MAPOLS-402
International Politics

MA POLITICAL SCIENCE
1st Semester

Rajiv Gandhi University
ww.ide.rgu.ac.in

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

MA [Political Science]

First Semester

MAPOLS-402

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

Revised Edition 2021

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.

NOTES

UNIT 1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCIPLINE

Structure

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).

Nation-State Model
(From 17th Century to 19th Century)

↓

State-Centred Model
(1890s to 1980s)

↓

Growing Role of Non-State Actors
(1980s onwards)
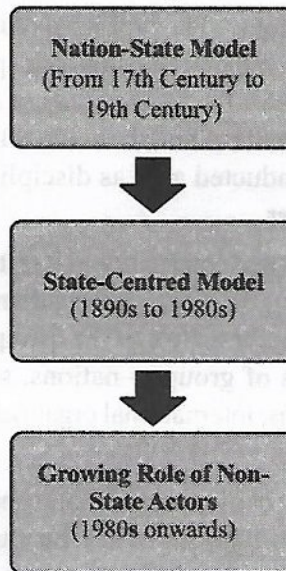
Fig. 1.1 Evolution of the Discipline of International Politics

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 p̲ᵣ̲ose, 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.
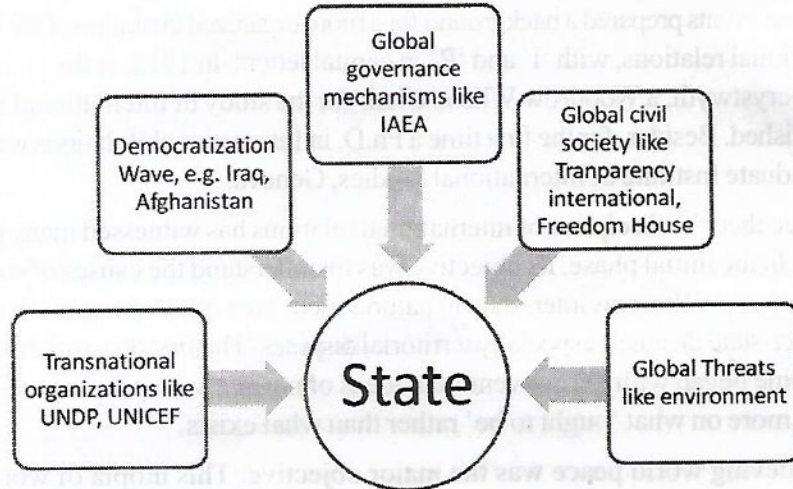
Fig. 1.2 *Pressures on the State from Outside*
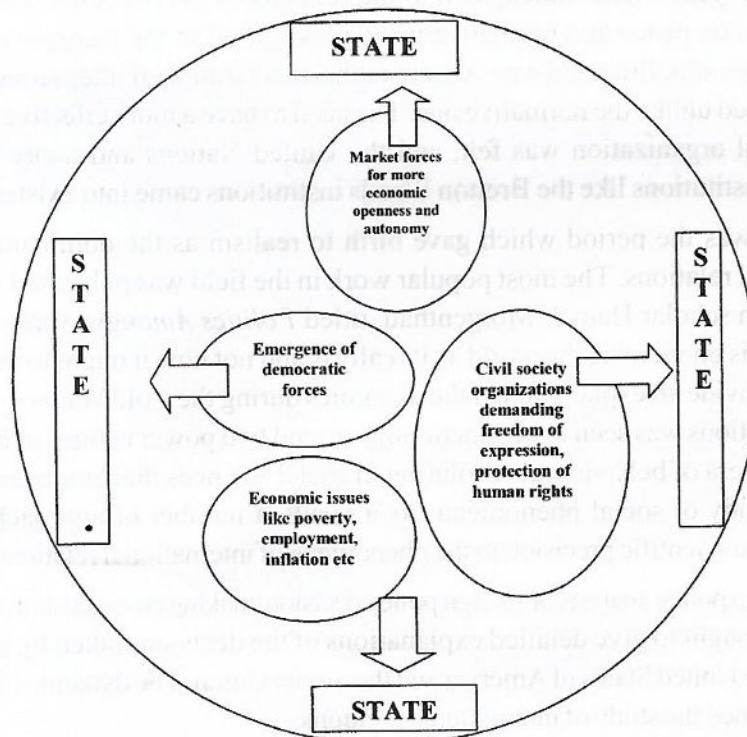
Fig. 1.3 *Pressures on the State within its Boundaries*

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

---

Check Your Progress

1. Define nation state?

2. The Treaty of Westphalia led to the emergence of a new world order called _____

—————.

3 . The First World War was the result of the changing equation of the European nations. (True/False)

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.
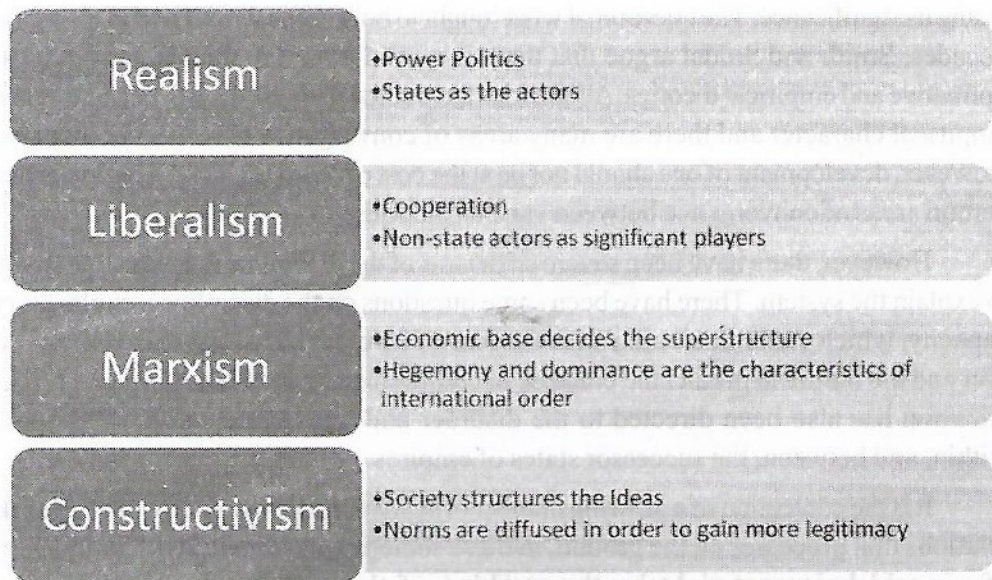
Fig. 1.4 Broad Theoretical Categories of International Relations

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.

---

7. The shift from international politics to world politics is an outcome of certain political or economic activities. (True/False)

8. Globalization should mean control of one super power. (True/False)

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.

McCartney, N. & Meirowitz, A.; *Political Game Theory: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, London, 2007.

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

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

---

Check Your Progress

6. _____ approach is a product of the behavioural revolution in social sciences.

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

8. What is the unit veto system?

(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 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.

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

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.

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.

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)

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 possibly informed on the internal and foreign situation of the country to which he is accredited, and of succeeding in acquiring that grade of influence, which is possible 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.

Check Your Progress

20. _____ did not recognized diplomatic service till 1815.
21. A diplomat should have patience and well-versed in the history of the country. (True/ False)
22. According to Harold Nicholson, the basis of a good negotiation is

_____ _____.

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 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.

Orakhelashvili, Alexander, *Collective Security*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011.

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 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

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,

---

Check Your Progress

4. What do you understand by the term global politics?

5. List a few reasons for the Cold War.

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)
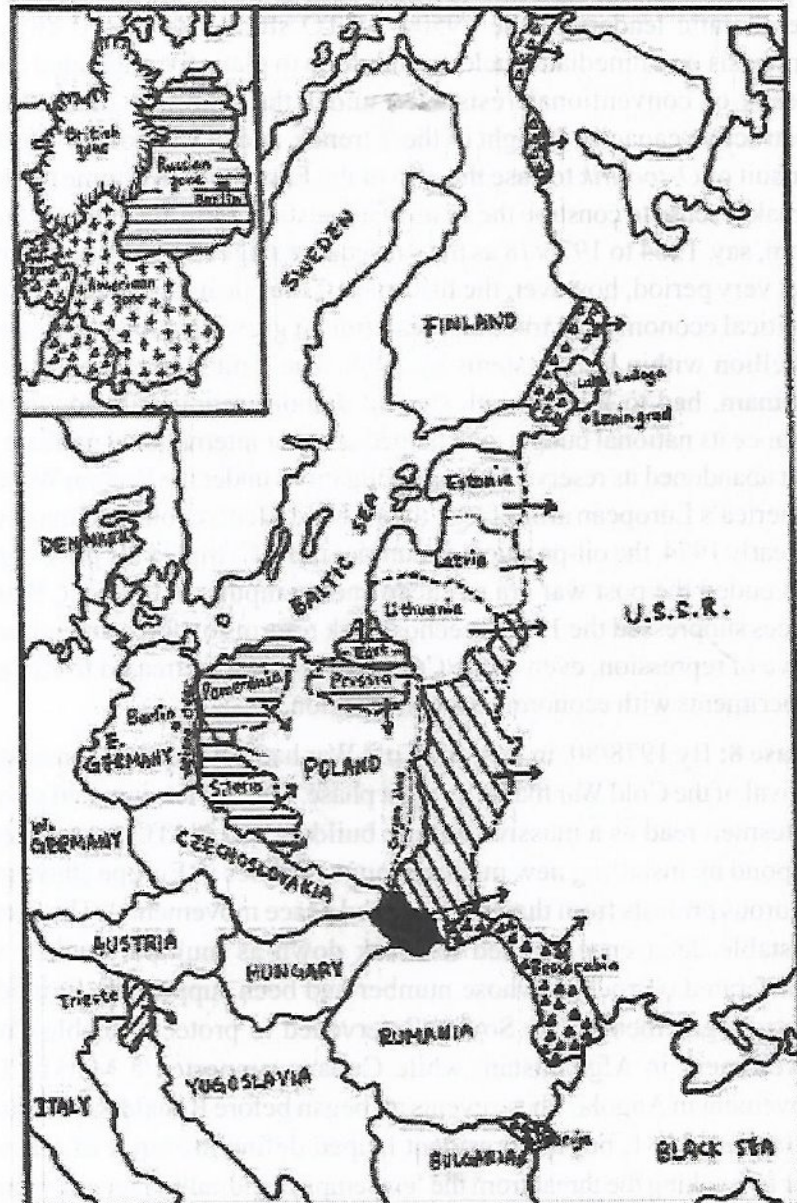
KEY:

Lost by Finland

Lost by Czechoslovakia

Lost by Romania

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.

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.

- **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 economic, technological, socio-cultural and political forces. Globalization is often used to refer economic globalization, that is integration of regional, national and international economy through foreign direct investment, migration, and spread of technology and capital flows.

Globalization includes many trends including monetary coordination, technical 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

---

Check Your Progress

9. What was Hans Kohn's argument on nationalism?

10. The _____ started in 1859 following the French expulsion of British from power in Northern Italy.

11. The Organization of African Unity formed in 1963, later renamed as the African Union, was based on the footprint of the pan-African movement. (True/False)

12. Kenichi Ohmae argues that not only have nation states lost their ability to control exchange rates and protect their currencies, but they no longer generate real _____.

13. What are realists' argument on the impact of globalization on nation-state?

14. How are Liberals different from realists?

15. For constructivist theorists, globalization tends to be present as an _____ that acts on states.

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 transnationalism

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

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

Baylis, J. & Smith, S.; (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics-An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005.

Bhagwati, J.; *In Defense of Globalization,* Oxford University Press, New York, 2004.

Bhargava, Vinay, (ed.), *Global Issues for Global Citizens: An Introduction to Key Development Challenges*, The World Bank, Washington, 2007.

Boyer, R. & Drache, D.; (eds), *States Against Markets: The Limits of Globalization*, Routledge, New York, 1996.

Kegley, C. W. & Eugene R. Wittkopf; *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, Wadsworth, California, 2005.

Ohmae, K.; *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies*, Free Press, New York, 1995.

Shaw, M.; *Theory of the Global State: Globality as Unfinished Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000.

Smith, A. D.; *National Identity*, Penguin, London, 1991.

Institute of Distance Education

Rajiv Gandhi University
A Central University
Rono Hills, Arunachal Pradesh

Institute of Distance Education
Rajiv Gandhi University

A Central University

Rono Hills, Arunachal Pradesh