could easily withstand not only economic sanctions but also the expenses in the Kargil war. Americans came to the conclusion that India could not be compelled; it should then perhaps be persuaded.

President of United States Bill Clinton in March 2000 paid a visit to India. After twenty two years, this was the first visit of a US President to India. During his visit, a warm and friendly rapport was established not only with the Prime Minister Vajpayee but also with other important political leaders. External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh on the eve of Clinton's visit, had said that both India and the United States must put behind them the 'wasted decades' of the Cold War and look for a new relationship in the 21st century, Singh said that the Clinton visit would help set the 'direction' of a new relationship. Clinton said: 'India's economy is one of the ten fastest ....in the world, its thriving high technology sector is one of the brightest spots in the new global economy'. He added, 'After 50 years of missed opportunities, it is time that America and India become better friends and stronger partners. We should firm common ground in opening the global trading system in a way that lifts the live of rich and poor alike.'

A historic document called 'Vision for the 21st century' was signed and released by the two leaders, at the end of their summit level talks between US President Clinton and the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee. Taking pride in being the two largest democracies, India and the US declared: 'From vastly different origins and experiences

we have come to the same conclusions that freedom and democracy are the strongest bases for both peace and prosperity, and that they are universal aspirations, constrained neither by culture nor levels of economic development.' The two countries pledged to be partners in peace and shared a commitment to reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear weapons. 'They promised to work together to preserve stability and growth in the global economy, and to join in an unrelenting battle against poverty so that the promise of a new economy is felt everywhere and no nation is left behind.' The vision statement went on to state that, 'Today, we pledge to deepen the Indian-American partnership in tangible ways, always seeking to reconcile our difference through dialogue and engagement. Therefore, the US President and Indian Prime Minister should meet regularly to institutionalize the bilateral dialogue.' While the two countries drew closer on several issues, they agreed to disagree on the nuclear question. While the US reiterated its belief that 'India should forego nuclear weapons', India proclaimed its determination to 'maintain a credible minimum deterrent'

8.2.8 Indo-US Nuclear Deal

When Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the United States on 18 July 2005, an agreement of far-reaching consequences was concluded between the two countries. This agreement is known as Indo-US Nuclear Agreement, which was aimed at the separation of India's civil and military nuclear facilities and at US resuming civil nuclear cooperation that was suspended after the first test conducted in 1974 by India. This agreement provides for civilian nuclear cooperation on certain conditions when India fulfils and US Congress approves changes in their domestic laws to enable this cooperation.

It was announced on behalf of the US that President George W. Bush had committed himself to work towards achieving 'full civil nuclear cooperation with India' on the grounds that 'as a responsible state with advance nuclear technology India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other states.' The main points in the deal were spelt out and are discussed below. India will assume the same responsibilities as the other countries with advanced nuclear programmes, and that India agreed to:

- Identify and separate civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes and file and IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) declaration regarding its civilian facilities.
- Place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards;'
- Sign and adhere to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities.
- Continue its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing.
- Work with the US for the conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty.
- Refrain from the transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and support efforts to limit their spread.
- Secure nuclear materials and technology through comprehensive export control legislation and adherence to the Missile Technology Control Regime and Nuclear Suppliers Group.

The United States reciprocally promised that the administration will:
- Seek agreement from Congress to adjust US laws and policies.
- Work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India.

- Consult with partner on India's participation in the fusion energy consortium and support India's part in work to develop advanced nuclear reactors.

When the United States President, Bush Junior visited India in March 2006, the deal and separation plan was announced. For this reason the leaders of India appeared to be happy that USA would cooperate with India's civil nuclear programme, and ensure supplies for this programme from 44-nation nuclear suppliers Group (NSG). The deal mentioned that out of the 22 thermal power reactors in India, 14 civilian units would be identified and placed under the IAEA safeguards beginning in 2006. This process in a phased manner would be completed by 2014. However, India would not place its prototype, Fast Breeder Reactor, under IAEA safeguards.

To permit civilian nuclear cooperation, certain changes in the American domestic law were required by the nuclear deal. In November 2006, this was approved by the US Congress but it did not completely address India's concern. The law enacted by US Congress is known as the Hyde Act.

Another agreement envisaged to enact the nuclear deal, which was being negotiated for over two years. This agreement is called 123 Agreement as it is an agreement to supply nuclear fuel and is essential under Article 123 of US Atomic Energy Act. After prolonged negotiations between the two nations this agreement was to be concluded, however, India was not interested in accepting the conductional ties of the Hyde Act providing that US would stop civilian's nuclear cooperation if India conducted another test. To accept this condition it would be a threat to the sovereignty of India. In any case, India had a self-imposed voluntary moratorium on further nuclear tests. Secondly, India was not willing to accept the condition that it cannot reprocess the used fuel. The agreement of 123 and seeking approval of Nuclear Suppliers' Group (NSG) were awaited in 2007. It was declared that India would seek safeguards from international Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) only after the conclusion of the Agreement 123.

During Clinton and Bush administrations, ties between both the nations blossomed primarily over common concerns regarding growing Islamic extremism, energy security and climate change. Some foreign policy experts opined that there was a slight downturn in Indo-US ties following the election of Barack Obama as the President of the United States in 2009. This was primarily due to the Obama administration's intension to increase the US ties with China and its protectionist options on dealing with the economic crisis. However, these concerns repeatedly have been dismissed by the leaders of both states.

Some scholars criticized the Indo-US deal on the grounds that India compromised with its sovereignty, however the fact is otherwise. All the international agreements must be analyzed in reference to the following two principles of the international law:
- Pact Sant Survanda: It means the treaties concluded must be observed in good faith. In reference to the Indo-US deal, it can be said that both the parties must respect the provision of the deal.
- Rebus Sic Stantibus: It means that the change of circumstances may allow the contracting parties to abrogate their treaty obligations. Thus, it is clear that if some emergency arises the parties are legally free to violate the provisions of the deal.

In the words of some analysts, the Indo-US ties have strained over the Obama administration in handling the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The

Check Your Progress

1. How did US ties with India change after the Indo-China war in 1962?
2. India approved of the American Policy of Containment through military alliance towards communist Soviet Union and China. (True/False)
3. When Nixon abruptly terminated $82 million in _____, India closed down a large United Sates Agency for _____.
4. Cooperation between the two nations in a variety of scientific fields followed the signing of a bilateral agreement on _____ in _____.

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Obama administration for linking the Kashmir dispute to the instability in Pakistan and Afghanistan was also criticized by M.K. Narayana, National Security Adviser of India. He said that by doing so, President Obama was 'barking up the wrong tree.' The foreign policy too criticized Obama's approach towards South Asia saying that 'India can be a part of the solution rather than part of the problem' in South Asia and it was suggested by India to take a more proactive role in rebuilding Afghanistan irrespective of the Obama administration's attitude. Owing to growing confrontation between India and the US, it was suggested to decide not to accept a US invitation to attend a conference on Afghanistan. It was reported that since 2008 Mumbai attacks, the public mood in India has been to pressurize Pakistan in taking actions more aggressively against the culprits who were behind the terrorist attack. Consequently, the Obama administration may now find itself at odds with India's rigid stance against terrorism.

In the month of November 2010, the US President Obama visited India and he is the third US leader to set off on this quest in recent times. Obama's state visit to this country is all about rediscovering India. With his visit to India, the long shadow that the Cold War cast on Indo-US ties has been scattered. Despite a dismal past, the relationship has been recast and strengthened for the 21st century. From terrorism to the Security Council to trade, Obama not only checked off all the key phrases during the culmination of his visit, but also put them together in a forceful speech that impressed the Indian Parliament. Furthermore, the trade deals with the US amount to, over 10 billion US Dollars. Obama also reaffirmed the support of US to India's bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. His emphasis on the interlinking of Indo-US economic and geo-strategic interests for the future is both timely and welcome. His condemnation of Pakistan backed terrorism and support of India's role in Afghanistan will soothe fears of Washington's softness towards Islamabad on these issues.

8.3 INDIA'S RELATION WITH CHINA

Relations between India and China have always been extremely complex. Long ago, India and China enjoyed rich cultural links with each other; however, the border war of 1965 strained the relations between the two for a very long time to come.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded on 1 October, 1949. India was the first non-communist country to establish its embassy in the People's Republic of China. After this, in 1950, diplomatic relations between the two countries were established. In 1954, India and China signed a joint agreement that was based on the Panchsheel, which is the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

The Indo-China conflict in 1962 led to a serious setback in bilateral relations. India and China restored ambassadorial relations in August 1976. Higher political level contacts were revived by the visit of the then External Affairs Minister, A.B. Vajpayee in February 1979.

At present, India and China share a cordial relationship. Indo-China political relations are enhanced and strengthened by various mechanisms. There is a close and regular interaction between strategic and foreign policy think-tanks. Dialogues are also being initiated between pairs of Indo-China academic organizations.

Sino-Indian relations, also called Indo-China relations, refer to international relations between People's Republic of China (PRC) and Republic of India. The

economic and diplomatic importance of China and India, which are known as the two most populous states in the world and are among the world's fastest growing economies, in recent years, has increased the significance of the bilateral relationship between them. Ties between India and China date back to ancient times and these two countries are among the world's oldest civilizations and coexisted in peace in the ancient times. In ancient times, economic contact between the two regions existed through trade relations via the Silk Road. However, since the early 1950s, their relationship has been characterized by border disputes, resulting in military conflict, which led to the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Chola incident in 1967, and the 1987 Sino-Indian skirmish.

India and China had very close relations with each other till the latter invaded India in 1962. In 1949, when communists overthrew Nationalist Government in China, India was one of the first few countries which established diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China (Red China). India also strongly and continuously pleaded that PRC should be admitted as member of the United Nations and given a permanent seat in the Security Council.

In 1950, Chinese forces entered Tibet, which was then an autonomous region with a separate cultural identity. India did not cherish it but even then did not spoil its ties with China. Accordingly in 1954 both the countries concluded an agreement by which China's sovereignty over Tibet was accepted. This was much criticized by many in India. However, the bitterness that was created in 1954 gradually reduced and relations between the two countries slowly started becoming friendly. In 1954 China accepted Panchsheel principles by which it agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country. Both the countries cooperated with each other at Bandung. India also agreed to set up trade centres with China, one of which China would set up in Gangtok in Tibet.

The ties between the two states were strained in 1959 when China suppressed rising against it in Tibet. This forced Dalai Lama, the spiritual head, to leave Tibet and come to India where he was given asylum, which China did not appreciate. In an answer to this, China occupied Longju and 12,000 miles of Indian Territory in Ladakh. The tension between the two countries went on increasing. In order to ease the relations, the Prime Ministers of both the countries met in April 1960 in New Delhi. However, no solution of the problem could be found.

Both countries have in recent years successfully attempted to improve their diplomatic and economic ties and consequently, the two nations have come closer. At present, China is India's largest trading partner and has recently returned its stance on India's bid for a United Nations Security Council (UNSC) seat, when Chinese Foreign Minister Kong Quan formally declared that China will back UNSC bid of India. Currently, India is the main seller of Iron ore to China and fills the desperate requirements of natural resources for the nation. Both the countries have close economic and military ties as well. In 2005, the two states again announced a 'strategic and military ties as well. In 2005, the two states again announced a 'strategic partnership'. India and China continue to strengthen their ties and trade between the two countries has been steadily growing. Many have agreed that Sino-Indian relations have entered a maturity period.

The border between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India over Arunachal Pradesh and South Tibet reflects actual control, which means showing without dotted line.

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India and China are separated by the formidable geographical obstacles of the Himalayan mountain chain. The two nations today share a border along the Himalayas and Nepal and Bhutan, where the two states lying along the Himalaya range act as buffer states. In addition, India and China share the disputed Kashmir province border which is also claimed by Pakistan. That is why, Pakistan has tense relations with India and the unrest state of Kashmir serves as a natural ally to China.

Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh are the two territories which are currently disputed between the People's Republic of China and India. Arunachal Pradesh is located in the far east of India, while Aksai Chin is located near the northwest corner of India, at the junction of India, Pakistan, and China. However, all the sides in dispute have agreed to respect the Line of Actual Control and this border dispute is not widely seen as a major flashpoint.

It was based upon Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of 'resurgent Asia', on friendship between the two largest states of Asia; Nehru's vision of an internationalist foreign policy was governed by the ethics of Panchsheel, which he initially believed was shared by China. However, he became visibly upset when it cleared that the two countries had a common interest only in Tibet, which had traditionally served as a geographical and political buffer zone and where India had inherited special privileges from the British Raj, as was believed by most Indians.

Initially, the foreign policy of both the countries was not focussed; they only concentrated on the internal development of their respective states. Their concern was not about one another, when the two states formulated their foreign policies.

On 1 October 1949, in a civil war, the People's Liberation Army defeated the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) of China and established the People's Republic of China. On 15 August 1947, India became an independent dominion under British Commonwealth and became a federal, democratic republic after its constitution came into effect on 26 January 1950. Mao Zedong, the then Commander of the Liberation Army as well as Chairman of the Communist Party of China, declared Tibet as an integral part of the Chinese State. Mao was determined to bring Tibet under direct administrative and military control of People's Republic of China. He realized the Indian concern over Tibet as interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China by the Indian Government. However, with India's support, Tibetan delegates signed an agreement in May 1951 to recognize PRC sovereignty but guaranteed that the existing political and social system of Tibet would continue. Direct negotiations between India and China commenced in an atmosphere improved by India's mediation efforts in ending the Korean War during 1950–1953.

In April 1954, the two countries signed an eight-year agreement on Tibet that set forth the basis of their relationship in the form of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (Panchsheel). Although critics called the Panchsheel stupid, in the absence of a policy for defence of the Himalayan region, Nehru calculated that for the best guarantee of security of India was to establish a psychological buffer zone instead of the lost physical buffer of Tibet. Thus the catch phrase of India's diplomacy with China in the 1950s was *Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai*, which means, in Hindi, 'Indians and Chinese are brothers'. Despite border skirmishes and discrepancies between Indian and Chinese maps until 1959, Chinese leaders amicably assured India that there was no territorial controversy on the border though there is some evidence that India avoided bringing up the border issue in high level meetings.

In 1954, the Government of India published new maps that included the Aksai Chin region within the boundaries of India (maps published at the time of India's independence did not clearly indicate whether the region was in India or Tibet). When an Indian reconnaissance party discovered that a completed Chinese built road was running through the Aksai Chin region of the Ladakh District of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian protests became more frequent and serious concerning border clashes between the two countries. In January 1959, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai wrote to Nehru and rejected his contention that the border was based on treaty and custom and pointed out that the Government of China had not accepted the McMahon Line as legal, which was in the 1914 Shimla Convention which defined the eastern section of the border between India and Tibet. The spiritual and temporal head of the Tibetan people, Dalai Lama sought sanctuary in Dharmshala, Himachal Pradesh, in March 1959 and thousands of Tibetan refugees settled in northwest India, particularly in Himachal Pradesh. The People's Republic of China blamed India for expansionism and imperialism in Tibet and throughout the Himalayan region. China claimed 104,000 square kilometres of territory, which was indicated by India's clear-cut sovereignty, and demanded 'rectification' of the entire border.

This border dispute between the People's Republic of China and India took shape of a short border war, which began on 20 October 1962. The Indian forces which were unprepared and inadequately pushed back within 48 kilometres of the Assam plains in the northeast and occupied strategic points in Ladakh by China, until a unilateral ceasefire on 21 November was declared by China and it withdrew 21 kilometres behind its contended line of control.

When China suddenly attacked India in 1962, the latter was not prepared at all. China occupied large portions of Indian territories both in the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and Ladakh, however due to the mounting world pressure on China led to a unilateral ceasefire on 21 November 1962. It was declared that China's aggression had far reaching consequences on India's Foreign Policy. It was then that India realized that China was its enemy and not friend. India had to be conscious of this enemy and in order to make its borders secure India had to equip its soldiers and keep them in a state of readiness. Thus, Indo-China relations became very bitter. Since India also had strained ties with Pakistan, therefore, China and Pakistan came closer to each other. Both China and Pakistan also concluded an agreement by which Pakistan gave a large part of Kashmir to China which belonged to India and which had illegally been occupied by Pakistan. In return, China extended monetary help, technical know-how and helped Pakistan in the development of nuclear technology. China also supplied arms and aircraft to Pakistan.

From this invasion, China also acquired a good portion of the Indian Territory in Ladakh and thus got the much needed link between Sinkiang and Southern China. There was a serious demand in India that the policy of non-alignment should be reviewed as it had not stood the test of the time.

In order to resolve Sino-India conflict, some Afro-Asian countries like Indonesia, Cambodia, Ghana, Burma, United Arab Emirate and Ceylon met at Colombo and urged both India and China to amicably resolve their differences. Where India accepted the Colombo Plan but China refused it and thus a deadlock between the two states continued. The Parliament of India then passed a resolution to get back the China occupied Indian territories.

A severe political split was now taking place in the Communist Party of India during the Indo-China border war. One section was accused by the Indian government as being pro-China and a large number of political leaders were kept in jail. Subsequently, CPI split into two sections: one, the Communist Party of India (CPI); second, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) or CPI (M), which was formed in 1964. CPI (M) held some contacts with the Communist Party of China in the initial period after the split, but did not fully embrace the political line of Mao Zedong.

The Sino-India Relations worsened further when in 1967 in China some Indian embassy officers were maltreated by a mob and one of them was declared a spy. This in turn evoked protests in India and demonstrations were held before the Chinese Embassy. The Government of India also expelled a Chinese diplomat. This embittered the ties between the two nations. However, in spite of all the bitterness India neither gave up its policy of non-alignment nor did it give up the efforts for securing a seat for Red China in the world body.

Ties between the two nations continued to deteriorate during the rest of the 1960s and the early 1970s as Sino-Pakistan ties improved and Sino-Soviet relations worsened. China backed Pakistan in its 1965 war with India. During 1967 and 1971, China built an all-weather road across territory claimed by India, linking Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China with Pakistan; India could not do more than protest. China continued an active propaganda campaign against India and supplied ideological, financial, and other assistance to dissident groups, especially to tribes in northeast India. China also accused India of assisting the Khampa rebels in Tibet. A diplomatic contact between the two governments was minimal although not formally severed. The cultural flow and other exchanges that had started in 1950s completely ceased. The trade items like wool, fur and spice between Lhasa and India through the Nathula Pass, an offshoot of the ancient Silk Route in the then Indian protectorate of Sikkim, was also shaken. However, the biweekly postal network through this pass was kept alive, which exists till today.

When Pakistan invaded India in 1965 and 1971, China supported Pakistan on both the occasions and gave an ultimatum to India and extended military aid to Pakistan. In fact, in 1971 China was seriously thinking of invading India, when Soviet Union declared that it would not tolerate any intervention by a third party in the Indo-Pak conflict.

India signed its Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in August 1971and due to this the United States and the China sided with Pakistan in its December 1971 war with India. By this time, the People's Republic of China (PRC) had just replaced the Republic of China in the United Nations where its representatives denounced India as being a 'tool of Soviet expansionism.'

As the time passed, the bitterness created by Chinese attack over India began to fade. China also began to realize that enmity with India was not in its own interest. In April 1976, diplomatic ties between the two nations were restored. In 1979 the then foreign minister of India, A.B. Vajpayee visited China in a bid to normalize relations with that state though he had to cut short his visit.

The Chinese foreign minister then visited India in June 1981 and it was agreed that a meaningful dialogue should be started for setting border dispute and simultaneously ties between the two states should be improved. He also declared that

the Chinese government would allow Indian pilgrims to visit some holy places in Tibet and invited Indian Prime Minister to visit China.

Again, India and China renewed efforts to improve relations after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. China modified its pro-Pakistan stand on Kashmir issue and appeared to remain silent regarding India's absorption of Sikkim and its special advisory relationship with Bhutan. The Chinese leaders agreed to discuss the boundary issue, yet India's priority was to first broaden the relations between the two. After that the two countries hosted each others' news agencies, and Mount Kailash and Mansarowar Lake in Tibet, the mythological home of the Hindu pantheon, were opened to annual pilgrimages from India.

The Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Huang Hua, was invited to India in 1981, where he complimented India's role in South Asia. The Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang simultaneously toured Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh.

A plan to upgrade the deployment of forces around the Line of Actual Control to avoid unilateral redefinitions of the line in 1980 was approved by the then Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. India also decided to increase funds for infrastructural development in these areas.

Squads of Indian soldiers began to actively patrol the Sumdorong Chu Valley in Arunachal Pradesh (formerly NEFA) in 1984, which is north of the McMahon Line as drawn on the Shimla Treaty map but south of the ridge which India claims is meant to delineate the McMahon Line.

The then Foreign Minister N.D. Tiwari and Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi visited Beijing over the following months to negotiate a mutual de-escalation with Chinese leaders.

After Huang's visit to India the leaders of both nations held eight rounds of border negotiations between December 1981 and November 1987. These negotiations initially raised hopes that progress could be made on the border issue. However, in 1985 China tightened its position on the border and insisted on mutual concessions without defining the exact terms of its 'package proposal' or where the actual line of control lay. Between 1986 and 1987, nothing could be achieved from these negotiations only the charges of military encroachment in the Sumdorong Chu Valley of the Tawang tract, on the eastern sector of the border, between the two countries were exchanged. A military post and helicopter pad was constructed by China in the area in 1986 and Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the North-East Frontier Agency) was granted statehood by India in February 1987 causing both sides to deploy new troops to the area, raising tensions and fears of the new border war. China relayed warnings that if India did not cease 'nibbling' at Chinese territory, it would 'teach India a lesson'. By the summer of 1987, however, both sides had backed away from conflict and denied that military clashes had taken place.

When Rajiv Gandhi visited China in December 1988, a warming trend in ties was facilitated. A joint communiqué was issued from both sides which stressed the need to restore friendly ties on the basis of the Panchsheel and noted the importance of the first visit by an Indian Prime Minister to China since Nehru visit of 1954. The two countries entered into an agreement to widen the bilateral relationship in various fields and come up with a mutually acceptable solution to the border dispute. Establishment of direct air links and cultural exchanges were some of the outcomes of the bilateral agreements signed by Rajiv Gandhi on science and technology

cooperation on civil aviation. The two countries also agreed that their foreign ministers would consult annually and establish a joint ministerial committee on economic and scientific cooperation and a joint working group on the boundary issue.

The Indian foreign secretary and the Chinese vice minister of foreign affairs led the latter group.

In mid-1990s, India's relation with China was visibly slow but was steadily improving. When the Chinese Premier Li Peng visited India in December 1991 and Indian President R. Venkataraman visited China in May 1992, top level dialogues continued between the states. The Indo-Chinese Joint Working Group on the border issue between December 1988 and June 1993 in which six rounds of talks were held, facilitated reduction of tension on the border. This was achieved via confidence-building measures, which included reduction of mutual troops, regular meetings of local military commanders and advance notification of military exercises. Border trade began again after a gap of over thirty years in July 1992. The consulates were reopened in Mumbai and Shanghai in the next two years. The two sides also agreed to open an additional border trading post.

The Defence Minister of India, Sharad Pawar visited Beijing in July 1992, the first ever by an Indian minister of defence. During his visit, the two defence establishments agreed to develop academic, military, scientific, and technological exchanges and to schedule an Indian port call by a Chinese naval vessel.

Substantial progress in ties continued in 1993. The sixth round joint working group negotiations were held in June in New Delhi but resulted in only minor developments. However, the long-standing border dispute was eased as a result of bilateral assurances to reduce troop levels and to respect the ceasefire line along the India-China border. Again, Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Chinese Premier Li Peng signed the border agreement and three other agreements on cross-border trade, on increased cooperation on the environment and on radio and television broadcasting during Rao's visit to Beijing in September. In December 1993, a senior-level Chinese military delegation made a six-day goodwill visit to India aimed at 'fostering confidence-building measures between the defence forces of the two countries'.

It would be realistic to say that instead of leading to a ganging up against a perceived adversary, the Jiang Zamin visit maintained the steadily ties between the two countries. In fact, the improvement in their ties was apparent in the tension-free and expanding contacts. No dramatic breakthrough in their dispute over the borders was near the horizon, but if the military deployment could be further minimized, it would be proof that China broadly accepted Indian assurance that it would not stoke the fire in Tibet by allowing the Dalai Lama to indulge in political activities in the country. It was also evident that India did not apprehend Chinese assistance to subversive elements in the northeast.

However, the visit came at a time when press reports revealed that, as a result of improved ties between China and Burma, and Burmese army, navy, and air force was receiving greater amounts of military material from China. China was also sending an increasing number of technicians to Burma. Nevertheless, movements continued in 1994 on troop reductions along the Himalayan frontier. Moreover, in January 1994 Beijing announced that it not only favoured a negotiated solution on the Kashmir issue, but also opposed any form of independence for the region.

Negotiations were held in New Delhi in February 1994 which aimed at confirming the established 'confidence-building measures' and discussions for clarifying the 'line of actual control', reduction of armed forces along the line, and prior information about forthcoming military exercises.

In 1993 the Chinese military general visited India which was reciprocated by the Indian army Chief of Staff, General B.C. Joshi. During talks in Beijing in July 1994, both sides agreed that border problems should be resolved peacefully through 'mutual understanding and concessions.'

In June 1994, India and China signed a trade protocol in New Delhi when China's minister of trade and economic cooperation visited India. In fact, both the states were then following the policy of maintaining peace and tranquillity along the border. In September 1994, the border issue was raised when Chinese Minister of National Defence, Chi Haotian, visited New Delhi for broad talks with high-level Indian trade and defence officials. Furthermore, talks in New Delhi in March 1995 by the India-China Expert Group led to an accord to set up two additional points of contact along the 4,000 km border to facilitate meetings between military personnel. Defining the McMahon Line and the line of actual control vis-à-vis military exercises and prevention of air intrusion were also carried out by both sides.

Negotiations in Beijing in July 1995 aimed at better border security and combating cross-border terrorism. In New Delhi in August 1995, additional troop withdrawals from the border made further progress in reducing tensions and improving ties between the two countries.

Further relaxation of the Sino-India ties was made possible in Beijing during the announcement in April 1995. After a year of consultation, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Centre in New Delhi opened up. The centre serves as the representative office of the Republic of China (Taiwan) and is the counterpart of the India-Taipei Association in Taiwan; both institutions have the goal of improving relations between the two sides, which were strained since New Delhi's recognition of Beijing in 1950.

Sino-Indian relations again hit a low point in 1998 due to the nuclear tests conducted by India in May that year. Indian Defence Minister, George Fernandez, declared that 'China is India's number one threat', hinting that India developed nuclear weapons in defence against China's nuclear arsenal. In 1998, when India gained entry into the nuclear club, China became one of the strongest international critics of India's nuclear tests as well as the entry into the nuclear club. From this act, the ties between India and China became strained again until the end of the decade.

During the last decade of the 20th century, both the states have been trying to develop extended and more cooperative economic trade and culture ties. In July 1994, the two countries agreed to cooperate in oil sector technology and for setting up joint ventures in Third World countries. During 1993-94, the trade level touched ₹16,365 million mark. The trade turnover has been increasing by nearly 20 per cent, which is considered a good sign. Yet, somehow slow and steady progress in political ties failed to accompany this economic cooperation, no really big and meaningful progress could be achieved between the states. At present, despite the suspected hand of China in making Pakistan nuclear and encroachments on Sino-India borders by the Chinese troops, ties between the two states are advancing normalization.

The visit of Indian President K.R. Narayanan to China in 2000 set the ball rolling for slow yet steady re-engagement of Indian and Chinese diplomacy. But disappointment set in the form of the 17th Karmapa, Urgyen Trinley Dorje, who escaped from Tibet to the Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim. Disappointed Chinese officials were in a fix on this issue. If they protested they would have only supported and improved India's governance of Sikkim, which the Chinese had refused to recognize. The Chinese Premier, Zhu Rongji, responded by visiting India in 2002 aiming to focus on economic issues. With Indian PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee visiting china in 2003—there was a visible improvement in the Sino-Indian relations. As the two countries made efforts to resolve their border issues, China officially recognized India's sovereignty over Sikkim.

In the early 1960s, communist China had used the policy of 'palm and five fingers' to express its faith. According to this theory, the palm is Tibet, while the five fingers are Bhutan (independent country) Nepal (independent country), Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Ladakh (three parts of India). China had claimed that since the palm (Tibet) is under her sovereignty, therefore, five fingers which are attached to the palm must also come within her sovereignty. But fortunately now, China does not support this theory.

8.3.1 Proposal to Open up the Nathula and Jelepla Passes

The two countries proposed to open up the Nathula and Jelepla Passes in Sikkim in 2004, which was considered to be mutually beneficial to both countries and was expected to be a witness to gradual improvement in ties between the two countries in the international arena. For the first time, Sino-Indian bilateral trade crossed the $10 billion mark in 2004. PM Wen Jiabao came to India to visit Bangalore and improve India-China cooperation in the field of technology.

In a speech, Wen stated that, 'Cooperation is just like two pagodas (temples), one hardware and one software. Combined, we can take the leadership position in the world.' Wen further stated that the 21st century will be 'the Asian century of the IT industry.'

This high-level visits was also aimed to many agreements that could help strengthen ties between China and India that would benefit politics, culture and economy.

While the Chinese premier seems in favour of the idea of India's permanent seat in the UN Security Council, he took a neutral stand by the time he went back to his country. China was given an observer status in the SAARC Summit in 2005. While other member nations were willing to consider China for permanent membership in SAARC, India did not seem to wholeheartedly support the idea.

The energy required to feed their rapidly expanding industries, and their investment in oilfields in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa, is one dimension that forms the foundation of the evolution of Sino–Indian relationship. While there is competition involved in such ventures, there is also a level of cooperation involved because the two nations have to inevitably confront bigger players in the international oil market.

On January 12, 2006, Mani Shankar Aiyar, the Petroleum and Natural Gas Minister, paid a visit to Beijing to sign an agreement that suggested that joint bids be placed by ONGC Videsh LTd (OVL) and the China Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) for good projects in other locations.

The Nathula Pass, which was a flourishing trade route in ancient times and part of the Silk route, was re-opened by India and China. This pass that went through the Himalayas was shut when the Sino-Indian War broke out in 1962. In 2003, the re-opening of the trade route was initiated and finally a formal agreement was signed in June, 2006. The move was expected to reduce the economic isolation of the area by reopening border trade.

November 2006, saw China and India engaged in a verbal conflict over the control of Arunachal Pradesh, in the northeastern part of India. According to India, 38,000 square kilometres of Indian territory was being occupied by China in Kashmir while China claimed that the entire state of Arunachal Pradesh was its possession.

In May 2007, an Indian IAS officer in Arunachal Pradesh was refused a visa by China. Their argument was that since Arunachal Pradesh was part of China, the officer would not require a visa to visit his own country. In December, the same year, China granted a visa to Marpe Sora, a computer science professor born in Arunachal Pradesh. They reversed their own policy!

The following year, PM Manmohan Singh met President Hu Jintao and PM Wen Jaibao in China to have bilateral discussions on trade, commerce, defense, military and other issues.

8.3.2 Acknowledgement of Arunachal Pradesh as part of India by the Asian Development Bank (ADB)

Asian Development Bank in October 2009 formally acknowledged Arunachal Pradesh as part of India and a loan was sanctioned to India for a development project there. Earlier, China had exercised pressure on the bank to stop the loan; however India succeeded in securing the loan with the help of the United States and Japan. China expressed displeasure at ADB for the same.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited New Delhi in mid-December 2010 and emphasized that India and China were friends and not rivals. He said that 'China and India have shared interests and common views on the issue of UN Security Council reforms. We both maintain that priority should be given to increasing the representation of developing countries'. According to Wen, both countries have a long way to go and can cooperate because both face 'similar challenges'. On the sensitive border issues between the two countries, however, Wen said these have a 'historical legacy' and are not 'easy to resolve'. Nonetheless, measures should be taken to increase mutual trust and confidence step by step. The two countries decided to continue peaceful negotiations to resolve boundary disputes through the ongoing dialogue process undertaken by the special representatives that were appointed by India and China.

Six pacts were signed between the two nations again both sides decided to continue to promote and enhance cooperation in the field of trans-border rivers. India admired the flood-season hydrological data and the assistance in emergency management provided by China. In addition to data on the river Brahmaputra which China had already agreed to share earlier, India also convinced China to share flood data on the river Sutlej. During Wen's visit, the both sides made announcements regarding the establishment of an India-China Outstanding College Students Exchange Programme. The Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) decided to offer Chinese as a foreign language in grade nine from 2011, this act was much appreciated by China. Critically, the Chinese bound India to consider the finalization of an agreement to mutually recognize each other's degrees. Now-a-days, hundreds of Indian students

go to study in China. The number of students to China is steadily increasing with this pact—a cause for concern for India. China also declared a contribution of 1 million US Dollars for the Nalanda University in Bihar.

Both the nations again signed a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in green technologies and agreed to continue and strengthen bilateral cooperation in mitigating and adapting to climate change. China again admired India for hosting the 11th meeting of the Conference of the Parties of the Bio-diversity Convention in 2012.

India and China have also decided to work together at the global level to lobby for 'common but differentiated responsibilities' in Climate Change mitigation, with the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its Kyoto Protocol as the bedrock of their climate change policy.'

Two pacts were signed in the banking sector too. An MoU was signed between the RBI and the Chinese Bank Regulatory Commission; and between EXIM Bank of India and the Chinese Development Bank. The Chinese PM hoped that the bilateral ties between the two nations would become, wider, deeper and stronger. He hoped that a lot of issues would get settled.

He further added that 'with our joint efforts, we will be able to take our friendship and cooperation to a higher level in the 21st century'. The two countries also expressed their commitment to assist Afghanistan to become a peaceful, stable and prosperous nation. The two sides emphasized the importance of a coherent and united international commitment to Afghan-led initiatives.

The two sides are also inching closer towards solving the deadlock over military exchanges. In this regard, Wen directed his officials to look into the matter. However, military contact between the two countries has been halted since July 2010 when Beijing refused to host northern army commander Lt. General B.S. Jaswal as his jurisdiction passed over Jammu and Kashmir, which China regards as disputed territory.

A joint statement issued by the two sides said that India's stance would not change as far as the 'one China policy' was concerned and as far as the issue of Tibet being part of China was concerned.

The only difference in the previous joint statements of 2003, 2005 and 2008 was that these had not made any specific reference to the 'one China policy' or Tibet. The omission of the 'one China policy' in the joint statement was played down by India, in Foreign Secretary of India, Nirupama Rao's address to the media. Premier Wen again appreciated the policy of India for not allowing its soil to be used for anti-Chinese political activities.

8.3.3 Trade Relations between India and China

China issuing staple visas for people of Jammu and Kashmir, Chinese funding of projects in Pakistan occupied Kashmir and Beijing's efforts to keep alive the disputed nature of Kashmir have been some of the major confrontations in Indo-China ties. However, when it comes to trade, between India and China, they both agreed on certain important points. Some of the factors arising out of the trade relations between the two countries are:

(i) Merchandise trade between India and China set to touch $60 billion, a ten-fold rise over trade five years ago

(ii) However, the trade balance is tilted in China's favour, with India starting at a possible deficit of $24 billion

(iii) India wary of pulling down customs barrier because of the yawning trade deficit

(iv) India wants more market access for its pharmaceuticals, agricultural products and IT services

Both countries had completed a joint study in March 2005, when India's trade deficit with China was $1.5 billion, to examine the benefits of greater trade and economic cooperation. The joint group had recommended the governments for the appointment of a joint task force to study the feasibility and benefits of a possible China-India regional trading arrangement and also give recommendations on the contours of such a pact. The joint task force completed its draft report covering trade in goods, services, investments, trade, and economic cooperation.

DID YOU KNOW?

There are still some 26,000 nuclear warheads in the world, enough to destroy civilization many times over and destroy most life on earth. Nuclear weapons make humans an endangered species.

More than 95 per cent of all nuclear weapons are in the arsenals of the US and Russia.

The average nuclear weapon in the US arsenal is approximately eight times more powerful than the nuclear bomb that destroyed Hiroshima, immediately killing some 90,000 people.

There are currently nine countries with nuclear weapons (US, Russia, UK, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea).

8.4 INDIA'S RELATION WITH RUSSIA

The Indian subcontinent by virtue of its geo-strategic location and population has been a central area of the great powers struggle for influence. Soon after gaining Independence, Nehru through his policy of non-alignment wanted to keep the region away from the superpower rivalry where both the US and the USSR wanted to gain a foothold in the South Asia region. India and Pakistan, in the course of their foreign policy, utilized the superpowers rivalry to their advantage. For example, Pakistan's willingness to accommodate the US interest not only brought the external powers into the subcontinent, but also strengthened its confrontationist anti-India stance. Consequently, India was compelled to seek assistance from the USSR. Both the US and the USSR played a major role in South Asia in its political and economic development.

After Independence, both India and Pakistan had differences on the question of Kashmir. To answer the alleged Indian military strength, Pakistan continued to maintain relations with the great powers.

This was evident when in 1954, Pakistan joined as a member of a SEATO led by the US. From this act, the whole context of Indo-Pak ties changed. Pakistan provided military bases to the US for checking communism in South Asia and received both military and economic assistance from it. Indian Prime Minister Nehru was totally against of the external power's involvement in the regional issues so that the Cold War or politics would not be brought in this region. Therefore, Indo-Pak relations deteriorated with the assistance of the US arms to Pakistan. In response, India also began to purchase arms from the non-American sources. On the other hand, presence of the US bases in Pakistan's region encouraged the USSR in taking keen interest in the South Asian region with security perspective in India, although India was not interested to accept arms from Soviet Union. However, Pakistan was accepting US arm's aid.

The new leadership in the USSR, after the death of Stalin, soon realized that the policy of non-alignment was to their advantage and they presented themselves as champions of the non-aligned nations and their policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Nehru paid a visit to the USSR and was appreciative of their policy of peaceful co-existence. And both agreed to cooperate with each other for mutual benefit and public welfare. Nehru's visit was reciprocated by the visit of the Soviet leaders Khruschev and Bulganin to India, who declared that all conditions for bilateral trade and economic cooperation and development between India and the Soviet Union were made available on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Soviet Union also accepted the Indian position on Kashmir as an integral part of India and protected Indian interest in the UN Security Council time and again. The two countries also adopted a common position on the Suez crisis, although India was hesitant in criticizing the USSR for its intervention in Hungary.

The Indo-Soviet relation coincided with the deteriorating Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian relations. The Tibetan uprising in 1959 led India to buy transport planes and helicopters from the USSR. In October 1960, an Indian delegation went to Moscow to finalize a deal for the purchase of aircrafts and communication equipment. The Chinese attack in 1962 put the USSR in a delicate position because it was difficult for it not to support a communist state. Hence, it adopted a neutral position. The US gave some military help to India. On the other hand, in order to avoid dependence on one supplier for its military requirements, Pakistan gradually moved toward China. In March 1965, Ayub Khan visited China and secured both political support and military supplies for Pakistan. During the 1965 war, the Soviet Union adopted a neutral stand. Russia emerged as a peacemaker when the US was involved in Vietnam War.

Indo-Soviet relations consolidated during the 1960s. During this period, relations between Pakistan and China turned warm and friendly though Pakistan continued to be an active member of American bloc. At the same time, Sino-Soviet conflict was widening, so much so that China began describing the USSR as a revisionist power. However, the situation in the subcontinent worsened when millions of refugees began pouring into India because of the revolt that broke out in the East Pakistan. Pakistan decided to wage a war against India on the basis of the allegation that India was responsible for this unrest and was helping the Mukti Bahini to defeat the Pakistan security forces. Pakistan had full support of the US and China. India for its part, did need a strong partner in order to counterbalance the US-Pakistan and the Chinese-Pakistan strategic relations. In order to get military and economic help, India, entered into a Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty in 1971 which gave India not only high military

technology, economic assistance, but also political support during the Indo-Pak War. The conclusion of treaty of 1971 with Soviet Union marked a change in India's foreign policy. It was the first political treaty concluded by India with any big power. In certain quarters, an allegation was made that this treaty was in violation of the principle on non-alignment. However, the Indian leaders asserted that this did not affect the non-aligned character of India's foreign policy.

It was more difficult for Indian authorities to handle the Indo-Soviet ties, in the wake of Afghanistan Crisis. However, the environment had suddenly changed with the commencement of the New Cold War due to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. At that time, India's policy towards Afghanistan was also criticized. India's support for the Soviet invasion was condemned by many countries. During the second tenure of Indira Gandhi, in January 1980, she adopted the soft-line policy which was strongly criticized as compromised, it with the policy of non-alignment and clearly shifted towards the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly, India opposed any foreign invasion into a non-aligned country like Afghanistan. India could not criticize Moscow in public as it had given economical and technological support to India. It was well understood by Indira Gandhi that Afghanistan was dominated by Islamic extremists and the US was not in favour of political and geo-strategic interests of India. Thus, she adopted a policy which consisted of three elements. First, the Soviet intervention was not publicly opposed by India. Second, India ignored the intervention, which was to be discussed during the bilateral meetings between the two countries. Third, India did not want to intervene in the internal affairs of Afghanistan to deal with any government, which was de facto in power of that country.

After the death of Indira Gandhi in October 1984, Rajiv Gandhi took over the office of Prime Minister of India. In the USSR, after two short leaderships of Andropov and Chernenko, Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985. Indo-Soviet ties were further consolidated during this period. The two states had more or less identical views on international issues. Gorbachev understood that the old socialist experiment now could not be applied in the many USSR. So, he adopted the doctrine of 'Perestroika and Glasnot' which was more harmonious to East–West ties, and it was predictable to the end of the Cold War. This was direct significance of the Indo-Soviet ties in particular as well as the foreign policy of India in general. Rajiv Gandhi wanted to readjust India's relations with the two superpowers in foreign policy priority. He visited Moscow in May 1985. Rajiv Gandhi was assured by the Soviet leaders that they were aware of India's anxiety caused by Pakistan's nuclear weapon programme. Both the countries signed agreements for economic and technical cooperation whereby Soviet assistance to India was considerably increased. A significant Delhi Declaration was issued at the end of Gorbachev's Delhi visit. It was signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Gorbachev. On his arrival in India, Gorbachev had warned that if Indo-Pak disputes were not amicably solved then it could lead to serious consequences. There were four reasons of friendly ties with Moscow, viz., (i) maintaining a political counter-balance with China, Pakistan, and the US; (ii) acquiring Soviet inputs in the high-technological sector; (iii) obtaining Soviet defence supplies; and (iv) keeping up economic trade. However, India was of opinion to develop ties with Western states due to Soviet détente with the West. During the late 1980s, a policy of sustained and intensified Indo-Soviet ties was pursued by India, while slowly opening up lines with the West.

After the disintegration of Soviet Union, P.V Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister of India. A policy of liberalization and privatization was adopted by India. Economic globalization was rapidly emerging. The three circles of Russian foreign policy were identified by the then foreign minister, Kozyrev of Russia; (i) the West, (ii) the immediate neighbourhood including the former Soviet republics; and (iii) the rest of the world. From this agenda, it was obviously showed that the new elite of Moscow were not interested to incline towards India as one of the preferential partners. However, India also did not necessarily feel obligated to keep up the traditional friendship with Moscow. In 1993, Boris Yeltsin, the Russian President visited India. He tried to remove the doubts that had arisen in Indo-Russian ties. Yeltsin's visit made it clear that Russia was in no mood to give up its trusted friend. Yeltsin further reiterated that Russia would support India on Kashmir issue. After the end of the Cold War, the Group of 7 (G-7), which were highly industrialized states, made a lot of noise in 1992–93 in favour of Russia.

Russia was subsequently admitted to the elite G-8, though it was disappointed with the West. Thus, Russia diverted its focus towards India and China. The renewal of 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty had already affirmed Soviet commitment in 1993 to respect India's territorial integrity and security. After a year, a military cooperation agreement was signed. The economy of both countries underwent struggle due to the pressures of economic globalization. Hence, both the countries welcomed the revitalization of Indo-Soviet ties, and they were in need of a strategic partner to provide each with arms and technology. The two countries also reached an agreement for continued supply of spares for Indian defence equipment and promotion of bilateral trade. In January 1993, when the two countries resolved the protracted rupee–rouble exchange rate issue and signed a new treaty of friendship and cooperation, they pledged cooperation in economic, political and other fields. In recent times, Vladimir Putin the Prime Minister of Russia is being trying further strengthen to the relations of the two countries and it is considered an important strategic partnership for both the countries.

With the end of the Cold War, Indo-Soviet relations were seriously affected. So India had to re-establish its ties not only with its successor state, the Russian Federation, but also with the former Soviet Republics and the Eastern European countries. The new government of Moscow also reshaped its foreign policy and expanded its ties with the US and Western European states. However, it is important to note that the Indo-Russia ties and its role did not seem as strong as it was earlier. After a short connecting movement of a few years, the relation was renewed, and both India and Russia now play a very important role in each other's foreign policy agenda.

8.5 INDIA'S RELATION WITH JAPAN

Japan and India are partners in peace, with a common interest in and complementary responsibility for promoting the security, stability and prosperity of Asia as well as in advancing international peace and equitable development. At the beginning of the 21st century, Japan and India resolved to take their bilateral relationship to a qualitatively new level. The foundation for this was laid when Yoshiro Mori, Prime Minister of Japan and Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India agreed during the landmark visit of Mori to India in August 2000 to establish the "Global Partnership in the 21st Century".

Check Your Progress

15. Soviet Union did not accept India's position on Kashmir that it was an integral part of India. (True/False)

16. The conclusion of treaty of 1971 with _____ marked a change in India's foreign policy.

17. Indo-Soviet ties were further consolidated during the period of _____ _____.

18. After the end of the Cold War, India moved towards the US. (True/False)

Today, India and Japan share a global vision of peace, stability and shared prosperity, based on sustainable development. Shared democratic values and commitment to human rights, pluralism, open society, and the rule of law underpin the global partnership between the two countries. The global partnership between India and Japan reflects a broad convergence of their long-term political, economic and strategic interests, aspirations, objectives and concerns.

Japan and India view each other as partners that have responsibility for, and are capable of, responding to global and regional challenges in keeping with their global partnership. A strong, prosperous and dynamic India is, therefore, in the interest of Japan and vice versa. In the above context and in view of the current international situation, it was decided to reinforce the strategic focus of the global partnership between Japan and India.

It was agreed during the visit of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in 2005 that the two countries would further strengthen their cooperation and pursue an all round and comprehensive development of bilateral relations, with a particular and urgent focus on strengthening economic ties, through full utilization of the existing and potential complementarities in their economies. It was decided that both countries would strive to develop closer dialogue and collaboration to secure peace, stability and prosperity in Asia, promote democracy and development, and explore a new architecture for closer regional cooperation in Asia. It was also agreed that the two countries would strengthen cooperation in diverse areas such as environment, energy, disarmament, non-proliferation and security, taking advantage of, and further building on, their strategic convergences.

The dynamic growth of this relationship is reflected in the number of high level ministerial and parliamentary exchanges that have been taking place at regular intervals. There is a parallel process of business and industry in both countries taking note of the opportunities which has led to a sharp increase in exchange of business delegations.

Annual summits

Annual Summits between the Prime Ministers of the two countries have been taking place since 2006. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh paid an official visit to Japan from 13-16 December 2006 during which a Joint Statement—"Towards India Japan Strategic and Global Partnership"—was signed by the two Prime Ministers. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan visited India from 21-23 August 2007 during which two Joint Statements on "The Roadmap for New Dimensions to the Strategic and Global Partnership between India and Japan" and on the "Enhancement of Cooperation on Environmental Protection and Energy Security" were signed. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh paid an Official Working Visit to Tokyo from 21-23 October 2008 when a Joint Declaration on "Security Cooperation" and a Joint Statement on the "Advancement of Strategic and Global Partnership between India and Japan" were signed. Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama visited India for the Annual Summit from 27-29 December 2009 during which a Joint Statement on "New Stage of Japan-India Strategic and Global Partnership" was signed. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh paid an Official Working Visit to Tokyo from 24-26 October 2010 for the Annual Summit and a Joint Statement "Vision for India-Japan Strategic and Global Partnership in the Next Decade" and a Joint Declaration on the India-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) were signed by the two Prime Ministers in Tokyo in October 2010.

Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda paid a State visit to India from 27-29 December 2011 and the two Prime Ministers signed a Joint Statement entitled "Vision for the Enhancement of India-Japan Strategic and Global Partnership" upon entering the year of the 60th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Bilateral Trade

In the financial year (FY) 2011-12, India-Japan bilateral trade reached $18.43 billion, showing an increase of 34.33 per cent over FY 2010-11, when the total bilateral trade was $13.72 billion. India's exports to Japan grew by 24.36 per cent as against the growth of 40.20 per cent in its imports from Japan in FY 2011-12. India's primary exports to Japan have been petroleum products, iron ore, gems and jewelry, marine products, oil meals, ferroalloys, inorganic/organic chemicals, etc. India's primary imports from Japan are machinery, transport equipment, iron and steel, electronic goods, organic chemicals, machine tools, etc. India has been the largest recipient of Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) since 2003-04. Cumulative commitment of ODA till September 2012 reached Yen 3587.302 billion on commitment basis.

Fifty-nine projects were under implementation with Japanese loan assistance. The loan amount committed for these projects is Yen 1214.811 billion. These projects are in the sectors of power, environment and forests, urban transportation, urban water supply and sanitation, rural drinking water supply, tourism, irrigation, agriculture, shipping, railways, renewable energy and financial services.

Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement

On 16 February 2011, the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) was signed by Minister of Commerce and Industry Anand Sharma and Japanese Foreign Minister Seiji Maehara.

ACTIVITY

Analyse the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and write a report on it. Highlight the reasons for India's refusal to sign the treaty.

8.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Some foreign policy-makers believe that India's strong democratic tradition, although much younger than that of the United States, is an important ingredient in India-United States relations.
- India's decision to pursue the policy of non-alignment was not favoured by US leaders and they considered it an unfriendly gesture towards their country. India's refusal to join the military alliances sponsored by US and different stands taken by India on various international issues like grant of independence of Indonesia and recognition of the Communist China annoyed the leaders of United States.

- India's ties with US became much more cordial after Indo-China border war of 1962. US provided India with useful moral and material help during the War when India stood alone.
- Ties between New Delhi and Washington continued to remain cordial during the 1985–1987 when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi regularly visited Washington.
- Relations between India and the United States during the Cold War period are no longer relevant or necessary as there is no point in going over the five decade-long estrangement between the world's most powerful democracies.
- The Truman Doctrine (1947) in the context of Greece and Turkey and the Eisenhower Doctrine (1957) in regard to the Middle East had been opposed by India.
- The Indo-China conflict of 1962 introduced a new element in the Indo-US ties.
- Ties between India and the United States suffered a clear setback during Shastri's brief rule. Sardar Swaran Singh, as Foreign Minister of India, under Shastri government played an important role in world politics.
- Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister in January 1966 and her first visit was to the US took place in March 1966.
- Indo-American relations during Bangladesh crisis were never as bad as they turned in 1971.
- India tested its first nuclear device in May 1974 at Pokhran in the deserts of Rajasthan.
- Rajiv Gandhi and Ronald Reagan, met in November 1987 and signed an agreement on cooperation in high technology.
- A major factor in the Indo-US relations according to India was not whether it would suspend or terminate its nuclear programme.
- When Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the United States on 18 July 2005, an agreement of far-reaching consequences was concluded between the two countries.
- During the tenure of the Clinton and Bush administrations, ties between both the nations blossomed primarily over common concerns regarding growing Islamic extremism, energy security and climate change.
- Relations between India and China have always been extremely complex.
- In 1954, India and China signed a joint agreement that was based on the Panchsheel, which is the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.
- The India-China conflict in 1962 led to a serious setback in bilateral relations. The ties between the two states were strained in 1959 when China suppressed rising against it in Tibet. This forced Dalai Lama, the spiritual head, to leave Tibet and come to India where he was given asylum, which China did not appreciate.
- Direct negotiations between India and China commenced in an atmosphere improved by India's mediation efforts in ending the Korean War during 1950–1953.

NOTES

NOTES

- In 1954, the Government of India published new maps that included the Aksai Chin region within the boundaries of India (maps published at the time of India's independence did not clearly indicate whether the region was in India or Tibet).

- Border dispute between the People's Republic of China and India took shape of a short border war, which began on 20 October 1962.

- Relations between India and China worsened further when in 1967 in China some Indian Embassy officers were maltreated by a mob and one of them was declared a spy.

- One more effect of China's attack on India was that when Pakistan invaded India in 1965 and 1971, China supported Pakistan on both the occasions and gave an ultimatum to India and extended military aid to Pakistan.

- India and China renewed efforts to improve relations after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979.

- When Rajiv Gandhi visited China in December 1988, a warming trend in ties was facilitated.

- In June 1994, India and China signed a trade protocol in New Delhi when China's minister of trade and economic cooperation visited India.

- Negotiations in Beijing in July 1995 aimed at better border security and combating cross-border terrorism.

- The following year, PM Manmohan Singh met President Hu Jintao and PM Wen Jaibao in China to have bilateral discussions on trade, commerce, defense, military and other issues.

- Asian Development Bank in October 2009 formally acknowledged Arunachal Pradesh as part of India and a loan was sanctioned to India for a development project there.

- The Indo-Soviet relation coincided with the deteriorating Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian relations. The two countries also reached an agreement for continued supply of spares for Indian defence equipment and promotion of bilateral trade. In January 1993, when the two countries resolved the protracted rupee–rouble exchange rate issue and signed a new treaty of friendship and cooperation, they pledged cooperation in economic, political and other fields.

- Japan and India are partners in peace, with a common interest in and complementary responsibility for promoting the security, stability and prosperity of Asia as well as in advancing international peace and equitable development.

- The global partnership between India and Japan reflects a broad convergence of their long-term political, economic and strategic interests, aspirations, objectives and concerns.

- The dynamic growth of this relationship is reflected in the number of high level ministerial and parliamentary exchanges that have been taking place at regular intervals.

- In the financial year (FY) 2011-12, India-Japan bilateral trade reached $18.43 billion, showing an increase of 34.33 per cent over FY 2010-11, when the total bilateral trade was $13.72 billion.

8.7 KEY TERMS

- **Expansionism:** The belief in and process of increasing the size and importance of something, especially in a country or a business

- **NEFA:** The North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), formerly the North-East Frontier Tracts, was one of the political divisions in British India and later the Republic of India till 1972, when it became the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh. Its administrative headquarters was Shillong (till 1974, when it was transferred to Itanagar).

- **1962 war:** The Sino-Indian War, also known as the Sino-Indian Border Conflict, was a war between China and India that occurred in 1962. A disputed Himalayan border was the main pretext for war, but other issues played a role.

- **Truman Doctrine:** It was an international relations policy set forth by US President Harry Truman in a speech on March 12, 1947, which stated that the US would support Greece and Turkey with economic and military aid to prevent them from falling into the Soviet sphere.

- **Pokhran:** Also spelled Pokaran is a city and a municipality located in Jaisalmer district in the Indian state of Rajasthan. It is a remote location in the Thar Desert region and served as the test site for India's first underground nuclear weapon detonation.

- **IAEA:** International Atomic Energy Agency is an international organization that seeks to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and to inhibit its use for any military purpose, including nuclear weapons.

8.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. During the Indo-China border war of 1962, the US provided India with useful moral and material help. But soon after that, the ties deteriorated when India condemned the US for using gas in North Vietnam. After this incident, the US president postponed his visit to India in 1965. During the Indo-Pak War of 1965, the use of American arms by Pakistan further deteriorated the ties between India and US.

2. False

3. Economic assistance, International Development Programme

4. Scientific and technological exchanges, 1985

5. False

6. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Ayub Khan

7. Prithvi and Agni

8. When Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited New Delhi in mid-December 2010, emphasized that India and China were friends and not rivals. He said both countries have a long way to go and can cooperate because both face 'similar challenges'.

9. R. Venkataraman was the President of India in 1991.

10. People's Republic of China
11. Longju
12. False
13. Sharad Pawar
14. Asian Development Bank
15. False
16. Soviet Union
17. Mikhail Gorbachev
18. False
19. True
20. True

8.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Describe the relations between India and the United States during the Indo-China border war of 1962.
2. Write a short-note on the problem of Nuclear Non-Proliferation.
3. Explain the term 'Panchsheel'.
4. Write a short note on the liberation of Goa.
5. Give a brief description on Bangladesh war.
6. What is the Shimla Convention?

Long-Answer Questions

1. State the factors responsible for the straining of the Indo-US ties soon after India gained Independence.
2. In what ways did the Bangladesh Crisis affect the Indo-US relations? Explain in detail.
3. According to the Indo-US nuclear deal, what responsibilities would India have to assume? Explain any four.
4. Evaluate India's relationship with Russia.
5. Explain in brief the initial factors responsible for straining the relationship between India and China.
6. When did India and China sign an eight-year agreement on Tibet? How did it help relations between the two countries?
7. How do the energy requirements of both, India and China, help the relations between the two?
8. Assess India's relation with Japan.

8.10 FURTHER READING

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Macmillan Publishers India, New Delhi, 2008.

UNIT 9   INDIA AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

Structure

9.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about India's relation with major international powers, such as, the US, the UK, Japan and China.

Regional organizations are in a sense, international organizations, as they incorporate international membership and encompass geopolitical entities that operationally transcend a single nation state. However, their membership is characterized by boundaries and demarcations characteristic to a defined and unique geography, such as continents, or geopolitics, such as economic blocks. They have been established to foster cooperation and political and economic integration or dialogue amongst states or entities within a restrictive geographical or geopolitical boundary. They both reflect common patterns of development and history that have been fostered since the end of World War II as well as the fragmentation inherent in globalization. Most regional organizations tend to work alongside well-established multilateral organizations such as the United Nations. While in many instances a regional organizations are simply referred as international organizations, in many other it makes sense to use the regional organizations term to stress the more limited scope of a particular membership.

India has formal diplomatic relations with most nations and is a member of some of the important regional organizations. It has made steady progress in the India-ASEAN relationship. India became a sectoral dialogue partner of ASEAN in 1992, which was upgraded to full dialogue partnership in 1996. Regionally, India is a part of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation). Certain aspects of India's relations within the subcontinent are conducted through the SAARC. The European Union (EU) is another organization with which India has a long standing relationship. It is India's largest trading partner, accounting for 20 per cent of Indian trade. However, India accounts for only 1.8 per cent of the EU's trade and attracts only 0.3 per cent of European foreign direct investment, although still provides India's largest source for India.

This unit will enlighten you on India's relationship with regional organizations like SAARC, ASEAN, BRIC and the European Union.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the evolution of SAARC and discuss its objectives
- Describe the origin of ASEAN and identify its purpose
- Analyse the criticism against ASEAN's performance
- Interpret India's relation with the European Union
- Assess the functioning of BRICS nations

9.2 SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an organization of the South Asian nations. It was founded in 1985 dedicating to economic, technological, social and cultural development and emphasizing for collective self-reliance. Its seven founding members are Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Recently, Afghanistan became its member. The headquarters of SAARC is in Kathmandu, Nepal. The meetings of the heads of state are scheduled annually while the meetings of foreign secretaries happen twice annually.

Origin and development

The concept of SAARC was first adopted by Bangladesh during 1977, under the administration of the then President Ziaur Rahman. He mooted the idea of SAARC among the neighbouring states of South Asia when he visited during 1977–1980. In November 1980, a working paper on 'Regional Co-operation in South Asia' was prepared by Bangladesh and circulated among the South-Asian countries.

The ministerial conference meeting was convened in New Delhi, 1983, to set up the Committee for SAARC, and an Integrated Programme for Action (IPA) was launched. Under these agreements, cooperation in the following areas was agreed on:

- Education
- Culture and sports
- Environment and meteorology
- Heath population activities and child welfare
- Prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse
- Rural development
- Science and technology
- Tourism
- Transport
- Women in development

Objectives of SAARC

SAARC has been created with the following objectives:

- To promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life.

- To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region.
- To provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potential.
- To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia.
- To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems.
- To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields.
- To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries.
- To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest.
- To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

Structure

SAARC, as a regional cooperation, has a structure according to which it seeks to function effectively. It is operated through the following structures:

- Meetings of heads of state or government
- The council of ministers
- The standing committee of foreign secretaries
- The programme committee
- The technical committee
- The secretariat

Political issues in SAARC

SAARC, as a regional cooperation, has discussed and deliberated on different political issues. It has stressed on the 'core issues' which are mentioned above. SAARC meetings are conducted on the margins of political dialogue. It has refrained from interfering in the internal matters of the member states.

The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was again mooted in May 2001. It has deliberated on the different issues which are mentioned as follows:

- **Political issue-(terrorism):** One of the political issues that the SAARC countries has deliberated and discussed is on the topical theme of terrorism. During the 12th and 13th SAARC summits in 2004 and 2005 the body laid extreme emphasis on greater cooperation between the members countries to fight terrorism.
- **Economic issue-(free trade area):** SAARC countries focus on cooperation in economic sphere. They signed an agreement to gradually lower tariffs within the region, in Dhaka, 1993. After eleven years, at the 12th SAARC Summit at Islamabad, they devised the South Asia Free Trade Agreement as a framework for the establishment of a free trade area covering 1.6 billion people.

- **Cultural areas:** One of the areas SAARC has focus on is cultural exchange. It has instituted the SAARC Youth Award in recognition to outstanding individuals from the SAARC region. The award recognizes and promotes the commitment and talent of the youth who give back to the world at large through various initiatives such as inventions, protection of the environment and Disaster relief and is based on specific themes designated every year.

The recipients who receive this award are the ones who have dedicated their lives to their individual causes to improve situations in their own countries as well as paving a path for the SAARC region to follow.

The recipients of the awards have been given to Md. Sukur Salek of Bangladesh for outstanding social service in community welfare in 1997, Najmul Hasnain Shah of Pakistan in 1998 for new inventions and discoveries, and MUSHFIQUL Alam of Bangladesh for creative photography: South Asian Diversity in 2001. In 2002, it was given to Masil Khan of Pakistan for his outstanding contribution to protect the environment. In 2003, it was given to Hassan Sher of Pakistan for his invention in the field of traditional medicine and in 2004 to Ajij Prasad Poudyal of Nepal for his outstanding contribution to raising awareness for tuberculosis and/or HIV/AIDS and so on. In 2010 it was given to Anoka Abeyrathne of Sri Lanka for her outstanding contribution for the protection of environment and mitigation of climate change.

9.3 ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is commonly known through its abbreviation as ASEAN. It has been formed by the Southeast Asian nations. It is a geo-political and economic organization which was formed on 8 August 1967 by the Southeast Asian nations, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Since then, membership has expanded to include Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

Objectives

The evolution of ASEAN can be traced back to the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia. There are many fundamental principles which have been adopted from the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia. These have been included in the objectives of ASEAN. The principles are as follows:

- Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations
- The right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another
- Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful manner
- Renunciation of the threat or use of force
- Effective cooperation among themselves

ASEAN was established with certain aims and objectives. The Association seeks to accelerate the economic growth, social progress, cultural development among

Check Your Progress

1. Where is the SAARC headquarters?
2. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was founded by six South Asian nations. (True/False)

Self-Instructional
198 *Material*

its members, the protection of the peace and stability of the region, and to provide opportunities for member countries to discuss differences peacefully. The objectives of ASEAN have been given as follows:

    (i) To accelerate the economic growth , social progress and cultural development in the region

    (ii) To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific, and administrative fields

    (iii) To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of the member states, agriculture and industries and expansion of the trade

    (iv) Study the problems of the international commodity trade in order to improve the transport and communication facilities

    (v) Raise the standard of living of the people.

Origin and development of ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations was formed in 1967 with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration at Bangkok, Thailand. It was established to create a framework for regional cooperation among the non-communist states of Southeast Asia by replacing the Association of South East Asia (ASA), which had been formed by the Philippines, Thailand and the federation of Malaya (now Malaysia). It was formed in 1961 to deal with economic and political matters. Later, Brunei joined ASEAN in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and Cambodia in 1999.

ASEAN, as a region, spans over an area of 4.46 million km, with 3 per cent of the total land area of earth, with a population of approximately 600 million people, which forms 8.8 per cent of the world population.

On 15 December 2008 the members of ASEAN met in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta to launch a charter that has been signed in November 2007, with the aim of moving closer to 'an EU-style community'.

The charter turns ASEAN into a legal entity and aims to create a single free-trade area for the region encompassing 500 million people and also set forth the idea of a proposed human rights body which would seek to have the power to impose sanctions or punish countries who violate citizens' rights and would therefore be limited in effectiveness. The body was established in 2009 as the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR).

The charter has formulated certain fundamental principles which include the following as mentioned below:

    (i) Respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all ASEAN member states

    (ii) Shared commitment and collective responsibility in enhancing regional peace, security and prosperity

    (iii) Renunciation of aggression and of the threat or use of force or other actions in any manner inconsistent with international law

    (iv) Reliance on peaceful settlement of disputes

    (v) Non-interference in the internal affairs of ASEAN member states

    (vi) Respect for the right of every Member State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion and coercion

(vii) Enhanced consultations on matters seriously affecting the common interest of ASEAN;

(viii) Adherence to the rule of law, good governance, the principles of democracy and constitutional government;

(ix) Respect for fundamental freedoms, the promotion and protection of human rights, and the promotion of social justice;

(x) Upholding the United Nations Charter and international law, including international humanitarian law, subscribed to by ASEAN Member States;

(xi) Abstention from participation in any policy or activity, including the use of its territory, pursued by and ASEAN Member State or non-ASEAN State or any non-State actor, which threatens the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political and economic stability of ASEAN Member States;

(xii) Respect for the different cultures, languages and religions of the peoples of ASEAN, while emphasising their common values in the spirit of unity in diversity;

(xiii) The centrality of ASEAN in external political, economic, social and cultural relations while remaining actively engaged, outward-looking, inclusive and non-discriminatory; and

(xiv) Adherence to multilateral trade rules and ASEAN's rules-based regimes for effective implementation of economic commitments and progressive reduction towards elimination of all barriers to regional economic integration, in a market-driven economy".

Structures

The ASEAN has an organizational structure for effective functioning and implementation of its policies and programmes. The organizational structure of ASEAN consists of the following:

- Meetings of the head of Government
- ASEAN Ministerial Meetings
- ASEAN Economic Meetings
- ASEAN Standing Committee, and
- The Secretariat

Policies and summits

The chief projects of ASEAN involve economic cooperation, promotion of trade among the ASEAN nations and between ASEAN and the rest of the world. It also endeavors programmes for joint research and technical cooperation between the member states. It also seeks to develop the tourism as well as facilitate Southeast Asian studies through cultural, scientific, educational and administrative exchanges.

Among the policies ASEAN has sought regional cooperation in the "three pillars" of security, socio cultural and economic integration. The regional grouping has made the most progress in economic integration, aiming to create an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by 2015.

ASEAN: Economic cooperation

The ASEAN region has six major' countries which have economies that are many times larger than the remaining four minor ASEAN countries. The six major's

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economies are based on IMF data and are in accordance to the GDP nominal 2010. These economies include Indonesia which has figures in GDP Purchasing Power Parity of 695 billions (1,027 billions), 312 billions (584 billions) in Thailand, 218 billions (412 billions) of Malaysia, 217 billions (291 billions) of Singapore, 189 billions (350 billions) of Philippines and 101 billions (275 billions) of Vietnam.

That is why, ASEAN emphasizes on economic cooperation and has sought to facilitate the following, namely:

- Free Trade Area
- Comprehensive Investment Area
- Trade in Services
- Single Aviation Market
- Free Trade Agreements with Other Countries

ASEAN as a cultural community

ASEAN also seeks to facilitate the cultural community in an attempt to further integrate the region. These include sports and educational activities as well as writing awards through the ASEAN University Network, the ASEAN Centre for Biodiversity, the ASEAN Outstanding Scientist and Technologist Award and the Singapore-sponsored ASEAN Scholarship, to name a few of them.

- Literary and educational activities
- Environmental protection
- Sports

Critiques of ASEAN

Non-ASEAN countries have criticized ASEAN for being too soft in its approach to promote human rights and democracy in the junta-led Myanmar. Despite global outrage at the military crackdown on peaceful protesters in Yangon, ASEAN has refused to suspend Myanmar as a member and also rejects proposals for economic sanctions. This has caused concern as the European Union, a potential trade partner, has refused to conduct free trade negotiations at a regional level for these political reasons.

International observers view it as a 'talk shop', which implies that the organization is 'big on words but small on action'. Head of the International Institute of Strategic Studies – Asia, Tim Huxley cites the diverse political systems present in the grouping, including many young states, as a barrier to far-reaching cooperation outside the economic sphere. He also asserts that in the absence of an external threat to rally against with the end of the Cold War, ASEAN has begun to be less successful at restraining its members and resolving border disputes such as those between Burma and Thailand and Indonesia and Malaysia.

During the 12th ASEAN Summit in Cebu, several activist groups staged anti-globalization and anti-Arroyo rallies. According to the activists, the agenda of economic integration would negatively affect industries in the Philippines and would cause thousands of Filipinos to lose their jobs. They also viewed the organization as imperialistic that threatens the country's sovereignty. A human rights lawyer from New Zealand was also present to protest about the human rights situation in the region in general.

ASEAN has been criticized, in the past, of being a mere talking shop. However, leaders such as the Philippines' Foreign Affairs Secretary, Alberto Romulo, said it would be a workshop not a talk shop. Others have also expressed similar sentiment.

Since the late 1990s, many scholars have argued that the principle of non-interference has blunted ASEAN efforts in handling the problem of Myanmar, human rights abuses and haze pollution in the region. Meanwhile, with the consensus-based approach, every member in fact has a veto and decisions are usually reduced to the lowest common denominator. There has been a widespread belief that ASEAN members should have a less rigid view on these two cardinal principles when they wish to be seen as a cohesive and relevant community.

DID YOU KNOW?

India is the biggest financial contributor to SAARC fund. It is 30.31 per cent, followed by Pakistan at 22.53 per cent. While Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka contribute 10.72 per cent each, Afghanistan, Bhutan and the Maldives contribute 5 per cent each.

9.4 EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union and India are two crucial poles in the emerging multi-polar structure. In view of this, many high-level visits and summit-level interactions between India and the European Union (EU) have taken place. Since India's engagement with the EU, research in the fields like defence and security, nuclear and space, trade and investment, energy, food security, climate change, science and technology, culture and education has been intensified and improved. Special envoys have been sent to every EU country to seek support for abandoning the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) for Civil Nuclear Cooperation with USA.

The Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, and the leaders of several countries in Europe have met several times to discuss various issues. After the terrorist attack in Mumbai, in 2008, the leaders of EU and other members sent several messages condemning the attacks. Therefore, India and the European Union share a very cordial relationship and are actively engaged in several agreements.

Trade

The European Union is India's major trading partner. In total, the European Union accounts for 20 per cent of the Indian Trade. Whereas, India accounts for only 1.8 per cent of the European Union Trade and it attracts only 0.3 per cent of the European Foreign Direct Investment. In 2005, the trade between the European Union and India increased by 20.3 per cent. In 2000, the trade between India and the European Union amounted to 25.6 billion euros and was more than doubled in 2007 to 55.6 billion euros. It was expected to grow even more, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said, "We have agreed to achieve an annual bilateral trade turnover of 100 billion euros within the next five years," as per a report published in 2010, after China and Russia, India was the eighth largest trading partner of the European Union.

Technical and financial trade assistance to India by the European Union

In order to continue providing assistance to India so that it can integrate into the world economy and to ensure improvement in bilateral trade and investment ties, the European

Union has ensured trade related technical assistance. 13.4 million euros were given via the Trade and Investment Development Programme (TIDP) funded from the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) 2002-2006. Currently, a follow-up programme to the TIDP is being formulated and the funds for the same will be provided by the Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013.

9.5 BRAZIL, RUSSIA, INDIA, CHINA AND SOUTH AFRICA (BRICS)

BRIC is a widely used acronym in economics, which stands for Brazil, Russia, India and China. The acronym was coined by Jim O'Neill, a Goldman Sachs economist, in a 2001. In recent times, these countries have achieved the title of being large economies that equally contribute to the world economy by manufacturing goods and services and receiving capital. These countries are also considered potential consumer markets. All the four countries are considered at par with each other in terms of the size of their economies. Recently even South Africa has been added to this group. Currently, these five countries together envelop 40 per cent of the total world population. Furthermore, these countries make up approximately 25 per cent of the total GDP (gross domestic product) in terms of the PPP (purchasing power parity).

As far as the achievements are concerned every BRICS member can claim of various accomplishments in the field of agriculture. The use of superior agricultural technologies elucidated by the green revolution has extensively increased the food production in these countries and has enabled significant changes in the agricultural production in these countries and has enabled significant changes in the agricultural sector throughout the world. Due to the worsening situation of the agriculture and food sector and the climate change, the utilization of up-to-date agricultural technologies to guarantee security of food throughout the world has become necessary. The BRICS members have vowed to increase and enhance the exchange of improved technologies, human resources and advanced machinery to ensure that the agricultural technology capacity grows.

Several of the more developed of the N-11 countries, in particular Turkey, Mexico, Indonesia and Nigeria, are seen as the most likely contenders to the BRICS. Some other developing countries that have not yet reached the N-11 economic level, such as South Africa.

Goldman Sachs has argued that, since the four BRIC countries are developing rapidly, by 2050 their combined economies could eclipse the combined economies of the current richest countries of the world. These four countries, combined, currently account for more than a quarter of the world's land area and more than 40 per cent of the world's population.

Goldman Sachs did not argue that the BRICs would organize themselves into an economic bloc, or a formal trading association, as the European Union has done. However, there are some indications that the four BRIC countries have been seeking to form a 'political club' or 'alliance', and thereby converting their growing economic power into greater geopolitical clout.

On June 16, 2009, the leaders of the BRIC countries held their first summit in Yekaterinburg, and issued a declaration calling for the establishment of an equitable, democratic and multi-polar world order. Since then they have met in Brasília in 2010, met in Sanya in 2011 and in New Delhi, India in 2012.

The BRICS Development Bank is a proposed development bank of the BRICS nations. Its establishment was agreed to by BRICS leaders at the 2013 BRICS summit held in Durban, South Africa on 27 March 2013. Among its goals is to provide funding for infrastructure projects, and create a 'Contingent Reserve Arrangement' worth $100 billion which will help member countries counteract future financial shocks.

ACTIVITY

Find out how the BRICS Development Bank proposes to fulfill its goals.

9.6   SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Regional organizations are in a sense, international organizations, as they incorporate international membership and encompass geopolitical entities that operationally transcend a single nation state.

- SAARC was founded in 1985 dedicating to economic, technological, social and cultural development and emphasizing for collective self-reliance.

- The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is multi-polar geo-political and economic organization which was formed on 8 August 1967.

- ASEAN seeks to accelerate the economic growth, social progress, cultural development among its members, the protection of the peace and stability of the region, and to provide opportunities for member countries to discuss differences peacefully.

- International observers view ASEAN as a 'talk shop', which implies that the organization is 'big on words but small on action'.

- The European Union and India are two crucial poles in the emerging multi-polar structure.

- The European Union accounts for 20 per cent of the Indian Trade. Whereas, India accounts for only 1.8 per cent of the European Union Trade and it attracts only 0.3 per cent of the European Foreign Direct Investment.

- BRIC is a widely used acronym in economics, which stands for Brazil, Russia, India and China.

- As far as the achievements are concerned every BRICS member can claim of various accomplishments in the field of agriculture.

9.7   KEY TERMS

- **ASEAN:** The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is commonly known through its abbreviation as ASEAN. It has been formed by the Southeast Asian nations. It is a geo-political and economic organization which was formed on 8 August 1967 by the Southeast nations, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

- **BRIC:** It is an acronym in economics, which stands for Brazil, Russia, India and China, the countries which are all deemed to be at a similar stage of newly advanced economic development. These countries are also considered potential consumer markets.

- **Euro:** It is the currency used by the institutions of the European Union and is the official currency of the eurozone.

- **European Union:** The European Union (EU) is an economic and political union of 27 member states that are located primarily in Europe.

- **Nuclear Suppliers Group:** It is a body of 46 nuclear supplier states, including China, Russia, and the United States, that have voluntarily agreed to coordinate their export controls governing transfers of civilian nuclear material and nuclear-related equipment and technology to non-nuclear-weapon states.

- **SAARC:** An organization of South Asian nations dedicated to the economic, technological, social and cultural development of Asian nations

9.8   ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The SAARC headquarter is in Kathmandu, Nepal.
2. False
3. Economic cooperation, promotion of trade
4. True
5. Trading
6. True
7. False
8. Jim O'Neill

9.9   QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the SAARC objectives?
2. Identify the objectives of ASEAN.
3. What are the political concerns of SAARC?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What does SAARC stand for? Discuss its programmes and objectives.
2. Explain the origin of ASEAN.
3. ASEAN has been criticized by non-ASEAN countries. Discuss.
4. Analyse India's relation with the European Union.
5. Describe the origin and evolution of BRICS.

9.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 10 FOREIGN POLICY OF MAJOR POWERS

Structure

10.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about India's relation with regional organization, such as ASEAN, SAARC, the European Union and BRICS.

The demise of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact have drastically altered the global power balance in favour of the West. Consequently, there is a major change in the global paradigm in the post-Cold War world, in which the US has emerged as the sole superpower, with the European Union as its appendage. The present world order has been rightly described as 'a multipolar world with a unipolar disposition'. Today, the new world order is in the throes of a fast changing scenario and the coming years are going to witness re-alignments which might seem quite sweeping as well as surprising. Friends of the Cold War days are strangers now, if not estranged and enemies of yesteryears are becoming friends. To be sure, the era of exclusive relationships is over. Now, every major player on the international scene is interacting with everyone else. No wonder, Russia and the US are 'partners in peace' and no longer adversaries and both India and Russia are seeking extensive cooperation with the western powers led by the US.

In this unit, you will learn about the foreign policies of three great world powers: USA, the UK and Russia.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the foreign policy of the USA
- Discuss the foreign policy of the UK
- Analyse the foreign policy of the Russia

10.2 FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USA

The post-1945 period has been rightly described as American era of international relations. Undoubtedly, America occupies a central place in the continuum of world politics. Rather it is the heartland of international politics. 'America now bestrides the world. She is the 'colossus' of our own time. Whatever is said or done in the US may easily change the lives of unnumbered millions thousands of miles away'. To Henry Luce, 'The twentieth century to a significant degree is (was) an American century.' On all significant counts—in terms of industry, agriculture, finance, commerce, gross national product, per capita income, scientific discoveries, technological inventions, techno-scientific manpower, defence outfit and, above all, nuclear capability, the USA is a pre-eminent world power. In other words, she is at the top of major powers by virtue of her overarching military, diplomatic, political and economic assets. She evokes not only awesome fear but also well-deserved regard and admiration for her contributions. Parts of its history are main milestones in the march of mankind.'

American ideas, images and artifacts have fired the world's imagination and flooded markets. In short, America today represents the epitome of human achievement not only in material terms but also in the quest for knowledge in science, medicine and other fields of human endeavour. Now with the eclipse of the Soviet Union America remains the sole surviving superpower. The world order in the post Cold War period has conferred unparalleled power, clout, prestige and prosperity on the United States. In short, today the United States of America has become 'hyperpower', a 'unipolar globocop', dollar dictator and world's 'only indispensable nation'. No wonder, Washington happens to be the common denominator in almost every high-profile peace process.

The American people and their character

The American society, which accounts for six per cent of mankind (268 million) and possesses great economic, military and political strength is based on the principles of democracy and liberty. Americans regard their country as the 'goddess of liberty'. Their spirit of 'spread-eagaleism', their bumptiousness and exaggerated confidence in themselves, their blind optimism which together with their idealism tends to give them a false picture of the world and to lure them into moral crusades. They are at once aggressive, optimistic, philanthropic and wasteful; they are at once moralists as well as hard-headed cynics. But they are soft-hearted people despite their apparent swagger. For Americans, in whom a progressive liberalism and faith in technology has combined to breed an almost casual self-confidence, little seems impossible. In other words, they have no philosophy of failure, for they don't live in the past but in the future. Hence, they believe in the cult of the future.

Decision-making in American foreign policy

Of all major countries, the USA has the most open decision-making process. There is a high degree of diffusion in the decision-making process. In his 'Presidential Power', Neustadt maintains: 'The Constitution has created not a government of separated powers but a government of separated institutions sharing power.' Both the executive and the legislature, thus, have a say in foreign matters. Though the Constitution assigns special power to the executive, the Congress alone has the authority to raise armies, to declare war, to make peace and to advise on the conduct in making of treaties and appointment of diplomatic representatives. Because of this sharing of power, serious frictions are

bound to occur between the president and the Congress, in spite of bipartisan tradition observed by the two major political parties. However, the executive has acquired a dominant position in foreign affairs since II World War until the mid-seventies—until passing of the War Powers Act (1973). The power of the president went on increasing along with American involvement in world affairs. Since the president's role as chief formulators has increased, so has the impact of bureaucracy on the foreign policy formulation process. Yet he does not exercise exclusive control in the foreign field. The control of money legislation, the power to confirm appointments by the Senate and ability to investigate and publicize executive branch actions represent important restrictions. Together, constitutional limits, Congress action, bureaucratic processes and the weight of past commitments constitute formidable potential constraints on any president. Thus, powers assigned to the president are initiative in character and those enjoyed by the Congress appear to be largely restrictive. However, the US President enjoys a good deal of initiatives. The Congress can only discuss, debate, defer or delay but it can rarely destroy them. But in the ultimate sense, the power of a president is the power to persuade.

Role of political institutions

The formal foreign policy process is determined by five large institutions—(1) White House, (2) Department of State, (3) Department of Defence, (4) Central Intelligence Agency and (5) Congress—represented by the House and Senate Committees. The President is responsible to orchestrate interrelated groups that contribute with some autonomy to policy making, such as the Foreign Office, Bureaucracy, the White House, the Interested Committees of the Congress. Apart from these organs, the National Security Council also advises the President with respect to integration of domestic, foreign and military policies relating to national security. The NSC consists of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence as statutory members. It is chaired by the President and its meetings are also attended by the Director of the CIA. The role of the House Staff, though significant, should not be magnified, because the President's men often tell what he wants to hear.

Role of public opinion

There are few countries in which public opinion counts as much as in the USA. At times the public opinion exercises limits on President's decisional latitude. To illustrate, the Cuban offensive missiles supplied by the Soviet Union were not strategically important but President Kennedy had to act under public pressure. Similarly, President Johnson had to agree to withdraw from Vietnam under the weight of public opinion despite the loss of face. However, the role of public opinion is generally negative and retrospective. Altogether, the American foreign policy is obliged to be public policy subject to public scrutiny, appraisal and approbation.

Principles of American foreign policy

It is often said that America does not have a discernible foreign policy. Priestly maintains that 'most powerful nation on earth seems to have no continuing foreign policy (tradition) to guide it.' But it is just a superficial view. Rather, it is more correct to say that 'throughout its history the United States has pursued a constant foreign policy.' Generally speaking, physical security, material wealth, international prestige—these and other tangible and intangible values actuate all foreign policies and so is the case with American foreign policy. In other words, American foreign policy has always been guided by certain traditions

as defined by its national interest corresponding to its power status in the changing world order. That is why there is a certain uniformity about the US foreign policy, which focuses solely on what suits Washington's interests and eliminates nearly all non-essential elements. But, since the US policy has been changing in the light of new meaning given on its national interest by its leadership from time to time, some critics have remarked that America lacks any serious tradition to guide its foreign policy. The change in American foreign policy orientation from isolationism to total involvement and from 'non-entangling alliances' to alignment galore in the post-1945 period lend some support to their observation. At the same time, an element of idealism and a deep sense of 'historic mission' have always been an animating force in American foreign policy. To sample a few of these ideals, one can mention the idealism of Jefferson and Lincoln, American crusades like 'war to end all wars', 'war to make democracy safe', 'new world order' and 'internationalization of human rights', etc.

Determinants of American foreign policy

Like that of any other state, the US foreign policy, too, was shaped largely by geographical and historical considerations, by her political and social systems, by her economic strength and military power, by her relative power position, by the policies of other states and by the world environment.

Evolution of American foreign policy

The founding fathers believed that the US should remain aloof from European politics. They wanted to steer clear of 'entangling alliances' and 'ordinary vicissitudes' of European politics. The first phase of her foreign policy, therefore, was governed by the principle of isolationism and non-interventionism. It was designed to promote security, trade relations and general prosperity among states of America. This phase was marked by pan-Americanism. But by 1823, the policy of non-intervention moved a step further. It was based on the Monroe Doctrine. This Doctrine was originally directed against the Russian attempt to exclude non-Russian ships from north-east coast of America and the reactionary Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia and Austria contemplating intervention in the newly created South American Republics. The Doctrine established a fundamental principle of American policy—implying two aims: (1) No territorial aggrandizement on American soil will be allowed and (2) No intervention in European politics. The ulterior motive behind this Doctrine, however, was to serve a warning to European powers that the American continents are henceforth not be considered as subjects for colonization and to assert hegemony over the whole Western Hemisphere. The Doctrine gave the US a vast hinterland in control, and South American bloc served both as a source of raw material and a captured market. With such 'natural colonies' the US had so little interest outside America. American isolationism was thus the political reflection of economic self-sufficiency. From its original concept the Monroe Doctrine was essentially defensive. But it became expansionist by 1840s, when the US became strong enough to implement it. Thus, the Monroe Doctrine became the cornerstone of American foreign policy. Although successive Presidents have modified it according to requirements, it has never been abandoned altogether and is still alive and kicking.

Beginning in 1898, the US embarked on a bolder course. This was the springtime of 'open door' and 'manifest destiny'. The President at the moment, Theodore Roosevelt, thought that America was entitled to exercise police power over the Western Hemisphere.

The foreign policy of America in the first decade of the twentieth century was characterized as participation in Asia, a sphere of influence in the Caribbean Sea and continued non-participation in European politics. But with the coming of the First World War, she acquired a new position in the changed world order. Though she participated in the First World War under the leadership of President Wilson and took a leading part in establishing an international organization—the League of Nations, but the Senate failed to ratify the Versailles Treaty along with the Covenant of the League of Nations. The reason was that America still retained the sense of physical security that underlay their isolationist past. Hence again for twenty years she sank into isolationism, until 1940. But it is to be noted that it was an act of self-denial in the political sphere and not from any internal weakness that the US leadership was not exercised. Even when the menace of Hitler and Mussolini was haunting Europe the Americans kept aloof and abandoned their traditional policy of freedom of the seas rather than risk war. American neutrality reached its nadir in the Neutrality Legislation of late 1930s. Thus, for almost a century after the declaration of Munroe Doctrine, America remained aloof from European political affairs, even though her economy had grown with leaps and bounds. Until the Second World War, she played only intermittently a central role and made only periodic forays into international politics.

For more than a century, her bountiful nature allowed Americans to hold belief that progress was to be found within the country and the Western Hemisphere. This natural abundance and sense of physical security permitted her leadership to remain away from the traditional world politics, and to make legalistic and moralistic declarations about external affairs from time to time. 'Protected from invasions by oceans and benign power of the British navy, and blessed with abundance of natural resources, the US was famously fortunate to limit its participation in international affairs to mercantile pursuits.'

Revolution in American foreign policy

However, this neutralism came to a final end with the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, and ever since she did not look back to the isolationist past. The shift from isolationist inclination to new internationalism took place somewhere between 1940 (fall of France) and the middle of 1945 when the Senate ratified the UN Charter. Reasons for this transition are: (1) Partly American involvement with European affairs which was a by-product of British efforts to resist the Nazis. In 1940, President F.D. Roosevelt agreed to exchange fifty destroyers in exchange for bases in the Western Hemisphere and (2) In the spring of 1941 the Land-Lease Act passed to help Britain with supplies and munitions. The one action clearly marking a break with the past was the Atlantic Summit of August 1941 from which was enunciated the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Conference, indeed, marks the beginning of a revolution in the US foreign policy. In 1941, however, only few Americans wanted her nation to enter the war, as she was yet unprepared for it. The Atlantic Charter was an authoritative expression of the eight principles, some of which are as follows: (1) to seek no territorial gains, (2) to work for improving living standard of all peoples, (3) to protect nations to live under governments of their own choice, (4) to seek disarmament of the aggressive nations, etc. But there was yet no provision for international organization. It was only in 1942 that the United Nations Declaration was signed by 26 nations at Washington. The Atlantic Charter and the UN Declaration were important steps in the assumption of world responsibility on part of

America. The Atlantic Conference became the prototype for other such conferences in Casablanca, Cairo, Teheran, Quebec, Yalta and Potsdam. After Pearl Harbour attack by Japan on December 7, 1941 the US joined the War. By the time the War in Asia was nearing its conclusion, fifty nations signed the UN Charter on June 26, 1945, and the USA was the first nation to ratify it. Thus, in a course of a century and three quarters America shifted from a policy of non-involvement to one of active involvement taking upon herself a global responsibility.

The setting and course of post-war policy

By the end of World War II, Western Europe lay in smoking ruins. Germany had been reduced to a lumber landscape. The Soviet Union too suffered indescribable physical and human damage. Japanese industries were devastated. Only the United States remained unharmed. The War also brought a profound reassertion of Wilsonianism. Thus, by design and circumstances, America found itself at the apex of the new system that emerged following the collapse of the old international order.

Although she emerged as the mightiest power on the world scene as a result of the Second World War and had to occupy a leading and dominant role in the world affairs, she was ill-prepared for the new role. It was not easy for her to adjust to her new position and to the realities of a post-war world. Yet it was incumbent on her to assume a global responsibility. While writing at that time, Palmer and Parkins remarked: "There is ample evidence for concluding that she has not yet learned how to act like a world power or how to wield such tremendous responsibility." However, there was now a general acceptance among Americans of the policy of involvement in the world affairs. The post-War American policy was therefore, directed towards facing the challenge posed by post-war developments—challenge of communism, the growing power of the Soviet Union and power vacuum after withdrawal of the West from their former colonies.

The Truman Period (1945-53)

After the death of F.D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945 Harry Truman took over as the 33rd President of America by right of succession. The foreign policy under the Truman Administration can be divided into four periods: The first period (April 1945 to July 1946) lasting for about one and a half years was one of cooperation and accommodation between the USA and the Soviet Union. It was highlighted by the emergence of the United Nations and peace-making efforts, post-War rehabilitation and reconstruction. But soon the short honeymoon period came to an end. Serious disagreement and suspicion began to erupt on issues relating to Germany, East Europe, Peace Treaties with Italy, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Finland, functioning of the UNO and Soviet pressure on Iran, Turkey, and Greece.

The second period (August 1946 to March 1947) was characterised as one of firmness and patience. The relations between the Superpowers became strained because of disagreements over the occupation of Germany, the unification of Korea, the Soviet demand on Turkey, her refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran and the engineering of communist revolution in Greece. By now, the US was confirmed of the fact of a divided world. As a result of these developments, the US foreign policy towards the Soviet Union underwent a revolutionary change.

Truman Doctrine

The third period (1947-50) was marked by the beginning of the Cold War and the subsequent policy of 'containment'. The Western powers had become unduly alarmed

at the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe and the Soviet pressure on Turkey and Greece. George F. Kennan, the author of the policy of 'containment' advocated the maintenance of force all around the Soviet bloc.

America's new role of policing the Continent was signalled by the Truman Doctrine and the Greek-Turkish Aid programme. In late 1947 , Britain announced a deficit of $ 350 million. Since she was confronted with the problem of cutting down expenditure, Britain began to prepare to abandon its historical and imperial commitments. Incidentally, for Britain the price of victory was the liquidation of the British Empire. In March 1947, the British government informed Washington of its inability to support Greek and Turkish governments in resisting communist attacks and infiltration, while both of them needed desperately outside support. Now Britain shifted its Atlantic responsibility to America. Truman knew that US support to Greece and Turkey will be a departure from her tradition and was aware that it was a costly obligation. But he said that freedom from aggression was the minimum requirement for peace in the world. The new departure in American foreign policy was dramatised by the Truman Doctrine. In his speech on March 12, 1947, he called for a programme of aid to Greece and Turkey and asked the Congress to grant 400 million dollars in economic and military aid to them. To quote Truman, "I believe it must be the policy of the US to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." He declared: "wherever aggression direct or indirect threatens peace, the security of the USA was involved."

The significance of the Truman Doctrine lies in the fact that it was the first step in the direction of containment of communism—in fact, of the Soviet Union. It was a formal renunciation of American policy of isolationism. It confirmed the fact of a divided world and also the 'two-camp' thesis of Zhadnov. It also marked the final inauguration of the Cold War. Indirectly, it also implied the bypassing of the United Nations, as the US had decided to help Turkey and Greece directly and not through the world body. Virtually, it served a notice that the march of communism would not be allowed to succeed by default.

Marshall Plan

In pursuance of the policy of 'containment', the Truman Doctrine was followed by the Marshall Plan as its logical corollary. If the Truman Doctrine had political overtones, the Marshall Plan was the policy of containment on economic level. Kennan maintained that "a new programme based on economic, not military aid, will be more effective than the Truman Doctrine in securing Europe against infiltration and conquest." On June 5, 1947 , the Secretary of State, George S. Marshall, in his address at the Harvard University, spoke in terms about Europe's need for help to rebuild her economy and initiated the European Recovery Programme. He said: "The US should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." The Plan was apparently meant for all the European countries, but its underlying aim was to save Western Europe from the march of communism. The sixteen European nations (excluding communist countries) had concluded that their rehabilitation required 15 billion dollars over the next four years. Such a burden was no doubt staggering for American tax payers. Anyway, a bill was moved in the Congress for 17 billion dollars for 4 years. Mr. Vandenberg (a Republican) called the bill "a calculated risk to help stop the World War III before its start. The 'iron curtain' must not come to the ruins of the Atlantic either by aggression or by default." By the end of 1951, the Aid reached a total of l3 billion dollars. Indeed, the Aid was "like

a life line to sinking man," as Ernest Bevin put it. It was meant to achieve a revival of a working economy so as to permit the emergence of political and social condition in which free institutions could exist. One unforeseen consequence of the Aid was closer economic integration of separate economies of Europe. The Marshall Plan was evidently a step further in carrying out the policy of containment. It was an economic counterpart of the Truman Doctrine. It was cold war by other means. However, this Aid pulled Europe out of the wreckage of World War and propelled it to prosperity. To Churchill, "it was the most unsordid act in history. Yet it was not simply charity, nor just a reconstruction scheme".

Review of Truman Regime

On the whole, the Truman Administration acquitted itself quite creditably and beyond all expectations. The credit for making a water-shed departure in American foreign policy rightly goes to his regime. To quote Henry Kissinger, 'Though Harry Truman knew little about foreign policy (to begin with), yet he laid the groundwork for a generation of successful foreign policy.' However, Truman's action of dropping atom bombs on innocent people of Japan will be recorded in future history of mankind as the greatest tragedy and shame for humanity and therefore a serious blot on his administration.

Eisenhower Period (1953-60)

With the departure of Truman, the long period of Democratic Presidency inaugurated in 1933 came to an end. The White House was again occupied by a Republican President, General Dwight Eisenhower after a lapse of 24 years. For some time, people were apprehensive that the new regime led by a General might be more war-like. But it was eventually proved that the Soldier-President had no disposition towards recklessness in word or deed, as feared. Instead, the Eisenhower Administration attempted to give a new look to American foreign policy.

The events of 1953-55 offered new hopes. On March 5, 1953 Joseph Stalin died giving place to leader who believed in following flexible and conciliatory policies. On June 27, 1953, the Korean war was brought to an end. These developments led to lessening of tension. The years of 1954 and 1955 are known for successful conferences. The Geneva and Berlin conferences were followed by the Austrian Peace Treaty of 1955. These were some positive developments which contributed a great deal to cold war relaxation. But there were some negative developments, too, which neutralised it to some extent. The Soviet explosion of a hydrogen bomb (1953), the communist China's confrontation with America, forces in the Korean war, and its aggressive stance thereafter and the crisis of Indo-China forced the USA to adopt a tough stance in her foreign policy. The American foreign policy-makers led by foreign secretary, John Foster Dulles, were not prepared to tolerate communist expansion in South-East Asia. 'But since the Soviet Union began to show conciliatory stance, the Eisenhower administration had to adopt a dual policy. The USA sought to develop 'situations of strength' on the one hand and to work for a peaceful world on the other. The Eisenhower administration gave up the policy of liberation (rolling back) and the policy of 'brinkmanship' not only advocated by Dulles, but put forward the Atom for Peace proposal in 1953.

The Kenedy Period (1961-63)

John F. Kennedy entered the White House on January 20, 1961 as the 35th President of America at the young age of 43. He was energetic, intelligent, good looking, inspiring, aggressive, dynamic and outspoken. "He was a man both cool and concerned, wily and

profound, profane and highly eloquent with a subtle mind and a passion for cutting through cliches." All in all, he was a highly gifted man of unusual charm and aristocratic distinction. His administration promised to seek a new approach towards world issues. The US, foreign policy in his regime sought new frontiers. Besides, Kennedy started with fresh faces and fresh ideas. For the first time, he associated learned professors not only for advisory role but for operational responsibilities.

Kennedy made a serious attempt to seek areas of cooperation with the rival Superpower. On a chance meeting with Khrushchev in June 1961, in Vienna, he accepted the latter's concept of coexistence, but at the same time he was firm where security interest was involved. Khrushchev also found the young Kennedy unyielding.

In his inaugural address, Kennedy declared: "Let us never negotiate out of fear but let us never fear to negotiate." He warned: "The world is very different now. For man holds in mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of the human poverty and all forms of human life... War appeals no longer as a rational alternative. Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind." He cautioned: "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to secure the survival and success of liberty."

Kennedy and the Cuban Crisis

The last days of October 1962 witnessed one of the gravest international crises since the Second World War. Paradoxically, this crisis was the most frustrating experience as well as the finest hour of Kennedy's regime. Cuba is an island state in the Caribbean Sea just 90 miles off from the American mainland. She has been virtually an American protectorate for a long time. In January 1959, Fidel Castro came to power by overthrowing a pro-American regime headed by Batista. The Castro regime being Marxist in character (the first of its kind in the Western Hemishpere) turned unfriendly towards America and became a close ally of the Soviet Union. Obviously, it was an intolerable situation for an American administration. Secret records show that there was a bumbling attempt to eliminate Fidel Castro. On April 17, 1961, the Cuban refugees, encouraged by American aid and abetment, invaded Cuba. But they were defeated at the Bay of Pigs. Undoubtedly, in this misadventure, the invaders had the blessing of the Kennedy Administration, which was misguided by the CIA. This 'Operation Mongoose' was, indeed, a great blot on his otherwise bold leadership. Since this attack was instigated by Washington, the relations between the US and Cuba have remained hostile to this date. As a sequel to this event, the Castro regime sought the support of the Soviet Union. With the result, in 1961, a complete Russian military mission arrived in Cuba, which was followed by the arrival of combat unit of Russian mechanised troops. Again, in 1962, some anticraft batteries equipped with ground-to-air rocket reached Cuba. The same year, launching equipments for medium range missiles also arrived. With this arsenal of arms and fire power deployed on America's next door, Khrushchev thought that, if required, he could afford a blackmailing threat the next time he pressed his demands on Berlin. Obviously, these developments alarmed the Kennedy Administration, and the US could no longer tolerate such offensive moves. In response, President Kennedy ordered a naval quarantine around Cuba and imposed restrictions on all ships carrying communist cargoes to the island.

The world learned with dread and horror the full gravity of the crisis when Kennedy broadcast on October 22, 1962, his government's counter-challenge. He warned: "any hostile move anywhere in the world against people to whom we are committed, including West Berlin, will be met by whatever action is needed." He added: "It shall be the policy

of this nation to regard any nuclear missiles launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response on the Soviet Union." With this clear warning, Khrushchev had no reason to believe that Kennedy was just bluffing.

The Cuban crisis brought the world to the brink of Superpowers' showdown. To be sure, any invasion on Cuba could have led to nuclear conflagration. Indeed, it was a hair-trigger encounter. In Robert Kennedy's chilling words: "the world stared at the barrel of the nuclear gun." To quote Dean Rusk, "it had been a very near thing." Fortunately, sanity prevailed ultimately and the crisis was averted both by Kennedy's firmness and Khrushchev's unwillingness to challenge. Both displayed statesmanship of the highest order. Khrushchev was ultimately forced to blink in this eye-ball to eye-ball confrontation, for he agreed to withdraw Russian missiles and bombers from Cuba. But this he did after getting no-invasion pledge on Cuba from Kennedy. Besides, Kennedy gave Khrushchev a face-saving device by agreeing to dismantle American Jupiter missiles in Turkey. Kennedy's handling of the crisis was "a model of textbook diplomacy," as Dewis Healey put it. Khrushchev also felt that saving peace was more important than saving face.

Johnson Period (1963-69)

After the unfortunate assassination of Kennedy at the hands of a Texan goon, Lee Harvey Oswald on November 22, 1963, the then Vice-President, Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded as the 36th President of the USA. Though lacking the charm and vitality of Kennedy, Johnson also got the second term in November 1964 elections and continued till January 1969. On assuming powers, he announced to continue the policies of his predecessor abroad as well as at home.

Johnson and the Vietnam War

Johnson was obliged to carry on the logic of his inheritance. The initiation of an aggressive policy in Vietnam is rightly attributed to Kennedy. After the fall of Diem in 1963, the situation in South Vietnam further deteriorated. In December 1963, the US promised unlimited military assistance to South Vietnam. In August 1964, Johnson decided to bomb the strategic places in North Vietnam to control Vietcong guerillas. He ordered bombing on North Vietnamese coastal bases in retaliation for alleged attack on American fleet units (2 destroyers) in the Gulf of Tonkin. As a countermove, the Vietcong sped up their attack and inflicted heavy losses on military bases in South Vietnam. By December 1964, the US forces were further reinforced and their total touched 20,000. In February 1965, following the Vietcong attack against US installations, the US started bombing strategic places in North Vietnam. In March 1965, 3,500 US marines were sent to South Vietnam. Air attacks were also multiplied. Gradually the strength of American troops reached a total of 1,85,000. In the next few years, the US further increased its military efforts in Vietnam.

But by 1968, the American public opinion had become antagonised to Johnson's policy of war escalation in Vietnam. In February 1968, North Vietnamese troops launched fierce attack on strategic targets in South Vietnam. To meet this threat, the US command made a request for two lakh more troops (in addition to 5 lakhs already there). The communist 'Tet Offensive' of February 1968 was a major psychological turning point and led to reappraisal of Vietnam policy in America. The strategic victory of the communists played an important role in increasing war weariness among the American people and accelerating the beginning of the Paris negotiations.

In the United States, the vocal groups led by professors and students staged demonstrations against the policy pursued by Johnson and demanded that American troops should be withdrawn forthwith. "We want our boys back" was their buzzword. Senators liked Fulbright and Mansfield also voiced uneasiness. No doubt, the Vietnam war had surpassed in magnitude, devastation and savagery, even the Korean War.

Under the mounting pressure, Johnson on March 31, 1968 ordered cessation of bombing in North Vietnam and simultaneously announced his decision not to seek reelection for presidency. This paved the way for the peace talks at Paris, which were formally inaugurated on May 13, 1968. The four-party Paris Talks continued about four years, though intermittently, and culminated in a ceasefire agreement by the end of 1972 and the Paris Peace Accord on January 27, 1973. America acknowledged the failure of its policy in Vietnam. According to Henry Kissinger, "It was the incremental approach which doomed us in Vietnam."

Nixon Period (1969-74)

On January 20, 1969, Richard Nixon assumed office as the 37th President of the United States. After a lapse of eight years the White House was reoccupied by a Republican President. It is interesting to note if the earlier Republican regime of Eisenhower was faced with the task of bringing peace to Korea, the Nixon regime was confronted with the problem of securing peace in Vietnam.

In his famous inaugural speech, Nixon gave a call to communist bloc "to join the US in a peaceful competition not in conquering territory or extending dominion but in enriching the life of man." Nixon felt that the most fundamental interest of all nations lies in building the structure of peace; and that peace was more than the absence of war, because peace must provide a durable structure of peace. He added: "We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy." After a period of confrontation, the Nixon administration did start an era of negotiable.

Nixon Administration and Vietnam Problem

The first task that invited Nixon's immediate attention was an honourable extrication from Vietnam. To be sure, the problem of Vietnam was not his creation. He got it in legacy from Kennedy and Johnson. Yet he was committed to resolve it. In fact, one of his election platforms had been the settling of Vietnam problem and gradual disengagement.

Nixon ushered in a departure from the earlier US policy in Vietnam. His new departure (a brainchild of Henry Kissinger) is known as Guarn Doctrine, which was enunciated in a speech at Guarn. It contained three key points. He declared: "(1) The US will keep all its treaty commitments, (2) We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of any ally or of a nation whose survival was considered vital to our security and the security of the region as a whole, and (3) In cases involving other types of aggression, we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate. We shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defence." The thrust of the Nixon Doctrine was to place the main burden of fighting on local population of South Vietnam and that the US would supply only tools. The Guarn Doctrine was meant to make Asians fight Asians; it aimed at Vietnamisation of war or de-Americanisation of Vietnam war.

Nixon and Sino-American Reconciliation

Since the establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949, the US had no relations, except inimical, with communist China. The US not only did not recognize the PRC but also blocked her entry into the United Nations. Instead, she managed to retain Nationalist China (Taiwan) as a permanent member of the UN Security Council upto October 1971.

"For twenty years the US policy-makers considered China as a brooding, chaotic, fanatical and alien realm difficult to comprehend and impossible to sway." But in 1971, under the compulsion of new realities of power equation, America started reviewing her policy towards communist China. The need for reappraisal was provided firstly by failure of America in Indo-China and secondly by the worsening Sino-Soviet conflict. The Nixon administration was convinced that contact with one quarter of humanity could restore new perspective to American diplomacy. In fact, for quite a long time (about 15 years), Warsaw based ambassadors of the two nations had been carrying on Secret parleys in order to improve and normalise their relations. The talks became public only after the Sino-Soviet clashes (1969) at Ussuri and Amur river boundaries over the island of Chenpao (Damansky). Impelled by the obvious menace of the Soviet buildup (45 Divisions) on the 4,500 mile long common border, China wanted to reduce the number of its adversaries and to obtain another counterweight to Soviet pressure. She wanted strategic reassurance and some easing of their nightmare of hostile encirclement.

As a gesture of cordiality, in April 1971, an American pingpong team visited China and thus, began an era of what is called 'Pingpong Diplomacy'. A realisation dawned on both the nations that it was mutually advantageous to come to an understanding with each other. The US felt it necessary to open normal diplomatic channels with China in order to sort out differences. In pursuance of this opening to China, Kissinger paid a secret visit to Peking via Rawalpindi in July 1971, and succeeded in snatching a formal invitation for his President to visit China. On July 16, 1971 President Nixon announced his decision to visit Peking.

Review of the American foreign policy

Ever since the Second World War the United States, which emerged as a Superpower, has tried to don the mantle of a planetary policeman. This was definitely an evangelical role. No wonder, in the process America had to pay a heavy price. The inordinate fear of communication led her to embrace any dictator or despot. From Baltics to Beijing and from Sarajeva to South Africa, America sided with the status quo. She propped, projected and promoted a good number of execrable tyrannies round the globe. Perhaps no other country has destabilized as many duly constituted governments and bolstered up barbarous dictators as the US. She tolerated and supported military juntas, corrupt oligarchies, repressive regimes and dictatorial dispensations. Some of these were Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan of Pakistan, Augusto Pinochet of Chile, Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Shah of Iran, Dulaviers of Haiti, Ferdinent Marcos of Philippines, General Mobutu sese Sako of Congo (Zaire), General Suharto of Indonesia, etc. Successive Presidents from Eisenhower to Johnson, despite changing rhetoric, had the Dullesian objective of stemming the tide of communism. This entailed direct or indirect involvement on the side of client regimes, howsoever unpopular. In short, to borrow from Barnett, "America has been on the wrong side in former colonial world". To substantiate, because of her crusade against communism, she got herself sucked deeper and deeper in the quagmire of Vietnam. It was this obsession with 'containment' which impaired American ability to understand the modern Third World revolutions in China, Vietnam and Nicaragua. It was this kind of involvement in Vietnam which President Carter described "as the best example of intellectual and moral poverty."

Ultimately, it fell to President Nixon and Carter to give effect to a new sense of realism and to recognize that communism in Asia was not without its nationalist moorings. They also realized that the communist bogey has been the bane of American policy-makers for decades. No doubt, American policy in Asia has been littered with failures—Vietnam most spectacularly, Afghanistan through neglect and default, and India through arrogance during Nixon-Kissinger period. However, this wide panorama of setbacks had a sobering effect on the American foreign policy by the end of seventies.

Buffeted by Vietnam and Watergate experience, the US foreign policy has undergone a crisis of confidence since the mid-1970s, and since then, she has rejected the old extreme of World policeman and isolationism. As a result, containment of communism is no longer the linchpin of her policy. That is why, following the collapse of communism, George Bush gave a new slogan — 'beyond containment'. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan has identified five flaws in the US foreign policy—(1) faulty premises and erroneous assumptions; (2) blatant, pompous and unsuitable style of diplomacy, (3) irrational perception of communism, nationalism and liberation movements of China, Asia and Africa, (4) subordination of foreign policy to pulls and pressures of commercial - industrial lobbies and pseudo theoreticians as advisors, like Dulles, McNamara, and others.

But notwithstanding these critical comments on the American foreign policy, the fact remains that the policies initiated in 1947-48 ultimately achieved their fundamental objectives — containment and collapse of communism and the rival superpower — the Soviet Union, and thereby vindicated the victory of American ideology — liberal democracy and market economy. Now in the post-Cold War era America has emerged as the sole surviving superpower. Militarily, it remains the mightiest nation on earth, as the locomotive of world economy and diplomatically, it wields the economically, it is the greatest clout in world politics. Ironically speaking, contrary to Marx's prophesy, the spectre of anti-communism, and not communism is stalking all over the world.

Myth of Pax Americana

While few will deny that the twentieth century was the American century, many will doubt that the 21st century will also belong to the United States of America. No doubt, for about 25 years since 1945 America enjoyed a global position without any rival. Europe lay prostrate and Japan was exhausted and even the Soviet Union was far behind. America alone was left a paramount power. She alone had both carrot and stick, because its economic health was as sound as its physical health. But since 1970s the power of America went through a phase of steady decline, which continued till the end of 1980s. This relative decline as a global power resulted from technological challenge from Japan and Western Europe and military challenge from the Soviet Union.

Till in the 1980s Americans saw themselves as being in steady decline. America's economic growth was replaced by recession and stagflation, its dollar was found slumping. Its share of the global GNP had come down from 40 per cent (1995) to 20 per cent in 1993. Consequently, from a creditor country America became the largest debtor nation, with biggest budget and trade deficit in the world. For some time it seemed that the days of Pax Americana were over forever.

But America did recoup some of the losses of the seventies and eighties by launching diplomatic and military counter offensives, and succeeded in leaving her rival superpower (the Soviet Union) far behind in geopolitical terms. The "Operation Desert Storm" (1991) did give the signal of the return of American political and military hegemony on a global scale. From a certain measure of US restraints to strong armed bravado, from a degree of internal self-doubt to international adventurism, from a balance of terror to the America—directed new World order did characterize the year of 1991. Consequently, it did replace the Vietnam syndrome by the Iraq Syndrome. To quote Pran Chopra, 'with the crumpling of the bipolar system by 1991, the US emerged as an uncontested supreme global power, which found itself in the commanding heights, issuing prescription all over the world on the modalities of economic and political developments in conformity with its own brand of composite democratic pluralism as well as individualistic capitalism'.

In the 1990s, even in economic terms America surged forward as a leading economic power and now for the last several years it has enjoyed a continuous economic boom. No wonder, since the mid-1990s the US economy came to be called the "goldilocks economy". Thus, all the present indicators suggest the American edge over its possible rivals. Germany and Japan are still geopolitical pygmies and China and Russia are yet without economic clout. As a matter of fact, America today is the mover and shaker of world economy. According to Charles Krauthammer's prediction : "For at least a generation the US will continue to remain preeminent by virtue of its overarching military, diplomatic, political and economic assets." In a similar vein, Samel Huntington has described the US as the "sole state with prominence in every domain of power — economic, military diplomatic, ideological, technological and cultural and with the reach capabilities to promote its interests in virtually every part of the world." Significantly, America's power continues to grow unabated. It is enjoying its longest economic boom in history even as the Information Age continually increases its global, political and cultural reach and the revolution in military affairs makes it military supreme. Surely, these are heady times for Americans and have prompted the former US Secretary of State Madelains Albright to call America 'the indispensable nation .... because we stand tall and hence see farther than other nations.'

It is undeniable that the US is the sole surviving superpower in the post-Cold War era. Militarily, it remains the mightiest nation on earth. Its lead in nuclear and conventional weaponry remains unsurpassable. Economically, it has become the locomotive of world economic growth. It is feared that if the US economic sneezes the world may catch pneumonia. Diplomatically too, it has the greatest clout. It is the US writ that resulted in finding answer to the chronic Arab-Israel conflict in 1993. Its writ also worked in managing the Bosnian feud and it was under the US auspices that the Dayton Accords were concluded in 1995. In short, America today happens to be the common denominator in every high profile peace process. Moreover, it is at the US initiative that the Uruguay Round Agreement could be negotiated, leading to the formation of the World Trade Organization. It was the US initiative that became instrumental in firming up the NPT in 1995 in its unconditional and indefinite extension as well as the MTC Regime. Even in relation to 'soft power', all indicators favour the US. The appeal of America — the temptation of the American way of life, the global reach of Hollywood, the US dominance of world computers and commerce have helped promote the American culture. In addition, now all the nations are trying to come to terms with the idea of liberal democracy and free markets, whose champion is none other than the US.

Thus, Pax Americana seems to be firmed up, for any change whatsoever in political and economic domain has to be made within the confines of the US conformism. Nevertheless, there are some writers who express their dissenting voice about the US supremacy. While agreeing with the view that the America is definitely the greatest of great powers and will remain the most dominant factor in world politics for some time to come, they point out that in terms of technological capacity, access of natural resources, population strength and economic determinant of investment opportunities and markets, the world is bound to be multipolar, with other power centres being European Union, Russian Federation, China, Japan, India and some regional arrangements. Similarly, an eminent social thinker, Samir Amin has also raised the question whether the US hegemony has entered its decline or has it begun a renewal that would make the 21st century also America's, and he has stated conclusively that the 21st century will not be America's century. It will be one of vast conflicts and the rise of social struggles that question the disproportionate ambitions of Washington and of capital.' In the same vein, G.F. Kennan, the father of 'Containment' theory of Truman times, while in one of his introspective and prophetic moods, has observed: 'I don't think that the US civilization of the last 40 to 50 years is a successful civilization. I think this country is destined to succumb to failures which cannot be other than tragic and enormous in their scope'.

DID YOU KNOW?

- In 2011 US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had said that Gaddafi was passing out Viagra to his troops so they could go out and rape dissidents en masse, and that the troops were indeed engaging in mass rapes. Of course, the compliant media was more than happy to spread such outlandish accusations. What the press was more reluctant to do was to publish Amnesty International's later report that there was absolutely no factual support for these accusations.

10.3 FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UK

Britain has been the greatest of imperial powers in history. For a long time, she had worldwide interests and commitments. Hence, the saying went: 'The sun never sets over the British Empire.' But all that glory has become history. Today, she is declining in terms of relative importance and international commitments.

Decline of the British power

The nineteenth century was known as the British century. However, the decline of the British power began in the last quarter of the 19th century itself. In the beginning, it was a gradual process. The causes of her decline were manifold. Technical advance modified her insularity, reduced her naval pre-eminence and diminished her industrial monopoly. The rise of Japan and America challenged her naval supremacy, and as a result, Britain lost the command of the seas—the main prop of Pax Britannica. Moreover, a unified Germany (1871) threatened the balance of power in Europe. Consequently, Britain lost the position of the holder of the balance—'the laughing third' status.

Sunset over the British Empire

The Second World War marked a turning point in the history of Great Britain. She suffered a precipitous downfall in her power status because of this War. Though, a

in late sixties. In the Middle East, the Suez Crisis of 1956 made a serious breach in Anglo- American friendship. The US position on Anglo-French aggression in Suez had compelled France and Britain to withdraw their forces from the Canal. Naturally, Britain felt badly let down by her ally. Similarly, both Britain and America had some differences over Arab-Israel conflict as well. But despite differences with the US on certain issues, British policy on the whole remained firm on close collaboration with the US. The special relationship is still sustained despite occasional tiffs and altercations.

As a matter of fact, 'bilateral relationship is based on self-interest, personal chemistry and habit,' as David Owen has observed. It was because of personal chemistry that the two nations became still closer to each other when Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan were in power. Being ideological soul mates, they operated on the same wavelength. Britain became very much beholden to America for her open support on the Falklands War (April-June 1982) against Argentina, even though the latter was an OAS partner. Again, Thatcher's Britain was the first country to join SDI (Star War Programme) launched (1983) by Reagan's America. She also supported the US bombing of Libya (April, 1968). Subsequently, during the Bush period, Mrs. Thatcher had stated: "For us loyalty to the US is permanent." In fact, during Thatcher's time, the UK almost appeared as a subservient partner of America. The same kinship and special rapport continued between Clinton and Tony Blair (since May 1997). Both of them worked in tandem to advance each other's diplomacy. For instance, both stood together against Iraq, even supporting the US missile attacks against that country (Dec. 1998), and together engineered the North Ireland Peace accord. And the same special rapport is sustained between Blair and George W. Bush as well.

However, in times to come, Britain may base her policy towards the USA not on sentimental attachment but on a cool calculation of interests, for the British membership of the European community has added a new dimension in her foreign policy matters. Now Britain has much more in common with the European Community than with the USA. So far Britain has maintained a certain balance between the two complex relationships. While still closely tied to the US, "Britain knows that it can no longer be the neck that turns the American hand, let alone, 'a Greece to the American Rome'."

Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth of Nations is the second area of interest for Britain, though lately it has become the third arrow to her bow in international relations—next to American and European dimension of policy.

The Commonwealth of Nations is a unique achievement of Britain, whose members are sovereign yet bound with a link which is though invisible but real. It is comprised of states once part of the British Empire. It is significant to note that the former British colonies forming part of the British Empire, even after gaining their independence, decided to maintain their association with Britain through the Commonwealth. In fact, the old imperial conference formally turned into the British Commonwealth after the Second World War. Though the former colonies after decolonization were free to join or not to join the Commonwealth, but almost all of them opted for it. However, in 1949, the designation 'British' associated with the Commonwealth was deleted at the insistence of India. But the British Head of State (British Queen) is still recognized as Head of the Commonwealth. However, the Commonwealth of Nations is not just a symbolic prolongation of the Empire or a moral substitute of post-Imperial Club or just a ghost of the deceased, British Empire. As a matter of fact, it is a unique experiment in living together by many different peoples

who share common heritage of ideals and institutions. It is a form of free, uncommitted and non-binding association with the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

The Commonwealth, however, is neither a confederation nor a super-state. It has no constitution or charter. Members are not bound by any treaty as such. The alliance has no personality, can own no property except as a partnership, has no corporate conscience and has only a common will, when acting together after consultation and agreement in a definite transaction. However, there is a common Secretariat (since 1965) and the Commonwealth Heads (CHOGM) meet every two years.

The members of the Commonwealth come from all the five continents, stretching across the globe and widely differ in history, geography, religion, people and culture, race, state of development and form of government, yet they are linked together on the basis of common interests and aspirations. Although a few members have left the institution (Eire in 1939, Burma in 1948, Sudan in 1956, Somaliland in 1961, Cameroon in 1961 and the Republic of South Africa in 1961), its membership has been steadily growing. Today the 54-member Commonwealth brings together one billion people across the frontiers of the race, religion, geography and political system and makes the association a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-purpose body. To be sure, it has become an increasingly heterogeneous and unwieldy association, whose members have often conflicting policies and interests. Nonetheless, though following different policies, they have learnt the art of consulting one another on different points of view. Indeed, the Commonwealth of Nations is an essay in coexistence.

Relevance of the Commonwealth of Nations

Although, vast changes are occurring within the Commonwealth and its future seems uncertain, the organization is still probably one of the most successful of all international groupings to date. The looseness of communication, informality of procedures, creative flexibility are the key to its survival. Above all, it has shown concern for all global issues. But primarily, it is a forum for a dialogue between the North and the South, between the rich and the poor. It is worth mentioning here that it has also promoted the cause of democracy by endorsing the suspension of military regime of Pakistan from the Councils of the Commonwealth pending the restoration of democracy at the Summit meet at Durban in November 1999.

But since the Commonwealth of Nations has ceased to be Anglo-centric, Britain has started losing interest in this organization. Though the Commonwealth sprang from the British apron strings, Britain now prefers to take a back-seat in this body. Though she still underwrites one-third of the expenditure of the Commonwealth Secretariat, Britain is losing her moral authority to lead the organization, because on several issues, she has stood on the wrong side of the majority position.

Britain and Western Europe

As has been pointed out earlier, the British interest in the post-1945 period has mainly focused on the USA, the Commonwealth and Europe. The last is now predominant in what is called 'three circles' formula. In the post-War period, the central theme has been shaping the future of Britain as part of the gradually uniting Western Europe. Consequently, she has abandoned her traditional policy of aloofness and has reversed the policy of refraining from peace time alliances.

At the end of the Second World War, the war torn nations of Western Europe realized their relative insignificance in the world politics. They found themselves squeezed

between the two superpowers. They discovered that they were no longer shapers of their own destinies. To avoid this catastrophe, they felt that they should pool their resources and unite economically, militarily and even politically. The USA also encouraged the idea probably in her own interest. As far back as 1946, Churchill had advocated: 'We must build a kind of United States of Europe.' Accordingly, he gave the slogan—"Europe unite or perish.' Interestingly, a nation which always maintained that 'a fog in the English Channel got the Continent isolated' was now frightened of isolation in a two-track Europe. The Labour party, which was in power from 1945 to 1951, was too eager for intimacy with the West economically, politically, and militarily. Of course, she was not in favour of a federation as such. In 1947, Britain concluded her first peace-time alliance treaty with France for a period of 50 years known as the Treaty of Dunkirk, directed against Germany. In March 1948, Ernest Bevin (Labour Foreign Secretary) delivered his famous West European speech and signed the Brussels Treaty along with Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and France. Later on, the Brussels Treaty Organization was expanded to include Italy and West Germany (1955) to constitute the West European Union. In 1949, Britain alongwith other West European countries joined the US-sponsored North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Earlier in May 1948, Britain had joined other West European powers to establish the Council of Europe as a step towards political union. But being a classical unitary state, Britain has little understanding of the notion of sharing of sovereignty. The strength and stability of the country's parliamentary system have made the Britishers extremely possessive of sovereignty. To illustrate, at the time of formation of the Council of Europe, Churchill had remarked: "We are with them, not of them." But later on, Britain also took steps towards collaboration in the economic field and played a leading role in the European Recovery Programme, and cooperated fully in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, which was set up in 1948 but converted into Organization for Economic Cooperation Development in 1960.

Britain and the European economic community

The history of British attitude towards European integration has been a chequered one. Conscious of its own position as a 'global' power alongwith the Superpowers, Britain was content to view Europe as only one of the three distinct circles of influence, in so far as her foreign relations were concerned. The two of her circles—special relationship with the US and the evolving links with the post-imperial Commonwealth enjoyed precedence over that of Europe. In the beginning, Britain remained somewhat hesitant as far as economic community moves were concerned. Accordingly, she kept herself away from the European Coal and Steel Community formed in 1952. Similarly, when the European Common Market was established in 1958 under the Treaty of Rome (1957), signed by six countries (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands), Britain was unwilling to join it. She had several reasons for not joining the Common Market. Firstly, she had serious doubts about its success. Secondly, the Commonwealth partners were opposed to the idea of Britain's association with the Market. Thirdly, she was not prepared for joining any association without enjoying its leadership. Instead of joining the Common Market, Britain set up another parallel organization called European Free Trade Area. In May 1960, it was joined by Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland apart from Britain. It was meant to be a rival organization to the Common Market—the Outer Seven against the Inner Six. But very soon, it was revealed that the EFTA was no match to the ECM. Further, Britain was losing the market of Europe.

The British calculations about sustaining an independent world role through the three distinct circles' of influence went awry during the late fifties. Eventually, she realized the mistake and was forced to leave standoffishness. Faced with the prospect of being reduced to a political nonentity (after the Suez debacle), London opted for a radical change in its strategy. Thus was vindicated Jean Monnet's (father of European Community) prediction about the British reaction to European Community. "There is one thing you Britishers will never understand: an idea. And there is one thing you are supremely good at grasping: a hard fact. We will have to build Europe without you, but then you will come in and join us." Incidentally, it was a Conservative Prime Minister, MacMillan, who moved an application in 1961 for the membership of the Common Market. But two successive vetoes by France kept Britain in the waiting room for nearly twelve years. It was certainly a rude rebuff on the part of De Gaulle (France). Hence, only after the departure of De Gaulle (1969) that the veto was lifted, and Britain was finally allowed to take its place inside the Common Market, alongwith Denmark and Ireland (1973). But even after joining the Market, Britain remained a reluctant and at times a recalcitrant partner. For instance, in 1975, a referendum had to be held on the issue whether she would remain in the Market or leave it. The people, however, overwhelmingly voted in favour of continuing the membership.

Ironically, Britain now seems reconciled to its minor position in the European Economic Community in spite of occasional difference with other partners, though she is still not prepared to accept the Community as an embryonic European Super State. Now the 15-member European Community is heading towards political integration. There is already a directly elected Parliament with British willingness. As regards, Economic and Monetary Union by the end of the 20th century, as envisaged in the Treaty of Masstricht (1992), John Major agreed to it. He had declared that "Britain is at the very heart of Europe," and had clearly taken a pro-European position. The UK has affirmed its commitment to the Treaty but, at the same time, it has opted out of commitment in relation to EMU and Social Chapter.

Review of the British foreign policy

Since the close of the Second World War, British foreign policy has been an exercise in adjustment and search for a post-imperial role. Over the years, she has learnt to live with its reduced status—from a paramount power on the globe to just a partner position of the Anglo-American Alliance and the European Union.

It is interesting to note that just as it was the post-War Labour Government which took the first step in the liquidation of the British Empire, it was again the Labour regime that took the second step in further decolonization by deciding to relinquish the vestigial remains of imperial role in the late sixties. In a historical statement in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced on January 16, 1968, his government's decision to withdraw the British forces from East of Suez by the end of 1971 and to cease to maintain military bases outside of Europe and the Mediterranean. Thus, she relinquished her role as a world keeper of peace and decided to face the facts of life and to search for a post-imperial role in the world. Wilson, however, added: "Britain will continue to think big but in a very small way." Again in 1976, as a measure of economy, the Labour government under James Callaghan decided to dismantle the air staging post in Guam and withdraw forces from Singapore, Maldives, Mauritius and Brunei. Now Britain has decided to maintain her status as a medium power, and to concentrate her resources in the NATO, the linchpin of British security.

But with the return of the Conservative regime, the 'East of Suez' policy was subjected to minor revision. In 1970, the Prime Minister Edward Heath reconsidered the East of Suez policy and decided to keep a modest presence. For instance, he took measure to reactivate the Simonstown Agreement of 1955, which provided for the protection of sea routes around South Africa, and to build a naval communication centre in Diego Garcia with American collaboration. Since Britain also wanted to be a partner in the Oil Strategy of the West, she decided to go for further withdrawal from the Persian Gulf. All these moves show that there is a persistent secret desire on the part of Britain to have "a finger in every pie". "In spite of the loss of her old position, the Britishers are in no mood to function solely as a tail to any power. Britain still continues to think in world terms, even though she is no longer a world power. Perhaps, this is so because she can ill-afford to exist without allies, without markets abroad, without substantial imports of food stuff and raw materials. Her position is dependent on her triple partnership—with the Commonwealth, the Western Europe and the USA. In a very special and vital sense, her general objective is to retain as much of her former prestige and power as possible." And to achieve this aim, a country long accustomed to playing a creative and balancing role, now wants to build up the European Community as a friendly rival to the US.

True, the country has considerably declined, but it is wrong to think that Britain is quite played out. Though, short of fangs and nails, the 'lion still roars'. The Falklands War (1982) amply proved it, for Argentina had to lick the dust when it tried to twist the tail of the old lion. But the Falklands glory notwithstanding, Britain is no more than a 'crippled giant' or a 'fallen mighty'. There is no denying the fact that Britain is not a major entity even within the European Community, and it is difficult to hold her own vis-a-vis West Germany and France, which have larger population and greater stability of the economy. With every passing year it is becoming difficult for Britain to compete in the international Market. All told, the importance of Britain has become greatly diminished. Whatever importance it still retains is due to the fact that it still has certain reservoir of experience, deftness, a stored up understanding of world affairs, pragmatic orientation, and a certain finesse in diplomacy.

10.4 FOREIGN POLICY OF THE RUSSIA

Today, the Soviet Union as a subject of international and geopolitical reality has ceased to exist. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is dismembered. But inspite of the collapse of the Soviet empire, a brief study of the Soviet foreign policy is called for in order to understand the post-World War-II developments, as the Soviet Union had been a key player on the international scene. Being an erstwhile superpower, her foreign policy had played a prominent role in shaping the post-World War-II politics. Before its liquidation, the Soviet Union was not only a military giant, her GNP was next only to that of the United States. Endowed with rich resources it ranked among the most advanced countries of the world.

Prior to its disintegration, the Soviet Union had been the largest intercontinental state in the world, spreading across the northern half of Asia and the eastern half of Europe and covering 15 per cent of the land surface (22.4 million sq kms) and extending over 11 time zones. 'It had the world's largest and most exposed frontiers bordering on 12 states and surrounded by small and large powers, nearly half of which had serious territorial claims, active or latent, against it.' Though highly centralized, the Soviet Union

was not a monolithic country. It had a heterogeneous; far-flung swathe of humanity (290 million) made up of about 100 ethnic groups speaking as many languages. In short, it was a 'prison house' of nationalities. In climate, culture and language, it had been the world's most varied state. But the Russian Federation has a population of 145 million only and its area has shrunk to 17,075,400 sq kms.

Character of the Russian people

National character, as elsewhere, is one of the factors that goes into the making of Soviet foreign policy. 'Elementary persistence, worship and obedience of governmental authority, and fear of the foreigners (xenophobia) are relatively stable attributes of the Russian national character'. The Russians see themselves as fighting for their existence in a hostile world. This is so because they have experienced successive invasions and conquests by Mongols, Turks, Swedes, Germans and Poles for a thousand years. In recent times also, they faced foreign interventions during the October Revolution (1917) followed by many years of outcast (pariah) status in the community of nations. There are, thus, plenty of precedents for their present paranoic suspiciousness and aloofness, for their calculated obscurantism, and for their intolerance and autocratic tendencies. Since both geography and fate had made Russia vulnerable to concerted attacks, they have to rely on authoritarianism on the one hand and expansionism on the other. Little wonder if they exhibit excessive concern bordering on collective paranoia with security.

One of the keys to the understanding of Russian history (which has moulded the Russian character) is the fact that for a thousand years (until the end of 18th century) Russia had been a frontier country. From the point of view of Russia's history, the decisive feature of her geographical environment has been the absence of natural frontiers. This has led both to the expansionism of the Russian people (conquest of Central Asia) and to a history of armed struggle against invaders. This explains why the Soviet Union behaved (even after becoming a Superpower) as if living under constant siege of hostile encirclement. Militarization of the Soviet economy, therefore, had not been an aberration but it has flowed naturally from the Russian history and psyche.

But at the same time, the Russian soul (Dosha) has always had a penchant for dreams, for a distant utopia. This explains why Marxism (the latest utopia) had a great appeal for the Russian people. It is true that the Marxian doctrine after the Bolshevik Revolution did bring about some change in the Russian character but it could not wipe out some of their old traits. Rather it reinforced them. It was, therefore, said that the Soviet people were nothing but the Tsarist bear in a red coat. The result was that they became simultaneously ethnocentric and ecumenical.

Objectives of the Soviet foreign policy

There are divergent views about the objectives of the Soviet foreign policy. If, on the one hand, statesman like Winston Churchill remarked— "The Soviet policy is one hand, statesman like Winston Churchill remarked— "The Soviet policy is unpredictable, inconsistent, a riddle wrapped up in mystery inside an enigma and I can't forecast to you the actions of Russians', on the other hand, Edward Crankshaw asserted 'In its distant objectives, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is less obscure and more coherent than that of any other country of the world; the objectives embrace the ultimate victory of the world proletariat under the leadership of Moscow.' In a way, there is a remarkable consistency in her foreign policy goals—maximum attainable security of the Soviet States and maximum feasible insecurity and instability in the capitalist world and colonial areas. However, in contrast to strategy, Soviet tactics has been remarkably flexible. To illustrate, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact (1939), peaceful

coexistence and détente have been significant tactical moves. But tactics must not be confused with strategy which remained constant in the Soviet foreign policy till recently. In the opinion of Barrington Moore, 'If there is any central goal behind the policy of Soviet leaders, it is the preservation and extension of their own power, by any means whatsoever, rather than the spread of a specific social system or the realization of a doctrinal blue sprint.' Thus, the Soviet foreign policy can hardly be summed up as the fanatical pursuit of a single goal. According to Henry Kissinger, 'There does not seem to be any single underlying thread to Soviet foreign policy.' All told, her foreign policy, like that of any other country, was at once reactive and initiatory, defensive and aggressive and hence nothing unique. Whatever may be her professed ideology, she pursued a policy which could be explained only in terms of its national interest.

Basic determinants of the Soviet foreign policy

Like that of any other state, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was inevitably shaped by a variety of factors: geographic and strategic considerations, historical traditions, general international situation, internal political problems, economic situation, morale and character of the people and the quality of leadership and other equally basic conditions, of course apart from ideology. However, it is not easy to say as to what extent the Soviet foreign policy was a continuation of the Tsarist policy, conditioned by the same geographic and strategic, historical and traditional factors, and to what extent, it was a product of communist ideology—Marxism-Leninism.

'Many historically minded observers point out that nearly all the policies followed by the Soviet Union since 1917 were natural and logical continuation of historic Russian policy. From the time of Peter the Great (1672-1725), the leaders of Russia have sought to consolidate and develop the resources, human and natural, of their vast landmass, to acquire windows to the West and to gain access to the oceans without abandoning their self-imposed isolation.' With largest sea-frontier along Arctic, she is essentially a landlocked country. Hence, search for warm water and windows towards the West had been the continuing trend of her foreign policy and this geopolitical position is a permanent base of her policy. Even the communist Russia showed the old tendencies to expansionism. It has been pointed out that since 1939 the Soviet Union expanded almost to the fullest extent of Tsarist aspirations (she annexed 490, 400 sq kms), with one outstanding exception of the Turkish straits, although even here her interest remained intact. In fact, during the Second World War, her territorial gains were enormous. She gained part of Finland, Baltic States, large parts of Poland, Rumania and South Sakhalin and Kurile islands. Thus, Russia has always been seeking to surround itself with a belt of friendly states or a ring of satellite states. However, she has shown preference for contiguous territories for her expansion. Even the invasion of Afghanistan was a logical extension of the historical Tsarist and Soviet drive towards the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

Nevertheless, both theoretically and practically, the Soviet foreign policy cannot be explained solely with reference to Tsarist traditions. The principles of Bolshevik Revolution had definitely guided her policy since 1917. In other words, the ideology of communism did give a twist to her diplomacy. Otherwise, one cannot explain the Soviet behaviour just after the Revolution. The USSR not only repudiated and dishonoured Tsarist debts and treaties, but also published the secret treaties of the Tsarist regime, made appeal to people rather than to governments, and sought interference in internal affairs of other countries by using the communist party of the concerned countries and also by using the Communist International as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. Max Bloff rightly observes:

'An explanation which dismisses the Bolshevik Revolution would seem to be an explanation which neither the facts nor Soviet writings warrant.' The Marxist-Leninist belief system did determine the Soviet leaders' perceptions and world-view. In fact, much of her foreign policy in the early phase had its intellectual and ideological roots in Leninism. Since communism at that time stood for world revolution, the Soviet Union used Comintern (1919-43) and Cominform (1947-56) as the coordinating agency of world communism.

The above mentioned facts, and their interpretations go to show that there was a fusion of communism and nationalism in the Soviet foreign policy. In other words, both Tsarist traditions and communist ideology were intermixed. It is evident from these facts that Soviet Russia used its control of world revolutionary movement as a de facto surrogate for other attributes of great power status and behaviour.

In balance, both ideology and historical traditions together shaped the character of the Soviet foreign policy, but with the passage of time, particularly after Stalin, the role of ideology was considerably attenuated or watered down. Finally, it was left to Gorbachev to get the Soviet foreign policy completely deideologised.

Review of the Soviet foreign policy

The balance sheet of the Soviet diplomacy in about seven decades shows an impressive range of accomplishment. Before the October Revolution, Russia lived as if in the medieval range of age. An outlaw state in 1917 governed by an outcast regime, beset on all sides by powerful enemies, rocked by convulsions and before she could consolidate and settle down to development, she faced a disastrous attack by Hitler's Germany—in the process twenty million lives were lost and incalculable damage was inflicted. Yet the same Nazi aggression consolidated the USSR into a well-knit sovereign state which emerged after the War as one of the two superpowers and stood in a few years as a modernized global power second only to the United States.

Until the close of Brezhnev period, the Soviet Union enjoyed stability, steady progress at home and a rich harvest of foreign policy successes. She had already achieved strategic parity with America. Thanks to the decade of détente, she had established her power presence in a zone running from north coast of Africa through West Asia and Indian sub-continent upto South-East Asia. She almost enjoyed an unrivalled leadership in the socialist world spanning four continents and accounting for twenty-five per cent of the human race.

However, the Soviet Union's foreign policy represented a blend of objective success and subjective failure. It was a resounding success when its achievements are measured against the traditional yardstick of power politics—but a conspicuous failure when measured against its ideological purpose-world communism. Interestingly, instead of transforming the world, the Soviet Union got itself transformed ultimately. Neither the domestic nor the foreign policy of the Soviet Union reflected the great ideals that inspired the October Revolution of 1917. The collapse of the Soviet Union symbolizes the failure of the Bolshevik Revolution. 'The rise, development and collapse of the Soviet Union was one of the most dramatic spectacle of the 20th century.' (Ponton)

Disintegration of the USSR and the Soviet empire

In the sixties, the Soviet leaders had boasted that Russia would be the world's leading economic power. But during the seventies, her economy showed a trend of clear decline. By the late 1970s the Soviet Union was already sinking into irreversible decline. Still its

downfall was sudden. The failed 11-year-old war in Afghanistan, growing unrest in Eastern Europe and economic effects of prohibitively high expenditure on military power were all contributing to a widespread sense of social malaise at home and loss of prestige abroad. But it was left to Mikhail Gorbachev to honestly admit the gradual decline of the Soviet system. Of course, he tried his best to arrest the process of decline with the strategy of his revolutionary trinity—glasnost, perestroika and myshleniya (new thinking) but only the first worked fully, the second worked only partially and the third remained in a frozen pack as far as the domestic front was concerned. The strategy could well prove disintegrating as it did ultimately. Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that Gorbachev played a historical role in changing the Soviet society and taking it towards openness, freedom, competition, political pluralism and decentralization. But the changes were too sweeping. No wonder, the Soviet people were overwhelmed and overreacted beyond expectation. They were bound to overreact with force when a little taste of freedom was known to them. Gorbachev on his part wanted to go cautiously with the changes, but the Soviet society, intoxicated by the taste of freedom, threw him in the backwaters.

Similarly, with the renunciation of the Brezhnev doctrine by Gorbachev, the Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe began to enjoy full sovereignty by 1989. Taking cue from them, the Baltic states too declared their independence and as soon as the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) got independence, the other Republics of the USSR began to demand autonomous status. This brought the Soviet Union on the verge of disintegration. To save the situation, Gorbachev had hammered out a Draft Union Treaty ready for signature by the Soviet Republics on August 20, 1991, but the putsch of August 19, 1991 put an end to that endeavour. Gorbachev wanted the continuance of the Soviet states and Soviet citizenship through a loose confederation (a voluntary union of sovereign states) where the Centre would control defence, foreign affairs, common currency, leaving most of other subjects with the Republics. But the Republics were aspiring for exercising total sovereignty as independent states, seeking independent membership of the United Nations. Ultimately, ignoring all pleas of Gorbachev, they decided in favour of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). To start with, leaders of the three Slavic States (Ukraine, Belarus and Russia) met in Belarus and announced the formations of CIS which was opened to all former Soviet Republics to join. Subsequently, eight more Republics joined the CIS. And thus a new entity—the Commonwealth of Independent States emerged out of the debris of the Soviet Union. With the formation of the CIS, the USSR ceased to exist. This development left Gorbachev no choice but to offer his resignation. Thus was buried the Behemoth that Lenin begot and Stalin battened. What a tragic irony it was that the first and the last executive President of the Soviet Union had to perform the unenviable task of dismantling the most powerful and enduring totalitarian regime in modern history.

While the Commonwealth of Mr. Yeltsin's vision became a reality in December 1991, comprising eleven former Soviet Republics, the fate of the Commonwealth is not free from many uncertainties. It is organizationally and substantially quite ambiguous and unclear. It is neither a Union, nor a Federation, nor a Confederation; and it has no legal status. Apart from this, the ethnic struggles and unrest still continue. The Soviet armed forces and its apportionment among the various Republics is still a bone of contention. The idea of a United Army is not going to command approval for long, as some Republics are clamouring for their own armies. Moreover, the present Republics are likely to be torn between conflicting trends: one towards unity and the other towards ethnic nationalism. The ethnic tensions have sparked secessionist movements inside as well as between Republics.

Russia and India

In the foreign policy concept that Kozyrev announced in 1993, India and South Asia ranked seventh in the list of priorities. But with the coming of Primakov as Foreign Minister in 1996, India's significance in Russian strategic perception increased immensely. While in India, Primakov had even mooted the idea of a Russia-China-India strategic triangle, which Putin, too, has endorsed.

Putin was the first President to visit India in eight years. During his visit (October 2000) India and Russia signed a strategic Partnership Agreement. It covers a whole range of bilateral concerns from defence and peaceful nuclear cooperation to trade and science and technology. It has opened new areas of cooperation in information technology, oil and natural gas exploration and civil aviation. Since both countries are equally concerned over international terrorism and religious extremism, leaders of both the countries agreed to forge a coordinated strategy to deal with Islamic militancy in Afghanistan. Besides, Russia is also providing India with technological expertise for two nuclear reactors in Tamil Nadu. The trade between the two countries which had fallen to 1.6 billion dollars in 1999 from 5.5 billion at the beginning of 1990s is expected to be improved in the coming years. Thus, it is definite that Russia has changed course in a qualitative way since mid-1990s. At the time of Putin's visit both the countries signed four defence agreements worth 3 billion dollars.

All these agreements go to show that Russia-India relations are at a higher level, despite differences on CTBT, NPT and Pokhran-II. However, Russia never opted to impose sanctions against India. It is even willing to supply Uranium for the Tarapur Plant.

To quote Nandan Unnikrishnan, 'The October visit signified a transparent attempt by Putin and his new administration to regain some of the mystique of the old bonhomie and a qualitative leap to capture the dynamic mood of the post-Cold War era in global politics.'

Russia today and tomorrow

In the opinion of Madeleine Albright, the former US Foreign Secretary, 'Russia's future course is uncertain. A flood of forces, many in opposition to each other, have been unleashed. Currents of enterprise and freedom compete with those of corruption and crime, impulse towards integration and openness vie with tendencies towards isolation and alienation. In recent years, Russia has moved from one critical point to another: The confrontation with Duma, the war in Chechnya and Dagestan, the rise of extremist nationalists, the resurgence of hard-line communists, the financial crisis.'

Although after years of dithering and delay important avenues of structural reform are beginning to move forward in Russia, but even now it continues to be in the throes of instability in both economic and political spheres. Debt repayment, if not rescheduled, may leave Russia bankrupt. Mercifully, Putin's active European diplomacy has found favourable response. London Club of creditor nations and Russia reached an agreement on rearrangement of debts, by which they agreed on a package of postponing of repayment, reducing principal and interests and lowering interest rate, a reduction of 16.6 billion dollars debts and an extension of repayment period for 30 years. However, Russia still owes about 150 billion dollars, mostly to Western corporations and governments, about a third of which was borrowed by the now defunct Soviet Union. This year alone (2001) Moscow is required to pay 12 billion dollars simply to service its

debt. It is estimated that in 2003 Russia's debt servicing will rise to 19 billion dollars — more than the entire projected state budget that year.

No doubt, Russia is facing a multidimensional crisis as the moment. But its potential is awesome, its reach is extensive. Even after the dissolution of the former USSR, Russia, with a population of 145 million, still straddles the Eurasian landmass as a major territorial entity, endowed with geostrategic importance, remains a major repository of natural resources and raw material and possesses a strong scientific and technological capacity. After all, Russia is still a first rank nuclear power. True, Russia is today a fallen superpower and a shackled giant, but given its enormous resources, strong scientific base, skilled manpower, geopolitical position, and history, Russia is sure to bounce back as a great power once again.

ACTIVITY

Compare India's foreign policy with any one of the given foreign policies, in terms of the details given here.

10.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Undoubtedly, America occupies a central place in the continuum of world politics. Rather it is the heartland of international politics.

- The American society which accounts for six per cent of mankind (268 million) and possesses great economic, military and political strength is based on the principles of democracy and liberty.

- Of all major countries, the USA has the most open decision-making process. There is a high degree of diffusion in the decision-making process. The Congress can only discuss, debate, defer or delay but it can rarely destroy them. But in the ultimate sense, the power of a President is the power to persuade.

- The formal foreign policy process is determined by five large institutions—(1) White House, (2) Department of State, (3) Department of Defence, (4) Central Intelligence Agency and (5) Congress.

- Generally speaking, physical security, material wealth, international prestige— these and other tangible and intangible values actuate all foreign policies and so is the case with American foreign policy.

- For more than a century, her bountiful nature allowed Americans to hold belief that progress was to be found within the country and the Western Hemisphere. This natural abundance and sense of physical security permitted her leadership to remain away from the traditional world politics.

- By the end of World War II, Western Europe lay in smoking ruins. Germany had been reduced to a lumber landscape. The Soviet Union too suffered indescribable physical and human damage. Japanese industries were devastated. Only the United States remained unharmed.

- Ever since the Second World War the United States, which emerged as a Superpower, has tried to don the mantle of a planetary policeman. This was definitely an evangelical role. No wonder, in the process America had to pay a heavy price.

- Britain has been the greatest of imperial powers in history. For a long time, she had worldwide interests and commitments. Hence, the saying went: 'The sun never sets over the British Empire.' But all that glory has become history. Today, she is declining in terms of relative importance and international commitments.

- In Britain—the mother of parliamentary democracy—foreign policy has been the responsibility of the Prime Minister and of the Cabinet. In contrast to the American political system, the policy making power here is not shared between the executive and the legislative organs of the government.

- The major objectives guiding the British foreign policy since 1945 are: (1) to enrich and strengthen her economy; (2) to keep her military strength in proportion to her resources; (3) to have political influence in her ex-colonies, by large scale investment; (4) to support democracy and democratic institutions all over the world; (5) to stand for stability and order in world's situation; and (6) to play a leading role on the Continent (Europe) and a prominent role in the European Community or EU.

- The Commonwealth of Nations is the second area of interest for Britain, though lately it has become the third arrow to her bow in international relations—next to American and European dimension of policy.

- Since the close of the Second World War, British foreign policy has been an exercise in adjustment and search for a post-imperial role. Over the years, she has learnt to live with its reduced status—from a paramount power on the globe to just a partner position of the Anglo-American Alliance and the European Union.

- Today, the Soviet Union as a subject of international and geopolitical reality has ceased to exist. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is dismembered. But inspite of the collapse of the Soviet empire, a brief study of the Soviet foreign policy is called for in order to understand the post-War-II international developments, as the Soviet Union had been a key player on the international scene.

- In a way, there is a remarkable consistency in Soviet foreign policy goals— maximum attainable security of the Soviet States and maximum feasible insecurity and instability in the capitalist world and colonial areas.

- Like that of any other state, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was inevitably shaped by a variety of factors: geographic and strategic considerations, historical traditions, general international situation, internal political problems, economic situation, morale and character of the people and the quality of leadership and other equally basic conditions. The balance sheet of the Soviet diplomacy in about seven decades shows an impressive range of accomplishment.

10.6 KEY TERMS

- **Cold War**: It is often dated from 1947 to 1991, was a sustained state of political and military tension between powers in the Western Bloc, dominated by the United States with NATO among its allies, and powers in the Eastern Bloc, dominated by the Soviet Union along with the Warsaw Pact.

- **Pax Americana**: It is a term applied to the historical concept of relative peace in the Western Hemisphere and later the Western world resulting from the

Check Your Progress

5. What are the most notable characteristics of the Russian character?

6. What were the main factors for the disintegration of the Soviet Union?

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