

BPSC - 134 INTRODUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



**INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

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Indira Gandhi National Open University**

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February, 2021

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ISBN:

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Further information on the Indira Gandhi National Open University courses may be obtained from the University's Office at Maidan Garhi, New Delhi-110 068 or visit our website: <http://www.ignou.ac.in>

Printed and published on behalf of the Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi, by Registrar, MPDD, IGNOU.

Laser Typeset by : Tessa Media & Computers, C-206, A.F.E.-II, Okhla, New Delhi

Printed at :



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COURSE INTRODUCTION: INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International Relations (IR) is generally understood as a discipline that covers relations of states with each other. It focuses on the working of the international system and involves study of politics, economics, sociology, law, history, etc; making it an interdisciplinary subject. As an independent discipline, IR emerged after the First World War, mainly in the West, particularly in the US as it grew as a power in international system. The First World War led to massive destruction and there was a belief among leaders around the world that IR was still unexplored as a subject and universities should promote teaching and research related to issues of international relations. A number of schools, universities, institutes and departments came up in Europe and North America to study IR between the two World Wars. As an approach, Realism grew in importance and stature after the Second World War with Hans Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations* in 1948. The other important approaches to understand IR include Liberalism, Marxism, Constructivism, Feminism, and Post-colonialism. It should be mentioned that International Relations is different from International Politics. IR is a term that has bigger scope and meaning while International Politics is a part of IR. IR covers interactions between state and non-state actors in areas including politics, economics, culture, security, etc. International Politics is a narrow term covering political aspects at international level. Some experts believe that in the age of globalization and interdependence, global politics is the right term to be used. The world today is an interdependent system and it is not feasible to understand issues and opportunities through a local or national perspective. There are linkages with the global level that need to be understood. What happens beyond our national borders could have immediate effect on our society and livelihood; the Corona pandemic could be cited as an example. No country in the world can live in isolation and think of prosperity and well-being of its citizens. This is why there is need to study IR.

Scope of IR has expanded with time. Before the First World War, it included study of diplomatic history and international law. However, study of international institutions, strategic aspects of foreign policy and anti-colonial movements gained prominence after the Second World War. In contemporary times, the scope of IR includes state and non-state actors, area studies (particular study of a geographical/cultural area such as Africa or South Asia), security, international political economy, globalization, environment, technology, etc. The context and nature of IR have also undergone major changes after the Second World War. Traditionally, the world politics revolved around Europe and relations among different states were mainly conducted in secrecy by officials of foreign office. The common man hardly had any role while the treaties and pacts were kept secret. However, in today's times, public opinion plays an important part in formulation of foreign policy. The Ambassadors are relatively free to conduct relations with the countries where they are posted. In the age of Twitter, even diplomacy has got a new name – Twiplomacy. The world leaders today interact more frequently not only with each other but also with the public through their social media accounts and there is no place for secrecy anymore.

This course gives an introduction to International Relations covering main concepts and theories aimed at developing analytical thinking. It is divided in four blocks.

Block 1 gives the introduction to this course in which there are three units. Unit 1 is Understanding International Relations; Unit 2 covers the basic concepts of IR. Unit 3 traces the evolution of international system till the Second World War.

Block 2 highlights main approaches to IR and covers them in four units - Realism, Systems Approach, Dependency Theory and Constructivism.


Block 3 has four units on major developments in IR – the Cold War, end of the Cold War and its impact on IR, emerging centres of power and globalization.

Block 4 highlights international organizations in three units – the United Nations, international economic organizations and regionalism and new regionalism.

Every unit has exercises to assess your progress and the answers are given at the end of each unit. There is a list of readings in the end of the course that would help you to broaden your perspective and go deep into the study of IR.



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BLOCK-I
INTRODUCTION

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BLOCK 1 INTRODUCTION

In this block, basic concepts and themes of International Relations are covered. **Unit 1** is Understanding International Relations which highlights main theories in IR – Realism, Liberalism and critical perspectives like Feminism, Marxism, Social Constructivism and Post-Colonialism. **Unit 2** is Basic Concepts: Elements of National Power, National Interest, Collective Security, Balance of Power. Not all nations have similar power capability in IR and power differential is an organizing principle of international system. In reality, there is a hierarchy of powers in the international system while legally all states are equal in IR. National interest is understood both in terms of material goals and values of a country. When countries seek to achieve a favourable equilibrium in the global or regional distribution of power, it is called Balance of Power. With the world moving towards multipolarity, balance of power is here to stay in IR. **Unit 3** is Evolution of International System (Up to the World War II). The present international system – its institutions and norms – did not evolve overnight. The modern international system is the outcome of a long history – at times very bitter such as the two world wars in the previous century. Modern international system is called Westphalian state system; it means sovereign states are the only legitimate and recognized entities in international relations. Over the last four hundred years over which the modern international system based on the idea of sovereign state evolved, peace and stability have remained fragile and at times elusive. As Unit 3 highlights that military conflict was inherent in the way international relations worked all through the 19th century. Aggression, military alliances, balance of power, secret pacts, annexation of territories, zones of influence, carving up colonies overseas, and trade wars were the practices in IR. The result was often wars between imperial European powers; peace was only a brief interlude between two wars. The imperialist ambitions of the European powers would conflagrate as colonial masters would also drag the colonial people in their conflicts.

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UNIT 1 UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Realism
 - 1.2.1 Neorealism
- 1.3 Liberalism
- 1.4 Critical Perspectives
 - 1.4.1 Marxism, Neo Marxism and Critical Theory
 - 1.4.2 Feminism
 - 1.4.3 Post Structuralism
 - 1.4.4 Green Politics
 - 1.4.5 Social Constructivism
 - 1.4.6 Post Colonialism
- 1.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.6 References
- 1.7 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to understand various approaches to the study of International Relations (IR). After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand the:

- Realist approach to the study of IR
- Liberalism as an approach
- Critical approaches and
- Criticism of these varied theoretical approaches and concepts

1.1 INTRODUCTION

International Relations (IR) is an area in political studies that deals with the relations among sovereign states. It studies the behaviour of states with each other and with international entities. It examines the conflicts and cooperation among states, functions and role of international organizations and mechanisms such as the UN, World Trade Organization and the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the role of multinational corporations (MNCs), working of state and non-state actors, and ways to deal with new challenges like climate change, terrorism, refugees and migrants, etc. Understanding IR helps in exploring and offering different visions of the world order; which can, hopefully, further the cause of global peace and development.

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Two mainstream perspectives namely Realism and Liberalism have dominated the understanding and interpretation of the IR since the 1930s. This is called the first great debate. These perspectives were understood traditionally in terms of diplomacy, military and strategic capabilities and methods of deploying them. The second great debate took place between the Behaviouralists and Traditionalists in 1960s over whether behaviour of actors – state or non-state - should be the criterion for explaining the International Relations. In 1970s and 1980s, the third great debate took place; also called the inter-paradigm debate. This was between Liberals and Realists on one side and the Marxists on the other side. Marxists understood IR primarily in economic terms. The fourth great debate started in late 1980s and was between the Positivists and post-Positivists. Positivists want their theories to be understood as objective knowledge grounded in facts. For example: Realists explain that world is an anarchical place and states behave through zero sum relations; whereas post-Positivists base their theories in values and subjectivity. For example, Feminists believe that world is patriarchal; and an egalitarian world order can only be achieved when women are treated fairly and equally. This Unit describes and analyzes the two mainstream theoretical frameworks of Realism and Liberalism and follows it up with a brief description of Critical theories of International Relations.

1.2 REALISM

Realism also called Political Realism believes that states are power seekers. They say that world is an anarchical place where there is no central authority to regulate the behaviour of states. A security dilemma exists where any state can attack another anytime. So states seek to enhance their military and strategic powers to protect their territory and sovereignty. They are self-interested in either enlarging their powers or in protecting and defending themselves from the attack. Realists believe that states behave like humans. Commenting on human nature, Thomas Hobbes, a 17th Century political thinker once said that life of a man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. So, state, like man, is egoistic; and it enters into constant conflicts with other states to look after its own security and interests. Realists believe that states are guided by zero sum relations where gain of one state leads to loss of another.

Key themes within Realism are: state egoism and conflict; state craft and national interest; international anarchy and its implications; polarity, stability and balance of power. These themes are described below.

A) State egoism and conflict: ‘Classical Realism’ is traced to the Greek philosopher Thucydides’ *History of The Peloponnesian War*, Sun Tzu’s work *The Art of War*, Kautilya’s *Arthashastra*, and the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. They give a pessimistic picture of man saying that the nature of man is guided by envy, jealousy, ego, greed, fear and conflict. And, same is the nature of the state. Since international order is anarchical and there is no central source of authority, states acquire more of military capability and build strategic depth so that they keep their territory protected. Machiavelli says that a man is cunning and the rulers have to be manipulative and crafty to maintain law and order. Hobbes also gives a pessimistic picture of man and argues that a strong and sovereign state power is required to maintain law and order and protect life.

B) State craft and national interest: The art of statecraft is important for the conduct of State in international relations. Hans Morgenthau in his *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* stated six principles of Political Realism that explain how the state works. These principles are:

- Politics is governed by objective laws which have their roots in human nature.
- International relations can be understood from the concept of interest defined in terms of power.
- The forms and nature of state power will vary in time, place and context but the concept of interest remains consistent.
- Universal moral principles do not guide State behaviour.
- There is no universally agreed set of moral principles. Moral aspirations are specific to a particular nation.
- The political sphere is autonomous. It means that the key question in international politics is ‘How does this policy affect the power of a nation?’

C) International anarchy and its implications: Since there is no central authority, states have to resort to self-help to secure their interests. The second implication is that international system is characterized by security dilemma where the security of states is not guaranteed. And third, states in anarchy are always in pursuit to enhance their power in relation to other states so as to have an edge over them. These implications discourage cooperation and reduce the effectiveness of international organizations.

D) Polarity, stability and balance of power: Realists say that stability in international system can be attained through balance of power.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for answers.
ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the concept of Realism.

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1.2.1 Neorealism

Kenneth Waltz gave the theory of Neorealism in his *Theory of International Politics*, published in 1979. It is also termed as Structural Realism. Waltz focussed on the structure of international system, on its interacting units and the continuities and changes of the system. He departed from ‘Classical Realism’ and said that it is important to understand the behaviour of international system before studying the behaviour of states. He explained that the security dilemma exists not because

the state's behaviour is similar to human nature but rather that the international system is anarchical and it does not have a central authority to 'govern'. The anarchical international system creates fear and insecurity in states that compels them to maximise their security and power and act in zero sum way. Therefore, it is the structure of the international system that determines the actions of the state.

Neorealism or Structural Realism reaches many of the same conclusions as 'Classical Realism'. However, it does so by looking at systemic rather than individual and state-level causes. This means that it focuses less on human nature and more on the anarchic structure of the international system in which states operate. Kenneth Waltz emphasizes upon the distinction between his approach and that of Morgenthau and other 'Classical Realists'. Whereas 'Classical Realism' places responsibility for war at the feet of selfish and narrow-minded individual human beings, Waltz points to the anarchical structure of the international system as the main reason for the persistence of war. He asserts that states are victims of the **security dilemma**, in which effort of a state to ensure its survival threatens the security of other states around it. Following Realism's concept of self-help, Waltz argues that the only rational course of action for a state in an anarchic international system is to maintain enough military and political power to defend itself against aggression. In doing so, it might invest in new weapons or seek alliances with other states that may or may not come to its aid in a crisis. Unfortunately, these steps toward self-defence appear threatening to neighbouring states, forcing them to respond with their own military build-up and alliance making. In a world defined by mutual suspicion, one state's attempts to safeguard its survival make other states less secure, forcing them to respond with their own self-help strategies. The result is an arms race in which every state builds up its military capability in response to others' actions. This is the crux of the **security dilemma**. Neorealists use it to explain the persistence of conflict and war on the international stage. In the absence of a world government, states are condemned to exist in an environment of mutual distrust and one state's declaration that it is seeking armed strength for purely defensive reasons is certain to be met with suspicion by its neighbours.

Thomas Schelling added the dimension of 'strategic realism' in 1980. He focusses his attention on foreign policy decision-making. He said that leaders think strategically when they are confronted with basic diplomatic and military issues. Strategic methods involve diplomacy, foreign policy and also use of armed forces. Schelling says 'diplomacy is like bargaining' where one gets the outcome which might not be ideal for both parties but is better for both as compared to other alternatives. Strategic realists are concerned with how to employ power intelligently in order to get the adversary to do what we desire and more importantly to avoid doing what we fear.

1.3 LIBERALISM

The Liberal tradition in IR is closely associated with the emergence of modern liberal state. The basic tenets of Liberalism are freedom, tolerance, cooperation, compromise, peace and progress. It rules out conflict and war. The Liberal tradition strongly believes in the reason and rationality of individual. It believes that through cooperation and compromise, conflicts of society can be resolved. Tolerance is the key for building harmony and avoiding conflicts. Unlike Realists, Liberals

do not believe that human nature is evil. Rather humans are sociable, rational, competitive and collaborative. John Locke, a 17th century liberal philosopher emphasized on the protection of rights of life, liberty and property of an individual. He advocated limited and constitutional state so that it does not infringe on the freedom of an individual. Jeremy Bentham, another prominent liberal philosopher coined the term 'international law' and enlarged the concept of constitutional state which would aim at greatest happiness of the greatest number. Immanuel Kant expanded the argument and emphasized on the establishment of constitutional and mutually respectful republics that could lead to perpetual peace and progress. Post 1970s, Liberalism was revived under neoliberalism. Key themes within Liberalism are: Interdependence Liberalism; Republican Liberalism; and Liberal Institutionalism as discussed below.

- A) Interdependence Liberalism:** It emphasizes on free trade and mutually productive economic relations. The idea can be traced back to the birth of commercial liberalism in 19th century drawn from the thoughts of David Ricardo, Richard Cobden and John Bright. Free trade allows each country to develop the goods and services in which they have a comparative advantage from other countries. This creates economic interdependence and reduces the probability of war. Cobden and Bright argued that free trade would bring people from different races, creeds and languages and tie them in 'bonds of eternal peace'. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye call it 'complex interdependence' where actions of one country affect the other countries. And this is not only related to economic sphere but also extends to the areas of climate change, economic development and human rights.
- B) Republican Liberalism:** Liberals believe that external behaviour of states is influenced by their political and constitutional make up. Authoritarian states are generally viewed as aggressive and militaristic whereas democratic states follow more of peaceful and cooperative methods in their dealings. With the collapse of communism, the 'democratic peace thesis' re-emerged. Francis Fukuyama in his 'End of History' said that democracy is the order of the world. Market capitalism and liberal democratic principles have won the ideological war. Freedom, trade and principles of cooperation are the basic tenets on which the world will govern itself. Liberals quote the 16th century German philosopher Immanuel Kant who said that democracies do not fight; and, therefore, democracies lead to the establishment of 'zones of peace'.
- C) Liberal Institutionalism:** Liberal institutionalism owes its genesis to social contract theory of Hobbes and Locke. Social Contract theorists say that an external, sovereign power is required to prevent society from barbarous and chaotic state of nature. Similarly, international order is anarchical and is not governed by central authority so it requires an international organization to establish rule of law that would be based on collective security and respect for international law. The League of Nations was the first attempt. And the United Nations now governs global politics. Institutions function as mediators and facilitators of cooperation among states on matters of common interest. Liberal Institutionalism promotes the idea of international organizations, such as the UN, to establish rules, such as collective security. An international system should be based and governed by clearly laid-down rules and institutions. International organization is

the chief ‘external’ mechanism that is needed to constrain the ambitions of sovereign states, which are otherwise oriented to pursue their ‘national interests’. More radical Institutionalism highlights the importance of multilateralism in meeting the challenges of global governance and the effects of globalization. The effects of globalization and challenges posed by issues like terrorism, pandemics etc show that states cannot meet them unilaterally. These challenges demand creation of regional and global regimes – institutions and norms – more or less on permanent basis.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for answers.

ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) What is Liberalism? Explain key themes within Liberalism?

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1.4 CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The Critical perspectives in IR gained prominence in 1980s. They embraced a post-Positivist approach that links theory with practice. They challenge the global status quo norms and values and expose the inequalities, injustices and imbalances that mainstream theories ignore. The task is not only to understand IR but change it too. Critical theories are emancipatory theories and they work towards overthrowing oppression and achieve freedom of the deprived sections. Critical Perspectives are views from the below; looking at IR from the perspective of the deprived and the victims. Main critical perspectives are discussed in subsequent sections.

1.4.1 Marxism, Neo Marxism and Critical Theory

Marxism has been considered as the radical alternative to mainstream theories of Realism and Liberalism. The latter has been considered to cater to the interests of the rich and powerful ruling classes in the imperial states of Europe; whereas Marxism has been the voice of the weaker sections of society. Marxism believes that class struggle is an inevitable part of society. Economy is of primary importance; Marxism explains that society is divided on the basis of economics. There are two classes of ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’. Marxism bases itself on materialist conception of history. Karl Marx has laid down five stages in history namely Primitive Communism where everyone is equal and no social division between rich and poor exists. Second is feudalism where the society gets divided into two major social classes namely, landlords and serfs. A class struggle replaces feudalism with capitalism. But in capitalistic mode of production, the division still persists between proletariat (working class) and bourgeoisie (capitalist class). Marx calls for a working class revolution to dethrone the bourgeoisie and overthrow capitalism to build a socialist society. In socialist society, resources

will be distributed according to their work and social justice will be established. Socialism is a transitory stage. Socialism will soon pave way for classless communism where distribution of resources will happen according to everyone's needs. Karl Marx believed that historical process is carried forward through dialectical process in which internal contradictions happen in each mode of production.

V.I. Lenin in *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* underlined that domestic capitalists maintain high levels of profits by exporting surplus capital to overseas markets. This has led to colonization in Asia, Africa and elsewhere and also the resultant war (World War 1) among the European capitalist powers to control these colonies.

Neo Marxism explains global poverty and inequality. Marxism was revived in 1970s and was called Neo-Marxism or Structural Approach or Neo Radical approach including the World System theory and dependency theory. These frameworks explain that world is divided into three spheres – core, periphery and semi-periphery. Core countries are located in the North. Composed of Western capitalist system, they have large accumulation of capital, possess high technological know-how; have high skilled workers and high wages, and greater investment. On the other hand, peripheral countries are the ones located in the South, are poor and mainly agricultural. They have low capital, low technological know-how, have large unskilled workforce which is paid low wages. Subsistence economy and large unemployment are the features of the peripheral economies. These countries also have low investment opportunities. Semi-Peripheral countries are the ones in which some manufacturing occurs but capital is not concentrated as in core countries. The core or the semi-peripheral countries exploit the periphery for their resources and cheap agricultural products and cheap labour. With low technological know-how which is also expensive, export of technology from the core to peripheral or semi peripheral countries is low. They continue to remain under-developed or marginalized. Ander Gunder Frank in his work *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* calls it 'development of underdevelopment. Other prominent advocates of this theory are Samir Amin, Immanuel Wallerstein and Raul Prebisch. United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America under its head Raul Prebisch did the initial work on Centre-Periphery thesis in the 1940s and 1950s. Samir Amin says that periphery wants development in competition with 'centre' or the core, oblivious of the fact that every region has its own local development and need not copy the West. So, by imitating the Eurocentric idea of development, the periphery distorts and destroys its indigenous structures making them unsustainable and dependent on the West for its developmental needs. This further strengthens core and weakens the periphery.

Dependency theorists say that dependency is a form of international interdependence in which regions having surplus wealth want to loan out their money to peripheral countries. Dos Santos, a dependency theorist defines dependence as a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of a 'core' or 'centre' economy. Let us have a look at Critical Theory. The term itself suggests that the theory has been critical of oppression and unjust system of the society. Antonio Gramsci explained that capitalist class does not solely work on unequal economic and political power but also through hegemony of bourgeois ideas. Hegemony means domination of

certain ideas and theories. Gramsci says hegemony works through coercion and consent. Robert Cox said that hegemonic power of USA is not only in terms of military but also of its ability to create a broad consent on the world order. Critical theorists are committed to emancipatory politics and believe in building an inclusive and cosmopolitan world order. Frankfurt school rose in 1923 and they also underline the oppression of the weaker section of society. Key theorists include Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse. Second generation of Frankfurt school includes Jurgen Habermas, Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater who applied critical theory to the study of international politics.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for answers.

ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain Marxist approach to IR.

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1.4.2 Feminism

Feminism rose in 1960s in Europe where women challenged the social, economic and political role given to them and emphasizing that these roles are not natural. It's the society that has confined women to household work and men to economic and political spheres. The central themes in feminism are public and private divide; patriarchy; sex and gender; and equality and difference. Feminists explain that there is an artificial and unnatural public and private divide where public is solely confined to men and women take care of private sphere. Politics like political parties and government fall in the realm of public life – dominated by men. Feminists insist that private life such as family and relationships are also a part of political sphere. Betty Freidan remarked that 'All personal is political'. Feminists ask for breaking down of public and private spheres that will transfer responsibilities to the state and seek provision of generous welfare to women and support programmes.

Feminists have attacked patriarchal nature of society that allows the male head of the family to decide for women. Woman cannot have her own choice. Feminists further elaborate on the sex and gender classification. Sex is a biological difference between a male and a female whereas gender is a social construct. It means that the role of a man and woman is defined by the society. And lastly, there is difference; there are feminists who say that women need to celebrate their difference. They emphasize that women need not be 'male identified'. Rather they can enjoy womanhood and celebrate their different traits of being caring, warm, protective, and child-bearing.

How feminism is projected in International Relations? IR has largely talked about causes of war and conflict, development of international law and diplomacy, and global expansion of trade and commerce. But the significant missing factor

is that they have not talked of people. The dominant theories have excluded women from domestic and international politics. Realism emphasizes on power and struggle. They have assumed male to be participants in foreign policy decision-making. Feminists accuse IR to be gender blind. It's not inclusive of women's voice and opinions. State's policy is governed on the factor of export earnings, financial matters and comparative labour costs. But state has not focused much on delivery of social services, provision of full employment, alleviation of poverty and removal of social inequalities. But women have confronted these challenges and worked hard to make their voice heard. 'Where are women in IR?' is a common question Feminists ask.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for answers.
 ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.
- 1) Explain the basic tenets of feminism in IR.

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1.4.3 Post-Structuralism

Post-Structuralism and Post-Modernism are used interchangeably. It is argued that all knowledge is partial and local. Every society has its own truth and there is no universal truth. Post-modernists highlight the complex power knowledge system where truth is created to favour a section of society. Dominant groups in society do not permit any opposing thought. Therefore, post modernists ask for rejection of hierarchical ideas. Further, all history is written from the perspective of the victor; the views of the vanquished never find a mention in history books. They are anti-foundationalists which means that there are no universal moral and political principles. They emphasize that every society should create their own truths and values. German Philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche had talked about nihilism. He had said truth is fiction. Jean Francis Lyotard defined post-modernity as: 'An incredulity towards meta-narratives'. He said that all creeds and ideologies are to be viewed skeptically. Michael Foucault, a French philosopher, said that knowledge is power. He believed that truth is a social construct. And the powerful section of a society creates its own truth to uphold its vested interests. Jacques Derrida talked about 'deconstruction'. He underlined the truth of all time: there is no fixed meaning of concepts, languages and statements. He upheld the difference. He said that every society has different truths. And there is a need to deconstruct text so as to unravel the truth of every society. Richard Rorty, a US philosopher, carried the argument further. He rejects that there exists any objective, transcendental standpoint from which beliefs can be judged. He says, there is no such standpoint.

Post-modernists have influenced international relations since the publication of Der Derian and Shapiro's *International/Intertextual*. Post-modernists argue that any political event will always have different interpretations. For example: 9/11

event has been analyzed as an act of terrorism, a criminal act, or an act of revenge. Critics point out that post-modernists hold different views as equally valid and they believe that even science cannot distinguish between truth and falsehood.

1.4.4 Green Politics

Environment became an important factor in international policy-making debate since 1970s when the dangers of uncontrollable population and unsustainable growth and their impact on environment came to the fore. In 1990s, it gained further traction with concern of climate change. Green politics elaborates on a link between humankind and nature. It talks about the need to balance economic growth with environmental preservation. It emphasizes on sustainable development. It says that growth and development can only sustain when it is in concordance with environment. Then there are 'Eco-socialists' who blame capitalistic development for environmental degradation. They argue that the present market-oriented phase of capitalism, or neoliberalism as it is often called, seeks profit at the cost of nature. Another movement is that of Eco-anarchists who argue that domination over other people is domination over nature. Exploitation of people and communities at local level necessarily entails exploitation and destruction of nature – with no recourse and no remedy ever. So structures of hierarchy and authority should be broken down. Then there are eco-feminists who argue that domination over females lead to domination over nature. Male-domination invariably violates nature too. Feministic values of softness, warmth, care, gentleness will help in preserving the environment.

1.4.5 Social Constructivism

Alexander Wendt in his important work *Anarchy is What States Make of It* explains that anarchy is not an objective reality. Rather it is subjective. It is a social construct where people have given shape to the ideas, beliefs and traditions; and they share it. Anarchy then comes to occupy a place in the mainstream thinking. Wendt further elaborates that anarchy is viewed by some states as a threatening disorder that is not regulated by a central authority; whereas other states would view it as freedom and opportunity. Therefore, social constructivist theorists highlight that there is no objective social or political reality. The reality is not something that is 'out there' in terms of external objects. Rather, reality exists 'inside'. They contrast 'inside-out' approach with 'outside-in' approach. People as individuals or groups construct the world and then act according to those constructions. People's ideas and beliefs become important when they are shared to shape their identity or to serve their interests. Theorists explain that nations are not objective entity. Rather, 'nation' is an 'imagined community' where people believe that they share common beliefs, ideas, history, blood and lineage. Social Constructivists highlight that interactions between agents (people in the form of individuals or groups) and structures of the international system are always mediated by ideational factors (beliefs, values, theories and assumptions). Critics of Constructivism say ideas do not fall from sky. Ideas are formed after seeing the social, economic and political reality. Constructivism is an influential post-Positivist approach that gained prominence after the Cold War.

1.4.6 Post Colonialism

Though the colonial powers have been defeated long back and newly-independent countries with their sovereignty intact have been formed. But the people in less

developed and developing countries are still subjugated by the colonial mindset. Edward Said developed the idea of *Orientalism*, wherein he explained that the Western cultural and political hegemony over the Orient has been maintained through producing a literature or perpetuating a thinking that demeans or belittles non-Western people and their culture. For example, a typical Orientalist view is that India is a country of snake charmers, magicians, sadhus and nothing worthwhile in the field of science and technology has ever been achieved. The statement highlights that India is not a progressive, modern and developed country but a believer of superstitions. Of course, such a viewpoint is biased. But the bias is an act of Western domination and hegemony over the orient. Other such examples of post colonialism include 'lustful Turks' and 'mysterious East'. Post Colonialism exposes how the Western world establishes its domination. They explain that 'white man's burden' theory is farce and it is just a way to keep the less developed and developing countries under the Western rule –cultural and intellectual – and to deprive them of their confidence. Developmental Aid and Humanitarian Interventions, the two hugely celebrated Western concepts are classic examples of post colonialism where rich and powerful countries continue to interfere in the affairs of the state and dictate their terms. Post Colonialism exposes the hierarchy of thoughts in the international community where Western ideas rule over indigenous thoughts and cultures. Post Colonialism makes an effort to legitimize non-Western and sometimes anti-Western ideas, culture and traditions.

Post Colonialism had emerged in the inter-War period (1919-1945) but gained high point only after the Second World War. This happened because the imperial powers namely British, Dutch, French and other colonial European countries got defeated by the national freedom movements waged by the colonies. Though the colonies were influenced by the liberal ideas of freedom and democracy, but to fight against the colonizers and to attain the goal of social justice and emancipation, many liberation movements took the help of socialist and revolutionary Marxist ideas. After gaining independence, these radicals created a distinctive voice separate from liberalism and socialism in forming of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Members of NAM were from Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, also known as the Third World which developed its own distinctive perspective on global political, economic and cultural priorities. They highlighted their indigenous cultures, religions and traditions. For example: Gandhi propagated his theory of non-violence and self sacrifice which is rooted in Hinduism; many African countries combined socialism with their own indigenous traditions. Critics of Post Colonialism have argued that by leaving Western ideas, Post Colonialists have refused progressive politics in place of traditional values and authority structures. Feminists argue that abandoning Western ideas has hindered progress of their movement as most indigenous cultures suppress the rights of women.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

Theories are important to understand International Relations. Theories give shape and structure to the confusing and shapeless reality. Realist theory explains international behaviour according to aggressive human nature; the insecurity of state elites and the pursuit of national interest by the sovereign state in an otherwise anarchic international context where there is no supranational authority to enforce law and order. Because humans are self-interested creatures, international affairs

work on zero sum game where one loses and the other gains. Liberal approach defies the Realist theory and argues that human behaviour is based strongly on cooperation, tolerance and the capability to resolve conflicts peacefully through dialogue and negotiation. That's why countries are interdependent for trade, resolution of political issues like climate change, piracy and economic growth. Marxist theory criticizes the mainstream theories and highlights exploitation and class struggle in capitalism; and gives a view of IR 'from below' i.e the view point of the poor, marginalized and the exploited. New theories that enrich the understanding of International Relations are one, of Green Politics that highlights the issue of climate change and environmental preservation. Feminist theory talks about bringing women issues to the mainstream for making international policies. Post Structuralism assists in deconstruction and promotes diversity in thoughts. And Post Colonialism exposes the hegemony of ideas and culture created by Western countries by belittling the Eastern values.

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1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Realism states are power seekers
 - States behave like human beings and are selfish in nature.
 - World is an anarchical with no central authority to regulate the behaviour of states
 - Due to security dilemma, states seek to enhance their military and strategic powers

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points

- The Liberal tradition in IR is closely associated with the emergence of modern liberal state
- The basic tenets are freedom, toleration, cooperation, compromise, peace and progress
- Believes that through cooperation and compromise, conflicts of society can be resolved

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

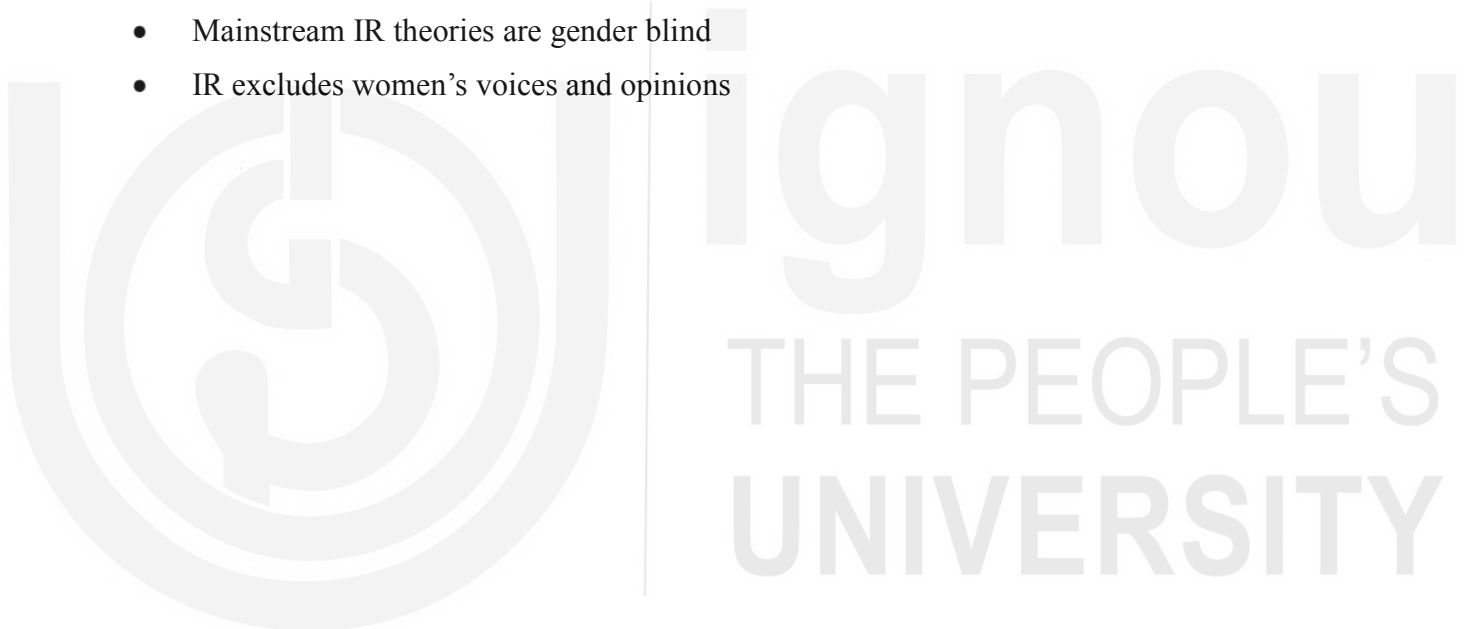
1) Your answer should highlight following points

- Marxism is a radical alternative to mainstream IR theories
- Marxism has been the voice of the weaker sections of society
- Marxism believes that class struggle is an inevitable part of society
- Marxism explains that society is divided on the basis of economics

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

1) Your answer should highlight following points

- Mainstream IR theories are gender blind
- IR excludes women's voices and opinions



UNIT 2 BASIC CONCEPTS: ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER, NATIONAL INTEREST, BALANCE OF POWER AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY*

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 The Idea of National Power
 - 2.2.1 Elements
 - 2.2.2 Limitations
- 2.3 Understanding National Interest
 - 2.3.1 Components
 - 2.3.2 Classification
 - 2.3.3 Methods of Securing National Interest
- 2.4 Balance of Power
 - 2.4.1 Meaning
 - 2.4.2 Nature
 - 2.4.3 History
 - 2.4.4 Methods
 - 2.4.5 Critical Evaluation
 - 2.4.6 Is Balance of Power Still Relevant?
- 2.5 Collective Security
 - 2.5.1 Definition
 - 2.5.2 Chief Features
 - 2.5.3 UN Collective Security Concept
 - 2.5.4 Critical Evaluation
- 2.6 Let Us Sum up
- 2.7 References
- 2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, you will be studying about the four major elements that are basic to the understanding of International Relations (IR). After going through this Unit, you should be able to understand the meaning and importance of:

- National Power
- National Interest
- Balance of Power and
- Collective Security

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

Every state works towards enhancing its national interest by securing more national power. Problem arises when a state solely thinks about its interests at the cost of other state's security. When every state is out to maximize its national interest, it often causes disruption in the international peace and harmony. To maximize its national interest yet minimize the risk of conflict, there evolved in the international system the Balance of Power (BoP) – a mechanism to prevent the outbreak of war. Then there is the principle of Collective Security. United Nations in its Charter has sanctioned the use of collective security to prevent a state from aggression. In this Unit, we will be discussing four important governing components of international system namely National Power; National Interest; Balance of Power; and Collective Security.

2.2 THE IDEA OF NATIONAL POWER

National Power is an important component in international politics. Amidst absence of a central, regulatory international mechanism, every state secures its national interests by asserting national power. Hans **Morgenthau defines** national power as “A psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter, through the influence that the former exerts over the latter's mind.” **Georg Schwarzenberger explains further:** “The power is the capacity to impose one's will on other by reliance on effective sanctions in the case of noncompliance.” Here, he adds the idea of punishment in case of noncompliance. **A.F.K. Organski explains national power as** “the ability to influence the behaviour of other in accordance with one's own end.” **Charles says power is** “The ability to make a man to do what one wants and not to do what one does not want.”

William Ebenstein broadly defines it as, “more than the sum total of population, raw-material and quantitative factors. It includes its civil devotion, the flexibility of its institutions, its technical know-how, its national character or quantitative elements that determine the total strength of a nation.” In brief, National Power is the ability or capability of a nation to secure the goals and objectives of its national interests in relation with other nations. It involves the capacity to use force or threat of use of force or influence over others for securing the goals of national interest. National power of a country depends on myriad factors. Frankel calls these factors as capabilities or capability factors. It is also termed as ‘determinants of national power’ or factors/elements of national power.

2.2.1 Elements of National Power

Hans Morgenthau has grouped elements of national power under permanent and temporary elements. Organski has classified it into two: natural determinants and social determinants. Natural determinants include geography, resources and population; and social determinants include economic development, political structures and national morale. Palmer and Perkins and several others make a distinction between tangible and intangible elements of national power. Tangible elements are composed of elements that can be assessed in quantitative terms like economic development, resources, geography, population and technology. And intangible elements are non-quantitative such as ideational and psychological factors like ideology, morale, leadership, personality and quality of diplomacy.

Broadly, elements of national power include the following: geography; natural resources including raw materials and food; population; economic development and industrial capacity; technology; military preparedness; ideology; leadership; organization and quality of government; national character and morale; and diplomacy. Let us examine each one of them in some details.

A) Geography: Geography is the most stable, tangible, permanent and natural element amongst the determinants of national power. Highlighting the importance of geography, Napoleon Bonaparte once said, “The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography.” To understand geography as an element of national power, we need to understand importance of size, location, climate, topography and boundaries of a state.

Size: A large sized country is beneficial in defending frontiers by retreating during an attack, offers better natural resources, can accommodate larger population and establish important industrial complexes. But a large sized country can also be a hindrance in development as it may lack natural resources, have inhospitable climate and topography. Size of a country may not matter much in international relations. USA is more powerful than Russia despite having a smaller territory. Israel, despite being small in size, has a powerful defense mechanism.

Location: Location of England helped it in becoming a big naval and imperial power. USA was able to follow its policy of isolationism due to its location; whereas location of Canada, being so close to US, has prevented it from becoming a superpower.

Climate: Climate is important for production of food, economy and culture of a nation. Cold Arctic Zone and excessive heat of Sahara have prevented their development.

Topography: Plain and artificial boundaries of a country can make it vulnerable to expansionism. Atlantic and Pacific oceans have provided strength to the USA while the Himalayas are generally seen as protecting India’s northern borders.

Boundaries: Natural and settled boundaries are a source of friendly and cooperative relations among countries. Unsettled boundaries are a source of conflict that weakens national power.

B) Natural Resources: Self-sufficiency in natural resources helps in the development of a country. Self-sufficiency in resources allows a nation to develop agriculture including self-sufficiency in food, develop industrial establishments, and build military might. Morgenthau discussed the significance of natural resources in two parts viz. raw materials and food. Raw materials are further subdivided into three parts – minerals such as coal, petrol, iron, copper, zinc, manganese etc; secondly, natural products such as rubber, jute, bamboo etc; and finally animal products like meat, eggs, milk, silk etc. On ‘food’ as a deciding factor in National Power, Morgenthau once said, “Nations self sufficient in food are better placed than nations which import food.” Food shortage in India in 1950s and 1960s made Indians dependent on the USA. Western world used food aid as a tool to leverage Indian foreign policy. Green Revolution in 1970s created food self-sufficiency and enabled India to develop its national power.

- C) **Population:** A country which is inhabited by lazy, illiterate, incompetent, unemployed and unskilled human resources hinders development. Strong, healthy, disciplined, employed, literate and skilled population facilitates development of the country and its national power. Investment in human resource development is an indicator of a state's commitment to nation-building.
- D) **Economic Development:** The level of economic development also determines the national power. It is a means of building military power and welfare and prosperity of people. A developed, healthy, prosperous and growing nation creates an impact at world level. It is able to leverage economic instruments like aid, loan, rewards, trade, and grants for achieving its goals at international level. United States regularly uses aid and market access to change the behaviour and policies of other states. No loan or development assistance by the IMF and the World Bank are ever sanctioned to a country without US agreeing to it. A weak nation that is characterized by poverty and underdevelopment suffers from acute and multiple limits on its national power.
- E) **Industrial Capacity:** Technology and industrialization help in the development of industrial capacity. A country with well-built industrial capacity would have the potential to become a superpower. United States of America, Britain, Germany, China, France, Japan are super and great powers because they possess huge industrial capacities. India with the same raw materials as USA and Russia is lagging behind in development because of a less developed industrial sector. An industrial sector aids in extracting natural resources and converting it into industrial goods. Analysts now talk of building 'knowledge economy'. Revolution in Information Technology and Communication and the outbreak of the Fourth Industrial Revolution such as the Artificial Intelligence (AI) is making countries develop their capability in these new technologies.
- F) **Technology:** A well developed technological know-how enables human welfare and progress. Technology is significant for industrial development, military development, development of transport and communication, economic and social development. Information technology, nuclear technology, space technology and missile technology have emerged as important sources of power and influence in international relations. National power enhances further when a country is self-sufficient in manufacturing industrial and high-tech goods at home rather than being dependent on imports.
- G) **Military Preparedness:** It is an important factor in the success of foreign policy and in promotion of national interest. Possession of advanced and sophisticated weapon technology is a source of strength and strategic advantage. An effective and efficient military leadership and skilled, trained, competent, dedicated and disciplined armed forces further strengthen military preparedness of a nation. But military preparedness is not an independent determinant of national power as it is dependent on economic power of a country, technology, strategic factors, industrial capacity and policies of government.

- H) **Ideology:** Ideology is an intangible element of national power. It can be a source of friendship or enmity between nations. Hitler’s Nazism in Germany and Mussolini’s Fascism in Italy weakened their national power and earned criticism across the world. The ideological war between communism and capitalism after 1945 led to the Cold War with many countries joining alliances to safeguard their territories. India’s pursuit of Non-Alignment (NAM) enabled it to resist superpower *dictats* during the Cold War.
- I) **Leadership:** A strong and willed leader directs the utilization of natural resources, human resources and raw materials to efficiency and competency. A mature, devoted and efficient leadership leads the country to progress and success.
- J) **Organization and Quality of Government:** A corrupt and inefficient government wastes the natural and human resources and reduces its national strength and stature in international affairs. For ex, a strong, democratic, well-functioning and responsible government leads to good governance and increases its effectiveness and prestige in global affairs. A weak civilian government in Pakistan has led to failure of its economy and society.
- K) **National Character and Morale:** It’s also an intangible element of national power. National Character refers to traits, attitude and aptitude of the people. For example, Indians are known for their tolerance, religious beliefs and idealism. Germans are synonymous for their discipline and industriousness and Americans for their inventiveness, initiative and spirit of adventure. Morgenthau defines national morale as “degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policy of government in peace and war, it permeates all activities of a nation, its agriculture and industrial production as well as its military establishment and diplomatic service”. Building of dams, success in 1965 and 1971 wars, growth of Information Technology and a steady economic growth of India boosted its morale. And the defeat in 1962 war, imposition of emergency and unstable coalition regimes post 1991 deteriorated its morale.
- L) **Diplomacy:** A high-quality diplomacy transforms the available resources into national strength. Britain has been successful in projecting itself as a national power despite losing its imperial status post 1945. USA’s successful diplomacy helps it in projecting itself as the sole superpower. Canada’s Liberal Internationalism has helped it project the image of a good and trustworthy international actor.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for answers.

ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the elements of National Power?

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2.2.2 Limitations

Several factors reduce the effectiveness of national power. For one, balance of power in international system keeps a check on each other and prevents states from disrupting the balance. Second, as Neorealism points out, international organizations and law regulate the behaviour of states. It lays down body of rules that are binding upon them all. Third, international morality is a set of moral rules and laws that checks the behaviour of states. International community accepts certain morals like protection of human rights of all, securing right to life, respect of sovereignty, and non-interference in other's territory. Fourth, world public opinion coerces state to form public policies according to public opinion. Presence of strong peace movements, rights of ethnic groups and minorities, campaign against sexual abuse, drugs prohibition, human trafficking and nuclear weapons show how strong is international public opinion. Fifth, the principle of 'collective security' is there to manage national power. It is based on the principle that states collectively achieve peace and security in case of violation by any state/states. Lastly, Arms Control and Disarmament are a mechanism to limit national power. Arms Control refers to reduction or control of arms race through international agreements or policies. And Disarmament means abolishing arms and ammunitions possessed till date.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING NATIONAL INTEREST

Hans Morgenthau defines National Interest as survival that includes "protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states". V.V Dyke defines it as "The values, desires, and interests that states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other". In general, national interest can be defined as demands, goals, interests, and claims by a nation to protect, preserve and defend its relations with other nation-states.

2.3.1 Components

There are two components: (i) necessary or vital components; and (ii) variable or non-vital components. Let us explain them.

- i) What do we mean by necessary or vital components? According to Morgenthau, the components necessary for survival or identity of a nation are termed vital components. He subdivides identity into three parts – cultural, political and physical. Cultural identity consists of historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. Physical identity is defined as territorial identity and political identity means politico-economic system. Survival is a vital component in foreign policy. To achieve this, a state can even go to war.
- ii) What is the meaning of variable or non-vital components? They are situational. These components are dependent on circumstances. They are determined by factors such as decision makers, public opinion, party politics, sectional or group interests, and political or moral factors. These are the objectives that the states would like to see them fulfilled but they will not go to war for them.

2.3.2 Classification

Thomas W. Robinson classifies national interest into six types: (i) *Primary Interests*: These are the interests that no state will ever compromise on. They are securing political, cultural and physical identity of the nation. (ii) *Secondary Interests*: They are less significant than primary interests. It includes protecting citizens staying abroad and ensuring diplomatic immunities for diplomatic staff. (iii) *Permanent Interests*: They are long-term interests of the State. For example: China intends to preserve its hegemony in South Asian region. (iv) *Variable Interests*: These interests depend on the circumstances and can sometimes bypass primary and permanent interests. (v) *General Interests*: These interests apply to a large number of nations, for example, international peace, food security, and environmental protection. (vi) *Specific Interests*: These interests suit particular nations. For example: Right to Development of Third World countries.

2.3.3 Methods of Securing National Interest

How do sovereign states secure their ‘national interests’? States adopt various methods and tools to secure their perceived ‘national interests’. Some of these methods and tools are as follows:

- i) *Diplomacy*: Diplomacy is one of the persuasive measures to secure national interests. Countries negotiate, bargain, compromise and coordinate to achieve their desired ends and outcomes. It is an effective means of conflict resolution.
- ii) *Propaganda*: Frankel has defined propaganda as the “systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions, and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose”. Propaganda involves the art of statesmanship. It allows persuading others on the justness of their goals to secure national interest. Proliferation of Internet has enhanced the scope of propaganda. Social websites are used to mould the public opinion.
- iii) *Economic Means*: Rich and developed countries use economic aid and loans to advance their interests in international arena. Poor countries depend on powerful countries for technological know-how, foreign aid, industrial goods, and for selling of raw materials. In these times of globalization, free economic exchange has become an important means of securing national interest.
- iv) *Alliances and Treaties*: They are signed between two or more countries to secure their national interests. It becomes a legal obligation by the allied country to work for the designated common goals. For example, US and its allies formed military alliances such as the NATO and CENTO after the Second World War to counter the threat of Communism. On the other hand, Warsaw Pact was signed between socialist countries to prevent the spread of Capitalism.
- v) *Coercive Measures*: States use coercive measures to realize their goals and objectives. International law also recognizes the use of coercive measures which are short of war. Coercive measures include intervention, embargoes, boycotts, retaliation, sanctions and severance of relations etc. which states use to achieve their goals. Though war and aggression are discouraged in international system as it disrupts international peace and harmony, but

certain illegal means are used by powerful states to achieve their ends. For example, USA declared War on Terror and attacked Iraq without UN approval. But states should generally refrain from use of force and employ peaceful methods for conflict resolution to allow coexistence and mutual cooperation.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for answers.

ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the elements of National Interest?

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2.4 BALANCE OF POWER

The Realist school gives a good deal of importance to the idea and practice of balance of power (BoP) in International Relations. Following paragraphs explain the concept in detail.

2.4.1 Meaning

In International Relations, BoP is defined as the distribution of equal power among nations. When the power is more or less equally distributed, then no one state can dominate others and no state feels threatened. Balance of Power theory says if one state becomes powerful, then it will attack the weaker state thereby providing an opportunity to the threatened states to form a defensive coalition. Sidney Fay describes it as just equilibrium so that none of the nations become strong to exert its will or force on another state. Inis Claude explains it as “a system in which some nations regulate their power relations without any interference by any big power”. The logic behind Balance of Power theory is that there is no world government. And each state has to rely on its own resources and strategies to prevent being attacked from another. So when a country faces threat from a powerful country, it either mobilizes its own resources or it gets into an alliance with other states so as to balance the adversary.

2.4.2 Nature

- i) *Temporary and Unstable:* BoP is short lived. And countries constantly change their allegiances and alliances to serve their national interests.
- ii) *Requires Active Intervention:* BoP is not a gift from nature. It is to be built and maintained with the active intervention from political leaders.
- iii) *War tests the efficacy of BoP:* BoP prevents the outbreak of war and when the war happens, BoP is broken.

- iv) *Not a device of Peace:* BoP happens because of the volatile international situation. It is no guarantee of peace.
- v) *Big Powers are the main players:* Strong powers are the main players in creating and maintaining BoP whereas small powers are either allied partners or spectators or victims in the play.
- vi) *Requires Multiple States:* For BoP to happen, it requires multiple states to maintain power relations.
- vii) *National Interest is the priority:* It can be adopted by any State and national interest is the basis for deciding it.

2.4.3 History of BoP

BoP concept has been as old as history. It was used by Greeks and Thucydides; an ancient Athenian political theorist said that BoP leads to security in international system. In 15th century during Renaissance, the concept was revived again among Italian city-states. The idea of internationalism was replaced by BoP after the signing of Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 that demarcated the sovereign states. For a century, from 1815 to 1914, international security was maintained by BoP. However, the outbreak of First World War in 1914 broke the balance among different nations. The concept was revived again between 1919 and 1939 but it failed again when the Second World War happened. The Cold War era maintained precarious balance among communist states led by USSR and capitalist states headed by USA. Post the disintegration of Soviet Union and the socialist bloc, USA adopted the role of world leader and unipolarity became the basis of international relations. With emergence of rising powers such as China, India and others and resultant multipolarity in the international system, the relevance of BoP has been renewed.

2.4.4 Methods

Compensation: It is mainly territorial compensation. A state gets divided or annexed if it is considered dangerous for the balance. Colonial powers used this method to divide the territories amongst themselves if there was a threat to their colonial possessions and to the balance among them. Prior to the First World War, European imperial powers divided and carved out new borders of small states especially in the eastern Europe and the Balkans.

Alliances and Counter Alliances: A group of nations enter into an alliance to counter the threat and secure their position and enhance their power in international system. Usually, a formation of an alliance leads to a counter alliance. During Cold War, USA formed NATO, SEATO, CENTO and Soviet Union created Warsaw Pact.

Intervention and Non-Intervention: It's a dictatorial method carried out to change or maintain a desired situation in a country. USSR's intervention in Afghanistan, American intervention in Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, Iraq are few examples.

Divide and Rule: It's a divisive measure to control and weaken the opponent. For example, China has been trying to break unity among ASEAN nations so that they do not stand united against its aggressive moves in South China Sea.

Buffer Zones: There are neutral areas that separate two big powers which are generally adversaries. Each superpower then tries to exert influence on the buffer zone and take its control leading to struggle between the two big powers in the neutral zone.

Armaments and Disarmaments: To secure themselves in international system, countries compete in arms race by accumulating weapons for their defence. This can be deterrent to world peace and security and can lead to war. Currently, disarmament has gained traction where countries are asked to reduce and gradually eliminate the use of weapons as defense and offence mechanism. Treaties like Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons ask for banning of weapons.

Balancer: This concept is used less frequently now given the unipolarity/multipolarity syndrome in world order. But earlier Britain played the role of a balancer in Europe. A balancer plays a neutral role and is not allied to any of the contending party. It negotiates and mediates between the two so as to keep the balance.

2.4.5 Critical Evaluation

Arguments in Favour of the usefulness of BoP as a tool to maintain international peace and stability are as follows:

- i) BoP is a source of stability in international system. Fredric Geniz remarked “BoP has many a times prevented a war. War breaks out only when any state assumes excessive power”.
- ii) It aids in adjustments and readjustments so as to prevent the outbreak of war.
- iii) Multiple states participate to maintain the status quo and it often leads to bipolarity or multipolarity in the international system.
- iv) Small states enjoy the public goods such as law and order, international peace, security being offered in the balance.
- v) It discourages war. Usually a counter alliance exists to counter the threat of a hegemonic alliance. A strong opposition limits the excessive power of either party.
- vi) It is a source of peace and world order. From 1815-1914, it successfully prevented war.

Arguments not in favour of BoP are:

- i) BoP lost its relevance in the 1990s as the world became unipolar. In military terms, the world remains unipolar and USA is the hegemon. No group of countries can balance the US as of now.
- ii) BoP is not an adequate and efficient way of maintaining order in international society. It inculcates a sense of fear.
- iii) BoP is an uncertain and fragile arrangement. As it is based on fear and insecurity looms large.
- iv) States are not usually free to break alliances.

- v) It's not real peace. International peace is based on morality and protection of human rights. Peace in BoP is based on constant fear of conflict.
- vi) States are not static. Their powers keep expanding or reducing which can, and does, threatens the precariousness of BoP.

2.4.6 Is BOP Still Relevant?

International relations have undergone a sea change. Earlier, European states ruled the roost. Now the emergence of various powers in Asia, Africa and Latin America has abated the supremacy of major powers making BoP principle redundant. Secondly, the end of imperialism and colonialism also contributed to the decline of European powers who were the major players in BoP. Third, the balancer has disappeared from the international arena. Britain had done this job earlier. Fourth, proliferation of nuclear weapons has created a dreadful situation. Their use can lead to a catastrophic war that can cause irreversible change. How do you balance a nuclear power? The nations no longer want a total war. Sadly, Balance of Power keeps the option of war open. Fifth, the emergence of United Nations and other international and regional actors have played an important role in diffusing tensions and contributing to harmony and peace. BoP belongs to the era when international organizations did not exist. But BoP has not become completely obsolete. From international arena, it has shifted to regional area. Critics of BoP like Martin Wright and Friedrich admit that BoP is still a fundamental element in international relations.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for answers.
 ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) What is Balance of Power?

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2.5 COLLECTIVE SECURITY

2.5.1 Definition

It is a security arrangement in the political, regional or global arena in which a state accepts that security of one is the security of all. Therefore, the states in a group collectively cooperate to provide security to all in case of any threat or breach of peace. Collective security acts as a deterrent against aggression because the collective power of all nations is used to repel aggression or war against any state. It is based on the principle that aggression against one is an aggression against all. For international peace and community, aggression has to be countered with collective action by a group of states. Schleicher explains “collective security as an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts (war and aggression) against

another member, to come to latter's assistance." The two key elements of collective security are 'security' and 'collective'. Security of one nation is inextricably linked to the security of all nations. National security is international security. Breach of security of one nation entails breach of security of all nations. 'Collective' here means that group of states has to collectively deal with the aggressor. It highlights the spirit of 'All for One and One for All.'

Organski in his work *World Politics* lists five basic assumptions of collective security: (i) In an armed conflict, member nation-states will be able to agree who is the aggressor. (ii) All member nation-states are equally committed to contain the aggression. (iii) All member nation-states have same freedom of action and ability to join in the aggression. (iv) The collective power of the member-states will be adequate to counter the aggression. (v) In the context of collective security, the aggressor country will modify his action or have to face defeat. Morgenthau gives three prerequisites for the success of collective security: (i) The collective military strength has to be in excess to that of the aggressor in order to defeat him. (ii) The member-states must share the same beliefs of the security of world order. (iii) Conflicting interests among member-states should be subordinated to common good, which is common defence of all member-states.

2.5.2 Chief Features

- i) *An instrument of power management:* In order to preserve international peace, collective security is used to manage the crisis at the time of war or attack.
- ii) *It acknowledges universality of aggression:* It admits that aggression will happen and a group of states has to be formed to counter it.
- iii) *Nations have commitment to end aggression:* All nations pool their resources to stop the aggression.
- iv) *It prevents war:* An aggressor nation will avoid war as it knows that its act will be met with collective defence.
- v) *War is the enemy and not the state:* Collective Security works towards eliminating war not the aggressive state.

2.5.3 UN Collective Security Concept

The Charter of United Nations states that collective security system can be used for the preservation of international peace and security. Chapter VII of the UN Charter talks about collective security system and its title reads: **Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, and Acts of Aggression**. Chapter VII contains 13 Articles, Articles 39-51, which provide for a collective system to secure international peace and security. UN Security Council has been assigned the job of initiating collective security action against the act of aggression. The 13 articles provide for the following.

Article 39: Responsibility of Security Council to determine whether an action is an act of aggression or not and to decide on the steps to secure international peace.

Article 40: States that the first step towards prevention of war/aggression can be provisional measures like ceasefire.

Introduction

Article 41: Refers to enforcement actions other than collective military actions. It can recommend sanctions against the aggressor.

Article 42: Security Council can take military action to preserve international peace and security

Article 43: Members of Security Council are required to contribute resources, effort and forces for raising collective security force that may have to take action under Article 42.

Articles 44-47: Procedures for raising, maintaining and using UN Peace Keeping Force for collective security action.

Article 48: Action on the decision of Security Council is to be taken by all the members or some of them as the Security Council may determine.

Article 49: Members of the United Nations have to mutually assist in carrying out decisions by Security Council.

Article 50: Lays down the ways in which non-member states can adjust their policies and actions towards the decision that may be taken up by the Security Council under Articles 41-42

Article 51: In case of an armed attack against a State, UN accepts the right of the State to individually or collectively take measures for self defense until the Security Council has taken measures to protect international peace and security.

Collective Security was used for the first time in 1950 to solve Korean Crisis. In 1956, it was used again in Suez Canal crisis. It has also been used during the crises in Congo, Hungary, Lebanon, Iran-Iraq war, war against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan in the year 2001. However Collective Security came under severe scanner when the USA launched attack on Iraq in 2003 without UN's consent.

2.5.4 Critical Evaluation

Though Collective Security was formulated for noble reasons of preserving international peace and security, but its too idealistic in nature. It assumes that there exists complete understanding among nations to protect each other. Also, at times it is not possible to identify the aggressor. The aggressor might act in self defense. Collective security admits war as a means to secure peace. And there is high probability that war might not be neutral and can be influenced by an ideology or vested interest. The other major problem is that the UN lacks a permanent international force to enforce the collective security decision of the Security Council. The process is slow and the time gap between the date of aggression and the date by which an international peacekeeping force is raised and reaches the troubled spot is big. Lastly, collective security is a dangerous concept as the local war can escalate into a global war. Despite the above criticisms, collective security remains a device of crisis management to secure world peace and prevent war.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for answers.

ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Critically evaluate the concept of collective security.

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2.6 LET US SUM UP

International system is governed by important components namely national power, national interest, balance of power and collective security. States enhance their national power by making efficient use of geography, natural resources, population, economic development, technology, military, industrial capacity, leadership, ideology, diplomacy etc. States then use the enhanced national power to secure their respective national interests. National interest is the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation states. Since every nation works towards enhancing its national power and wants to uphold its national interest, there are high chances that it can disrupt international order. Balance of power and collective security are two mechanisms through which peace and harmony can be preserved at international level.

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2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Geography, natural resources, population, economic development, industrial capacity, technology, military preparedness, ideology, leadership, national character, morale and diplomacy

Check your progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - Diplomacy, propaganda, economic means, alliances, treaties and coercive measures

Check your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - BoP is defined as the distribution of equal power among nations
 - When power is more or less equally distributed; no one state can dominate others

Check your Progress Exercise 4

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - Collective Security was formulated for noble reason of preserving international peace and security
 - It was too idealistic in nature
 - Admits war as a means to secure peace
 - It is also considered as a dangerous concept as the local war can escalate into a global war

UNIT 3 EVOLUTION OF WORLD SYSTEM (UPTO WORLD WAR-II)*

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 From Ancient to Modern
- 3.3 Rise of West
- 3.4 First World War
 - 3.4.1 Factors Responsible for First World War
 - 3.4.2 Peace Treaties
 - 3.4.3 Treaty of Versailles
- 3.5 Second World War
 - 3.5.1 Causes of Second World War
 - 3.5.2 The Second World War Begins
- 3.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.7 References
- 3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, you will get an overview of the world system through various civilizations; rise of the West; rise of conflicts, and the causes of First and Second World Wars. After going through this Unit, you should be able to know:

- World system through the age
- Causes of First World War
- Treaty of Versailles and
- Causes of Second World War

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The insatiable wants of humans led to the finest discoveries in the world and yet also caused wars at an unimaginable level. Humans gave up their nomadic style of living in favour of permanent settlement. They built agriculture to provide food and fodder. Urbanization also took its root. This promoted trade and led to the facilitation of communication. The origin of writing also aided in better communication. But soon the early forms of development fell into abyss after the advent of Dark Ages. Dark Ages brought the rein of superstition and religion and logic and rationality took a backseat. The Dark Ages soon ended for betterment of society and European civilization became the dominant in international relations. The rule of West caused the dissemination of ideas of rationality, logic, debate and reason. Scientific temper was celebrated. And the advent of industrial revolution brought in the provision of basic necessities, comfort of industrial

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goods and further development of means of communication and transportation. But the greed of acquiring more and more profit from the sale of manufactured goods led to expansion of their territories and converting far away regions and societies into colonies. This gave rise to imperialism and colonialism. The fight to retain their colonies and acquire more led to the two World Wars and immeasurable loss of human lives.

3.2 FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN

The history at the world level commenced with the establishment of successive ancient civilizations. The hunter-gatherer community gave up nomadism in place of permanent settlement, developed agriculture to produce crops for food, looked for avenues for trade and exchange and also set up urban cities. Mesopotamia civilization, now part of Republic of Iraq, is regarded as the cradle of civilization as it gave birth to three major civilizations from 3500-1500 BCE- the Sumerian, the Babylonian and the Assyrian. Other early civilization developed in ancient Egypt along the River Nile and it ended with the rise of Roman Empire. The two prominent developments of the civilization were one, agriculture which led to permanent settlement and the proliferation of urban cities and secondly, writing that facilitated exchange and communication. Around 1600 BCE, Shang dynasty sowed the seeds of Chinese civilization which corresponded with the Bronze Age. Earliest civilization in South Asia arose in Indus river valley, now part of Pakistan, and it flourished between 2600 and 1900 BCE. Ancient India whose borders stretched from modern day Afghanistan to Bangladesh, arose in 500 BCE and gave birth to the golden age of classical Hindu culture and rich Sanskrit literature.

Around 1000 BCE, also known as the period of classical antiquity saw the emergence of various civilizations in the area of Mediterranean Sea. It led to the establishment of two prominent cities – Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. But the classical world soon descended into chaos when nomadic people mounted an attack on the great ancient civilizations and the era came to be notoriously known as ‘Dark Ages’ that spread from Mediterranean to China. It not only affected Greek and Romans but also all the developed civilizations of Eurasia. In the 5th and 6th centuries, Europe was disrupted by the constant barbarian invasions of Germanic and Slav people who later settled there. In the 9th and 10th centuries, Vikings, Magyars and Saracens carried out further invasions. The prominent was the rise of Mongols, the nomadic people in 1206 and 1405 whose empire stretched from eastern frontiers of Germany and from Arctic Ocean to Turkey and Persian Gulf. Mongol invasion left a deep impact on world history, changing the political organization of Asia and large parts of Europe and the ethnic composition of many regions by uprooting and displacing them. But it also opened the routes and connected Europe with Asia and Far East.

3.3 RISE OF WEST

Around 1500, Europe based civilization became the dominant civilization in the world. Westernization became synonymous with modernization. Non-Western societies started imitating Western countries for their growth in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. From fifteenth century and continuing till early seventeenth century, Portuguese, Spanish, British, French and Dutch

explored India and Far East. They started trading in spices, tea, cane sugar, tobacco, precious metals, and slaves. Rise of West brought immense changes at the world level. Politically, Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648 created independent and sovereign states with strong central governments. Breakdown of feudalism and advent of market and capitalist society brought socio-economic changes. Industrialization started developing in Britain in mid-eighteenth century becoming the workshop of the world.

Culturally, the rise of West brought in Renaissance in Italy in Middle Ages. The European intellectuals highlighted the ideas of reason, rationality, scientific temper, debate and critical enquiry that led to the growth of technological advance and scientific civilization. With the advent of technology and scientific temper, Western countries moved out to establish trade links to an extent that they secured their trading relations with other countries by keeping them as colonies. Therefore, scramble for colonies started. Building of land and maritime transportation and communication lines facilitated trade and migration of people. But this 'incipient globalization' as Scholte calls it, came to an end with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for answers.

ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) What is meant by Renaissance?

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3.4 FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War started with the declaration of war on Serbia by Austria Hungary on July 28, 1914. It was fought between Allied and Associated powers on one side and Central powers on the other side. The former included France, British Empire, Russia, Italy, USA which joined three years later, and Japan. Central powers comprised of Germany, Austria Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.

3.4.1 The Factors Responsible for the First World War

A) After the French Revolution of 1789, nationalism became an important factor in international relations. This led to unity as well as divisions. For example: German and Italian reunifications were the result of national aspirations. Dissolution of Ottoman Empire and demands for national independence in Balkans and other East European countries are credited to the rise of nationalism. On one hand, where nationalism brought the freedom of countries and also led to unification in some. On the other hand, nationalism also sowed the seeds of conflicts and tensions. Britain propagated the theory of 'white man's burden' and Germany upheld the 'supremacy of Aryan race'. Such ideas created the 'Other' and 'Us' divide in society.

- B) Economic imperialism was another significant factor that contributed to the First World War. The advent of Industrial Revolution created the grounds for colonialism and imperialism. Big imperial powers wanted to occupy new colonies to buy cheap raw materials for manufacturing finished goods, buy cheap laborers and the market to sell the manufactured goods. In this horde of occupying new colonies and to build the political, military and economic strength resulted in many rivalries and conflicts.
- C) Formation of secret alliances was another reason. After the Franco-Prussian war, Germany tried to keep France weak. Bismarck was the undisputed leader of Germany for twenty years and dominated European politics also. A secret alliance was concluded between Germany and Austria-Hungary against Russia after the Congress of Berlin while the League of Three Emperors between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia was in place. Later, Germany entered into a Dual Alliance with Russia in a Reinsurance Treaty. Italy also joined sometime later. This Triple Alliance was formed to isolate France. After the fall of Bismarck, many counter alliances came forth. France-Russian entente challenged Triple Alliance. In 1904, the disputes between France and British were resolved and they signed *Entente Cordiale*. Disputes were also settled between Russia and Britain in 1907 and they signed a Treaty of Friendship. A Triple Entente was thus formed. This divided the major European powers into two camps – Triple Alliance and Triple Entente and each one befriended other nations to enhance their military strength.
- D) Another reason was the race for armaments. Entire Europe was shaken by the might of Napoleon's army and his adventures. The other nations also had to build up their militaries to defeat him. After Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, new powers emerged and they also joined the arms race. Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary started acquiring more military power. Japan's military strength was not only a concern for China and Korea but also Russia and United States. War became the major factor for establishing superiority in international relations.
- E) Following the arms race, Anglo-German naval rivalry became predominant. Britain was the sole superpower who was the king of seas till the end of nineteenth century. After Germany under young Emperor Kaiser William II strengthened its navy, Britain left its isolation and jumped to counter the rising Germany in the seas.
- F) Absence of an effective international organization was one of the main reasons for breakout of the First World War. Though an informal group of major European powers named Concert of Europe came into being but it could not abate the rising conflicts. Imperial rivalries and arms race could not be arrested. It was not a formal organization and did not have the representation of the world countries. The two Hague conferences did discuss peaceful settlement of disputes and the institution of arbitration was also included. But peaceful resolution of disputes could not be brought in.
- G) The negative role of press was also considered a significant point for culmination of the First World War. Forty years prior to the war, several governments made sincere efforts to ease the tensions simmering between countries but press played the major spoil sport in creating war psychology amongst the masses.

- H) Personal ambitions of leaders were also responsible for the First World War. Kaiser William II of Germany wanted to build up naval supremacy and was not willing to accept any compromise. Russian Czar and his wife were overly ambitious and was instrumental in provoking Serbia against Austria-Hungary.
- I) Rivalry between Austria and Serbia deteriorated the international situation. Austria-Hungary wanted to expand its empire by annexing Slav territories and having access to seas. On the other hand, Serbia represented Slav nationalism and was working for the union of Southern Slavs. The tension between these two was further exacerbated by the intervention of Russian Czar and his wife.
- J) The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austrian heir apparent and his wife on June 28, 1914 hit the final nail in the coffin. The allegation was put on Slav extremists of Serbia. Austria gave 48 hours ultimatum and demanded – to stop all anti Austrian propaganda, to arrest and prosecute the Serbian authorities involved in the assassination, to dissolve the terrorist organizations, and to allow Austrian officials to visit to participate in the trial of conspirators. Serbia agreed to most of these conditions but Russia promised assistance to Serbia that made the latter change her attitude. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and other countries soon joined in.

Germany, even after the war had started, persuaded Austria to adopt a soft approach. Russia mobilized its forces on July 30, 1914 and came to the aid of Serbia. Germany asked Russia to withdraw and when Russia did not oblige, Germany launched an attack on Serbia and Russia on August 1, 1914. France was also an ally of Russia. Germany also attacked France on August 3 and invaded Belgium to enter France from Belgium borders. Britain too entered the war as it wanted to protect Belgian neutrality. Bulgaria and Turkey joined on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary. They were known as Central Powers. France, Russia, Britain, Serbia and many other countries were called Allied and Associated powers. Italy remained neutral for some time but then joined Allies when Britain promised her territories after the war. Germany forced United States to enter the war after the former were sinking US ships in the Atlantic. Russia withdrew from war after the Bolshevik Revolution. Germany surrendered unconditionally in November 1918. Central powers were defeated and peace treaties were imposed on them.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for answers.
ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the causes of First World War.

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3.4.2 Peace Treaties

Number of peace treaties were signed between the Allies and Central Powers during 1919-1920 and the most important of them was The Treaty of Versailles signed between Allies and defeated Germany. Separate treaties were signed with other defeated powers- Treaty of St. German with Austria on September 10, 1919 and Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria on November 27, 1919; Treaty of Trianon with Hungary on June 4, 1920.

3.4.3 Treaty of Versailles

It was the most humiliating treaty imposed on Germany. The German delegates were not even consulted. They were invited to Paris but were put in far away hotels surrounded by barbed wires and policemen. They were called only when the draft was ready for the handover. And the second time, they were called for signing it. German delegation was not allowed to sit on the main table and they were escorted by armed guards like criminals. The provisions in the Treaty were also very harsh. Germany lost territories practically from all the four sides and were distributed to most of her neighbouring countries. She also lost overseas territories. In total, she lost fifteen per cent of her territory and one tenth of her population. Huge reparation costs were imposed on Germany to recover losses made by victors. She was crippled militarily. Her army's strength was reduced, was not allowed to have naval aircrafts, submarines and air force. The objective of Treaty of Versailles was to end war and ensure lasting peace. But the Second World War began just after 20 years, 2 months and 4 days after signing of Treaty. League of Nations failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War.

3.5 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War began with the German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. Britain and France came in defence of Poland and launched an attack on Germany on September 3, 1939. Soon many countries waged war on Germany. Japan attacked China. Italy remained neutral for sometime but finally joined Germany in June 1940. After Germany had victories over many countries, she launched war against Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. USA entered war after Japan bombarded Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. It was fought between the Allies (Britain, France, Soviet Union, USA and their allies) and Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). It ended with the unconditional surrender of Italy, Germany and Japan.

3.5.1 Causes of the Second World War

- 1) **Treaty of Versailles:** The treaty was a diktat on Germany. France was defeated by Germany in 1871 and wanted to avenge this insult. In Paris conference, France humiliated Germany and the treaty deprived her of her territories, colonies, and military strength. Hitler took the leadership and decided to avenge the insult in Paris conference.
- 2) **Failure of Collective Security System:** Collective Security system was devised after the First World War to provide security to the victim of aggression by either imposing economic sanctions on the aggressor or by lending military support. This was to be done under the auspices of

international organization, League of Nations. But League of Nations proved ineffective. During the inter war years in 1931, Japan invaded China and took control of Manchuria province. Japan defended her act by stating it was a police action and not an aggression. League of Nations believed in the promises of Japan that it would vacate from Manchuria once the safety of life and property of Japanese are assured but it did not do it. Rather Japan established puppet Manchukuo regime. When League of Nations asked member nations not to recognize it, Japan being a permanent member and big power left the international organization. In 1935, Italy waged a war on Abyssinia and brought her under Italian empire. League of Nations imposed economic sanctions and declared Italy as an aggressor. Since no military action was taken, Italy did not care much. League of Nations did not take any action against Germany when she repudiated military clauses of Versailles Treaty, remilitarized Rhineland or annexed Austria or dismembered Czechoslovakia. Failure of collective security system caused another World War.

- 3) **Failure of Disarmament:** Paris Peace conference decided that the ultimate objective of world peace could be ensured if the armaments are reduced to a point of defense. But none of the countries took it seriously and the horde for arms continued. Germany was disarmed and victor nations were to be disarmed later. The latter never did it. Germany left League of Nations and declared formally that she was no longer bound by Treaty of Versailles. Thus, Germany began the accumulation of weapons that paved the way for armed conflict.
- 4) **World Economic Crisis:** It began in 1929 with sudden stoppage of American loans to European countries. Germany was heavily dependent on loans for its industrial progress. It proved to be the worst affected country where 7lakhs people were left unemployed. Germany stopped making payments of reparation. Nazi dictatorship under Adolf Hitler took over the reins of the country. Japan also took advantage of economic crisis and established puppet Manchukuo regime in Manchuria in 1932. Italy also conquered Abyssinia.
- 5) **Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis:** Germany, Italy and Japan formed an anti-communist front by concluding Anti Comintern Pact in 1936-37. It was aimed at imperialist expansion. They discouraged peaceful settlement of disputes and glorified war. They victimized smaller nations like China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Poland. Their aggressions and war like acts went unpunished.
- 6) **Problem of National Minorities:** Large national minorities were left in new nation states created in Europe after the First World War. For example: Large German minorities were in Poland and Czechoslovakia in the company of non-Germans, Russian minorities were in Poland and Rumania; Hungarian minorities were in Rumania and Yugoslavia; and German and Slav minorities were in Italy. This aroused the feeling of dissatisfaction and fear among minorities. Hitler aroused the sentiments of national minorities and demanded union with their member states. He annexed Austria and destroyed and dismembered Czechoslovakia and invaded Poland to bring Germany under one political umbrella.

- 7) **Failure of League of Nations:** The international organization was formed with the objective of maintaining peace and harmony at the world level. But it could not protect smaller states against aggression by big powers. USA itself did not become the member of League of Nations despite it being the principal architect of the League and promoter of disarmament and collective security. Germany and Russia were not invited to become its members. Germany joined the League in 1926 but left it in 1933. USSR came in 1934 and was expelled after invasion of Finland. Japan exited in 1933 and Italy in 1937. There were many other loopholes in the organization. Decisions could be taken only through unanimous vote that was difficult to get. It did not have its own armed forces and therefore could not prevent the attack. Most of the members paid only lip service to the ideals of League.

- 8) **German attack on Poland:** On September 1, 1939 Germany attacked Poland. When Britain and France ignored USSR’s attempt to ally with them, Hitler entered into a non-aggression pact with Stalin. The two countries had resolved to divide Eastern Europe into their spheres of influence. Hitler wanted justice for his German minorities in Poland and therefore, he attacked Poland in the West and USSR moved its troops in Poland from East. Britain and France had assured Poland of their assistance in case of any attack. Therefore, they attacked Germany to defend Poland. Many other countries launched an attack on Germany that led to Second World War.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for answers
ii) See the end of Unit for tips for your answer
- 1) Explain the causes of Second World War.

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3.5.2 The Second World War Begins

Germany attacked Poland on September 1, 1939 and USSR came to the aid of Germany to divide its territories. Italy did not enter the war till 1940 but when France was on the verge of surrender, Italy declared war on France from the side of Germany. League of Nations expelled USSR when she attacked Finland. After Germany had defeated most of her European neighbours, she attacked Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. United States was opposed to the war. Neutrality Act was passed in 1937 that prohibited sale of armaments to all countries engaged in future wars. But when the war broke out and Germany was attacking the Western democracies, America weakened the Neutrality Act. America came up with Cash and Carry Act in 1939 that allowed countries at war to buy weapons in cash and put those weapons in their own ships. Thus, USA began supplying armaments to friendly countries such as Britain and China.

USA finally entered the war in December 1941. America and Japan had tense relations. In July 1941, France agreed to Japan on the right to set up naval and air bases in Indo-China. America in response froze Japanese assets. On December 6, President Roosevelt made a personal request to Japanese Emperor to maintain peace. But, on December 7, Japan bombarded American naval fleet based at Pearl Harbor. Few hours later, Japan declared war on USA and British Empire. On December 11, USA was attacked by Germany and Italy. The war assumed global proportions. Italy surrendered unconditionally on September 3, 1943. But Germans entered Rome and the war continued. Allies captured Rome on June 4, 1944. On May 7, 1945 German government surrendered unconditionally all land, sea and air forces of the Reich. The war in Europe ended on May 8, 1945. The Second World War finally ended with Japan being occupied by Americans. On 6 August 1945, America dropped the first ever atom bomb on the city of Hiroshima and on 9 August, 1945 on Nagasaki. On August 10, 1945 Japan asked for peace but the surrender documents were signed only on September 2, 1945.

3.6 LET US SUM UP

In ancient times, humans gave up their nomadic style of living in favour of permanent settlement. Urbanization also took its root after agriculture. This was followed by advent of trade and communication. However, this progress was soon challenged by the Dark Ages, which brought the reign of superstition and religion while logic and rationality took a backseat. The Dark Ages soon ended for betterment of society and European civilization became the dominant in international relations. The rule of West brought the ideas of rationality, logic, debate and reason. The industrial revolution brought in the provision of basic necessities, comfort of industrial goods and further development of means of communication and transportation. But the greed of acquiring more profits led to rise of imperialism and colonialism. The two World Wars in the first half of the 20th century was a result of the fight to retain possession of colonies and acquire more areas.

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3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) You answer should highlight following points
 - Renaissance highlighted ideas of reason, rationality, scientific temper, debate and critical enquiry
 - It led to the growth of technological advance and scientific civilization

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) You answer should highlight following points
 - Rise of nationalism after French Revolution in 1789
 - Economic imperialism
 - Formation of secret alliances
 - Arms race
 - Absence of an effective international organization etc

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) You answer should highlight following points
 - Treaty of Versailles
 - Failure of Collective Security System
 - Failure of Disarmament
 - World Economic Crisis
 - Rome- Berlin-Tokyo Axis
 - Problem of National Minorities
 - Failure of League of Nation
 - German attack on Poland