

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

IV Semester

CORE COURSE

BA POLITICAL SCIENCE

(2011 Admission)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

Calicut University P.O. Malappuram, Kerala, India 673 635

251

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

STUDY MATERIAL

Core Course

BA POLITICAL SCIENCE

IV Semester

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Prepared by *Sri. P. K. Varghese,*
Associate Professor,
P G. Department of Politics,
St. Mary's College, Sulthan Bathery.

Scrutinised by: *Dr. G. Sadanandan,*
(Co-ordinator),
Associate Professor & Head,
PG Department of Political Science,
Sree Kerala Varma College, Thrissur.

Layout: *Computer Section, SDE*

©
Reserved

<u>CONTENTS</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
MODULE I	5
MODULE II	15
MODULE III	27
MODULE IV	35
MODULE V	57

MODULE I

A. Definition, Nature and Scope of International Politics

International Relations is an important branch of Social Science. The Scope of International relations is the complex relations existing among the sovereign states of the world. It is mainly concerned, among other things, with the study in depth of all events and situations affecting more than one state.

The great Greek Philosopher Aristotle, said that man by nature is a social animal. Being a social animal, man can't live in isolation. His basic nature and his basic needs make him to satisfy his numerous needs in association with others. Moreover no man is self sufficient even in his daily needs and therefore, he has to depend upon his fellow man for existences. Just as no individual can live in isolation, no state can afford to live in isolation. Like the individual no state is self sufficient. Naturally, it has to cultivate relations between states. These relations are the subject matter of International Politics.

DEFINITION

According to Hartman "International Relations as a field of study is focused upon the process by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states".

Padelford and Lincoln define it as the "Interactions of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships". According to Quincy Wright "International Relations is the relations between groups of major importance in the life of the world at any period of history and particularly relations among territorially organized nation states which today are of such importance. We will also use the term to designate the studies of discipline, describing, explaining or assisting in the context of these relations. With the assistance of these definitions it can be understood that nations try to protect their incompatible interest by means of power.

Padelford and Lincoln define it as the "Interactions of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships". According to Morgenthau. "It is the struggle for and use of power among nations."

Palmer and Perkins opine that International politics is essentially concerned with state system. Sprout and Sprout also defined international politics as those aspects of the interactions and relations of independent political communities in which some element of opposition, resistance and conflict

NATURE OF INP

International Politics constitute relations and interactions among nations. As in politics, so in international politics, there are sovereign states whose interests are not identical. Those interests of the sovereign states are called national interest. The sovereign

states in order to achieve their interest come into conflict with one another and as a means to achieve the ends, power is generally used. Thus INP is that aspect of interactions and relations of sovereign states in which the element of conflict or interest is present. It is a process in which nations try to protect their incompatible interest by means of power.

But international relations are not merely state to state political relations but it is something more than this. As Hartmann says "INRS include all intercourse among states and all movements of peoples, goods and ideas across national frontiers. Thus it is clear that international Relations covers a wider meaning than mere political relations. No doubt political factors dominate over other factors in international Relations namely economic, cultural and religious factors. Therefore it studies the totality of all relations of all those factors between, and among the states of the world.

SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

International Politics is an important branch, of social science and it is interdisciplinary in nature. Scope means areas of study. The scope of International Relations is not yet well settled. In 1954 the UNESCO published a booklet edited by C.A W Manning. In this book IR has been recognised as an independent discipline. During the last 40 years this discipline has evolved all the traits of an independent study and it can be understood from its progress that it is well on its way to becoming an Independent academic discipline. Most of the scholars of international Relations describe the following aspects in the study of this discipline.

1. State system
2. National Interest
3. National Power
4. Foreign Policy
5. Instruments of international politics - Diplomacy. Foreign policy, international trade, Economic and Military assistance etc.
6. Nationalism, Colonialism and imperialism.
7. Control of interstate Relations - Balance of power-International law and international organizations.
8. Dynamic elements and new Dimensions-Rivalry between super powers and different blocs of nations.
9. World government.
10. War and peace ideologies.
11. Ethnic groups - Races of mankind and Terrorist groups.
12. International Regionalism.
13. Nuclear weapons and its use.
14. International organization and its role in maintaining world order.

International Relations is a developing subject it has to keep pace with the highly dynamic, and developing nature of relations among nations. Hence its scope is bound to be ever expanding in content.

International Relations and International Politics

Many writers have shown their inability in drawing a line of demarcation between international Relations and international Politics. Kenneth Thompson and Morgenthau consider IP as an inalienable part of IR. This superfluous resemblance does not make IP the core of IR/-Both are different from each other as shown below:

1. International Relations includes all sorts of relations i.e. political, economic, cultural, geographical, legal and non official. So it embraces the totality of relations among people. But International Politics includes only the political aspects of the overall relations. In other words only those relations which arouse actions and reactions are the subjects of IP. Thus it can be said that international politics is the political aspects of international Relations.
2. International Relations is a wider concept whereas international politics is a narrower concept.
3. The methodology of the study of international relations is descriptive while that of international politics is purely analytical. In international relations the factors are studied chronologically while in international politics the basis of study is what, when and how of the present with a relationship between the past and future.

It is established beyond doubt that international politics derives its strength from international relations. The former uses the latter as the basis and subject matter of study and hence both are one and the same thing. Modern international politics aims at the establishment of peace through the international organization and international relations too are based on this very principle. Thus, concern for peace is the common denominator between international politics and international relations.

International Politics and National Politics

In international politics, there are sovereign states whose interests are not identical. These interests of the sovereign states are called the national interest. The sovereign states in order to achieve their interests come into conflict with one another and as a means to achieve the ends power is generally used. Thus, international politics is that aspect of interactions and relations of sovereign states in which the element of conflict or interest is present. National Politics, like international politics, like international politics also involves a sort of adjustment of relationship within and among individuals or groups.

Politics denotes the struggle for power. Whether it is national politics or International politics, politics is a common word. According to Morgenthau "Power man's control over the minds and actions of other men and political power means the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and people at large".

There are groups of divergent interest in national politics too and each aims to further its own interest. This incompatibility of interests generates a conflict. Keeping in mind their own interests the groups tend to strengthen their position by making temporary alliances. However, the conflict always remains restricted to a certain level as the government checks the struggle with the help of laws. The governmental intervention may frustrate a group or a section of people from taking the process of politics beyond limits. In national politics the individual is the actor. The individual is generally under the impact of a particular culture, ideology and ethical values. This analysis states that there is an area in which the national and international politics are similar and in some respects they are different from one another.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN NATIONAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

1. International politics as well as national politics cluster around the interests. Conflict is the result of incompatible interests.
2. In both seeking of power is important as it is the means through which the desires and wants can be fulfilled.
3. Both adopt psychological methods to seek power.
4. In both alliances generally appear from the desire of men states to strengthen themselves against the adversary.

DISSIMILARITIES

1. In international politics only interests are permanent and so the states may use direct means to achieve their goals. The use of cunningness, treachery, and sabotage is the part and parcel of international politics. In national politics some ethical norms have to be observed. The state regulates the conduct of its citizens and punishes them if they jump over the limits.
2. In national politics the individuals are under the coercive authority of the state. The laws are universally binding upon them and the municipal courts have a complete jurisdiction over them. On the other hand, the sovereign states are governed by a weak law called international law and the International Court of Justice too cannot exercise its jurisdiction as freely as the municipal courts do in regard to individuals.
3. In international politics the sovereign states generally resort to wars if their interests are jeopardized and there is apparently no other alternative. National politics is a field which does not interest the ordinary man. The issues involved in international politics to an ordinary man are incomprehensible.

OBJECTS OF THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

In this increasingly inter dependent world its study is essential for human survival and human progress. It reveals how men and nations tend to act in given circumstances and so tells us what conditions should be encouraged and what conditions should be discouraged if we are to promote international harmony and well being.

In international relations we deal with nations and human beings. The states are sovereign in nature and sovereign nation states have not yet learned to live in peace. War is the most important problem facing the world community. Today a war cannot be fought with the nuclear weapons, since it would destroy the whole civilization that mankind has built up. The students of international relations should bear in mind this cold reality. Attempts may be made to put an end to this ugly phenomenon of war.

Again, no community can live in isolation. What is being witnessed is increasing global inter dependence, both political and economic. A war anywhere or fluctuations in prices of commodities like oil will affect all countries. Under such conditions the study of international relations will help people to know each other and understand the problems which confront them.

Our aim is to create a world state. Every people should have consciousness about the brotherhood of man. A basic knowledge of the cultural or linguistic or racial peculiarities of the people of the world would help us to create more understanding and tolerance.

The objects can be summed up as follows.

1. To find out ways and means leading to the establishment of peace.
2. To avoid conflict among nations and to seek the areas of co-operation.
3. To give less and less importance to the external sovereignty and to perpetuate the idea of world brotherhood.
4. To help the underdeveloped and undeveloped countries by pooling the resources of economically advanced countries.
5. Liquidation of imperialism and colonialism.
6. To balance the power among nations.
7. To establish collective security for maintaining peace and avoid aggression.
8. To give respect and obey the international law.
9. To respect and strengthen the working of international organization
10. To maintain a high standard of International morality.
11. To assure the proper enjoyment of Human rights and fundamental freedoms.

B. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The History of modern political thought is the story of a contest between two schools that differ fundamentally in their conception of the nature of man, society and politics. Realism and idealism are the two main competitors for recognition as the sound approach to the study of international politics. One believes that a rational and moral political order derived from universally valid abstract principles achieved. It assumes the

essential goodness and changeability of human nature. It trusts in education, reform and the periodic use of force to remedy these defects. This is the idealistic school. The basic assumption underlying realist approach is rivalry and strife among nations in some form or other. It is contest for power or influence always goes on in international society, and this contest cannot be controlled by International law or Government. Therefore, the prime function of Diplomacy and Statesmanship is to check the contest for power and the means to be adopted, for its new balance of power.

REALISM

The Philosophy as realism which flourished almost throughout the 18th and 19th centuries has been revived after the second World War. E.H. Carr, George Kennan, Thompson, Schuman and Morgenthau are the leading realists. Morgenthau is generally recognised as the main exponent of this theory. It was he who gave theoretical orientation to realism. He is the first to develop a realistic model. According to him, the central focus of realism is power. Other realists who follow Morgenthau have only carried forward the tradition established by him.

Since Morgenthau is the chief advocate of the realist school it is proper to discuss in detail his realist theory of International politics. In his famous book 'Politics Among Nations', published in the late forties Morgenthau propounded the theory. He has developed his theory in the form of six principles of political realism.

The first principle of Political realism is that Politics is governed by objective laws which have their roots in human nature. Man is a mixture of good and bad, selfishness and altruism. Loving and quarrelsome traits and possessive and sacrificial qualities. Above all his is the story of struggle for survival and human history is an account of War contest and peaceful settlements. The earliest theory of politics takes into account the story of human history as it has unfolded itself and tries to prevent it in a rational manner.

Secondly the main element of Political realism is the concept of national interest which Morgenthau defines in terms of power. His assumption is that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power. Power is not only a tool of analysis but also a guide to policy.

According to Morgenthau, a foreign policy should concern more with the political requirement of success rather than anything else. He guards against two popular fallacies. The concern with motives and the concern with ideological preferences. A student of international politics must not indulge in finding the motives of statesmen. For one thing such a task is difficult as motives are a complex psychological phenomenon and another it is unnecessary in political study.

Another factor which we must guard against in the desire to find out ideological roots for statesman's act. Ideology very often provides an idealistic or philosophical cover for actions which are essentially nationalist and thus misguide the researcher. The Sino-

Soviet conflict had initially developed in ideological term. Mao had accused 'Khrushchev of abandoning the revolutionary mission of communism and of pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence with imperialistic west. But by the beginning of the seventies. Mao himself had established ties with the US. He vehemently criticized Soviet Policy towards the non aligned world especially with India.

Thirdly, interest and power are no doubt the key concept in Morgenthau's Theory, but the meaning attached to them is not static and fixed once and for all. The states interests are fluid and change with the ever changing situation in the world at large.

Fourthly, political realism, though aware of the moral significance of political action, maintains that universal moral principles should not be applied to the action of states in their abstract universal formulation. It must be modified in accordance with the time and place. Realism, considers prudence to be the supreme virtue in politics. There can be no political morality without prudence.

Fifthly, as political realism does not identify national interests with universal morality and defeats its own purpose, it does not treat what is right and justifiable for certain nation as good for all countries. It refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with moral law that governs universe.

Finally political realism maintains the autonomy of the political sphere. It thinks in term of interest defined as power. It puts all other standards in subordination to political standard. It should not be mixed up with the legalistic moralistic approach to international politics;

Evaluation

Like any other general theory, Morgenthau's realist theory appears vague and abstract when subjected to detailed examination. Although he has termed his theory as realist, the rational statesman he has envisaged to exist more in theory than in reality. As Stanely Hiffman has pointed out, irrational factors too influence Statesmen's decisions as it would be unrealistic to brush them aside as irrelevant intrusions or pathological deviations. History is replete with fanatic rulers who saw no other social good and morality except the one that they had cherished. To say that such fantasy was not rational is to admit the limitations of his realist model.

In conclusion we may say that Morgenthau made the study of international politics scientific. His two messages are (1) adopt that policy which enhances the power of a nation. (2) Know other's interest to avoid conflicts. So his approach is less open to risk.

SYSTEMS THEORY

Besides the idealist and realist approaches there are some other approaches which are more reasonable and realistic. The systems approach is one among them. Among the political scientists who made a significant contribution to this theory mention must be made of David Easton, Gabriel Almond and Morton Kaplan field of international politics.

Morton Kaplan is one of the best representative of the system approach. Kaplan believes that a system is most inclusive if it has such recognizable interest as are neither completely identical nor necessarily opposed to each other. A political system should have specific areas of jurisdiction and should provide methods for settling conflicts of jurisdiction. To him force is necessary as a last resort to keep the political system intact. He believes that the most important system is the international system. But he does not regard international system as a political system is subordinate to their role of decision making with international system is subordinate to their role in the national actor system. He thinks that the behaviour of national actors in the field of international affairs is always governed by the basic consideration of national interests. In other words to Kaplan actors on international scene belong to two categories: national actors and Supra national actors. National actors are the nation states like Soviet Russia, U.S. India, Saudi Arabia etc. The Supra national actors are such international actors as the NATO, Warsaw pact, the U.N. etc.

Morton Kaplan suggests that six international systems may be identified the balance of power, the loose bipolar, the tight polar, the universal the hierarchical and the unit veto systems.

In a situation where too many actors influence international relations, it becomes difficult to strike a perfect balance of power position and loose bipolar system develops. The universal international systems grows when the universal actor like the U.N usurps many of the functions of powerful units in a loose bipolar system. In such a system the universal actor become powerful enough to prevent war among nations, but national actors, retain their individuality. In the Hierarchical international system, the universal actor becomes too powerful and the international community becomes a sort of world state. The unit Veto system develops as a result of weapons development. This system corresponds to the state of nature described by Hobbes in which the interests of all are opposed and in which all are at war in with each other.

Morton Kaplan's systems theory evoked more criticism than acclaim. His classification of international relations into six systems has been arbitrary and one can minimize or maximize such categories in another analytical frame work. The Chief critique of Morton is Stanley Hoffman. He accused such theorists building models at the expense of our understanding of the field of political science

THE GAME THEORY

The approach suggested by the theory of game has also been used in the study of international politics. The theory of game has been developed mainly by mathematicians and economists. Martin Shubik, Oskar Morgenstern and Karl Deutsch were among the first to recognize the importance of game theory. It is a method of analysis and also of selecting the best course of action.

The theory has been defined as body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflicts and competition when each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses. It is a mathematical model in which the player is placed in a certain fixed situation and tries to make maximum gains from his opponents.

Three principal kinds of game have been identified in the frame work of game theory. The first is called games with identical interests, the second games with opposite interests and the third games with mixed interests. The model which the game theory employs is that of a game strategy and not the game of chance. Game theory envisages several types of games (1) Zero-sum Two persons games. (2) Non-zero-sum two persons games (3) Zero-sum n persons games and (4) non-zero-sum n persons games (In) (N) (1) the gain of one is equal to the loss of another. In 2nd and 3 the outcome is shared and the losses of one are not necessarily equal to the gain of another. In 4 the situation is extremely complex and gains and losses are shared by both sides to some extent.

The game theory has five important concepts. They are strategy, opponent, pay-off, rules and information. The strategy takes into account the potential behavior of opponents. The Game theory assumes as opponent and this is the second important concept of game theory. The Third is pay off which refers what the game is worth at the end. The fourth is rules that govern a game. The fifth significant concept in Game theory is information.

The theory is highly abstract and works only under assumed conditions. The players are rarely as rational as presented by this theory. It can be applied with some success only to cases of two person Zero sun games; but as Morton Kaplan has pointed out, there are few such situations in reality and the theory has only limited applicability to most problems of international politics.

COMMUNICATIONS THEORY.

Communication Theory has been developed mainly by Karl W Deutsch for understanding the national scene and has been applied to international politics by Charles. A. McClelland and others. Deutsch's concern was to reduce the importance of the notion of power in Politics and highlight the importance of the flow of information in government decisions. The communications theory treats the Government as decision making system based on various information flows. The theory is equally important in international politics.

Communications has indeed transformed human relation as well as relations between states to much greater extent than any other development. It has increased peoples exposition to official and non-official and non-official propaganda and strengthened both totalitarian and regimes and democracies. The communication system has undoubtedly increased interdependence of international community. It has made functioning or an international agency like the U.N much easier.

DECISION MAKING THEORY

This is another important approach that has been emphasised in the study of international politics during the last decades. The first major attempt at introducing the decision making analysis in the study of foreign policy was made by Richard Snyder and others after the II World war and is specially developed in the area of foreign policy making.

The decision making approach has two fundamental purpose. The first is the identification, crucial structure in the political realm where change takes place, decisions are taken and actions are indicated and carried out. The second is the systematic analysis of the decision making behaviour which leads to action. This approach focuses in query on action called decision makers and on the state defined as decisional units. The action of the state are seen through the action of decision makers.

Analysing the factor that operate on decision makers, Snyder divides them into three main sets of stimuli, the internal setting, the external setting and the decision making process. He studies the personality factor of the decision maker and the various agencies and processes involved in decision making. The theory takes the study of international politics to the real actor from the abstract states and collective situation.

The decision making theory hs contributed a great deal to the understanding of the process of foreign policy making which all other theories has rejected. Snyder's scheme is most impressive as a detailed approach to the whole of international relations.

MODULE II

A. NATIONAL POWER

Power has been the epicenter of human relations from the very inception of humanity. Power plays an important role in International relations and it is an essential element of politics. The status of state in the International sphere is determined not by its civilization or culture but by its physical force. The dictionary meaning of the term power is "that in a person or thing which enables them to act on other persons or things. Morgenthau wrote this "when we speak of power, we mean man's control over the minds and actions of other man".

In International relations power may broadly, be defined as the capacity or ability of a states or to control their behaviour for the purpose of promoting its own vital interest. power in the formal sense, according to Hartmann means" the strength of capacity that a sovereign state can use to achieve its nation as interests. George Schwarzenberger defined it as "the capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of none compliance" Palmer and Perkins observed "To the totality of a states effectiveness in world politics, we apply the term power".

Elements of National Power

All the elements of national power can not be satisfactorily determined. Morgenthau has divided the elements into two categories-permanent and temporary. Palmer and Perkins has divided the elements into tangible and intangible Organski has made a distinction between the natural determinants of power and social determinants of power. The elements of National power are inter related. For example, oil without engineers is valueless and radio without ideas is fruitless. The following are some of the elements of National Power.

1. **Geography:** Napoleon once said that "The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography". Geography has always been a determining factor of the national power of a state. Today states are inter dependent to each other. So geography has its role in the relations of nations. Geography as an element of national power has the following sub elements.

1. **Size:-** The size of a state, whether small or great, is an important element of national power. But only size does not make a state powerful. Even a small country can exert its influence in International relations very much. For an eg. Japan defeated Russia in 1905 in the Russia-Japanese. Big size creates problem of for variety of reasons.

2. **Topography:** Topography gives certain advantages and disadvantages to a country. The rivers many provide ports, harbours and advantageous transport system. At the same time they may create obstacles in building road, play havoc through

floods etc. Mountains cause rain fall, stops enemies etc. Russia is denied by topography access to the open seas.

3. **Climate:** Location, attitudes, rainfall and winds determine climate. Climate has an indirect effect on culture, economy natural resources, political organizations religion and direct on health and energy of people. Extreme heat and cold are unfavourable for strength.

4. **Location:** Diplomacy and war strategy has its impact on location. Nearness to sea will provide for good harbours and it will increase chance of trade. Insular position has its impact on its diplomacy. Great obstacles in the form of mountains etc. will decrease the chance of trade.

5. **National Boundaries:** Boundaries of the states are of two types - natural and artificial. Sea, mountains etc are natural boundaries. The contemporary tension in International relations is due to the boundary disputes Boundaries often decide the fate of nations.

2. **Natural Resources:** Natural resources are the permanent factors of National power. Palmer and Perkins termed it as the Gift of Nature Perhaps the natural resources are the most important elements of national power: The following elements constitute natural resources.

a) **Food -Stuffs and Agriculture Products :-**The countries self sufficient in food stuffs have an advantage over other nations which lack it in times of war, it will become more clear, Scarcity of agriculture products limits the of power of a nation.

b) **Minerals:** For military strength, it is necessary to have highly developed industry, for which minerals are necessary. Possession of minerals will strengthen the industrial capacity of a nation. For example, Petroleum, an important mineral has created 'Oil Diplomacy' in the middle East.

3. **Population:** Prior to 20th century a large population was undoubtedly a significant and important source of national power. But in the 20th century, large population is a source of strength and weakness. It will be strength, if the state has the means to utilize its talent, energy and maintain a proper standard of living. A large population, has nothing to do with National power. For example China, and India are the most populated states; but they are not the super powers. The age group, sex etc also must be taken into account. Too young and too old are not useful. Likewise if females outnumber males, it is also not useful for increasing power position.

4. **Technology:** Technology is the application of physical and biological sciences to engineering industry and other human activities. The technological advancement is a tremendous element of national power which has influenced the world affairs of recent times by increasing the technique of communications and inter dependence of

states. Technology influenced strategic factors. Seas are now no barriers and hence the states separated by the seas do not remain attached to each other in any matter whatsoever. Technology has affected matter of foreign policy. Now Foreign policy includes the technological assistance. Increased emphasis on arms control, technological intelligence and communication satellites. Technology has sophisticated war methods. New inventions prove that the more technologically advanced is a nation the more is its capacity to influence other nations. All the factors can be made up by

5. **Military Preparedness :-** Military Preparedness require a military establishment capable of supporting the foreign policies pursued. The significant factors that make military preparedness one are follows.
 1. **War technology:** The fate of nations and civilization have always been determined by superior armies using sophisticated technology. The less sophisticated technology always has to face defeat.
 2. **Leadership:** A military leader is the person, who makes best use of available resources in the appropriate time to reap the maximum fruits. Victory and defeat in war is associated with its leader.
 3. **Espionage:** Today the success of military depends upon affective Espionage. Prior knowledge of enemies move, location and capacity of forces etc will open the way for easy success. The Radar and artificial satellites have played an important role in these filed.
 4. **Quality of armed force:** Military power is dependent upon the quality of men and arms. Modern developed arms will make the victory sure, Israel's victory over the Arab states can be cited as an example.
6. **Ideologies:** Ideology is a body of ideas concerning economic social and political values and goals with positive actions and programme for attaining these goals. The impact of Ideology in International relations is very wide. It has produced a new cohisiveness within nations and group of nations. Even the geographical boundaries fail to limit the extension of ideologies. However it can be said that the role of ideology as an element of national power is not so powerful as in the past.
7. **National Morale:** Morale is a healthy frame of mind characterized by fidelity to a cause. In the worlds of Palmer and Perkins, "Morale is a thing of spirit, made upof loyalty, courage faith and the impulse to the preservation of personality and dignity" National morale is an important aspect of national power, In the absence of which, the other factors will not work National morale is not static. There is a point where it breaks. National morale can be manufactured or stimulated by various factors. Factors like National character, culture, popular leadership popular government and circumstances make national morals

8. **Quality of Leadership:** - Leadership is the most important element of national power. Without leadership people can't even constitute a state. Without it there can be no well developed technology and without it morale is totally useless. The functions of leadership are two fold, firstly it co-ordinates other elements of national power and secondly, use all the resources for the maximum benefit of the state. The ups and downs in the history of a state can be related to its leaders. Leadership includes the fact of handling foreign affairs. A leader must be capable of conducting diplomacy successfully. A weak and underdeveloped nation can become a powerful nation under an effective leadership.
9. **Quality of Diplomacy :** Another effective factor of national power is the quality of diplomacy. According to Morgenthau "Diplomacy of high quality will bring the ends and means of foreign policy with harmony with the available resources of national power. It will tap the hidden sources of national strength and transform them fully and securely. The quality of diplomacy is the most important of all the elements that influence the power base of a state as also its foreign policy."

National power is a relative one. The power of one state is to be measured in comparison with the power of other states. National power is also changing. A nation may be strong today, but tomorrow it may become weak. And the factors of power are inter dependent. This makes the measurement of power impossible. We shall conclude with the words of Palmer and Perkins "National power, like nearly everything else in this world of ours, is relative. A man with a million dollars is not rich in a group of multi-millionaires, a man of forty is old to child of few and youthful to an octogenarian. Similarly, in the matter of power absolute has little meaning. 50 divisions, 300 war vessels 2000 planes all these may represent overwhelming might against one opponent one miserable inadequate against another".

B. STATE SYSTEM

In the age of internationalism, nation-state system can be regarded as the key stone of International Politics. The nation state system in the words of Palmer and Perkins is "the pattern of political life in which people are separately organized into sovereign states that interact with one another in varying degrees and in varying ways." In international Politics, the existence of these sovereign states is termed as nation state system". In order to protect their personal interests, they interact with one another. States have to engage in war if their interests are not protected. To secure their existence the states develop their national power.

The state system is as old as the human history. It will be more correct to say that the history of the state system starts with the political consciousness of man. There are some of the examples of old state system.

- 1) Tigris Euphrates system existed in 600 BC
- 2) Warring state system of China (500-300BC)
- 3) Indian state system (1000 AD)

The Modern state system is the result of a long historical development. It originated in the renaissance and reformation period in Europe. They are different from older ones. In the modern state system the states are the epicenters of power while the medieval states lacked this characteristic.

During the middle ages, the state power was not concentrated in the hands of the state. Feudalism and Catholicism had a great influence in the control of the states. Renaissance checked Feudalism and Reformation reduced the influence of Pope in state affairs. The Treaty of Westphalia in the year 1648 may be said to have established and formalized nation state system. By 1648 the state system was fully established in Europe. The result of Westphalia was very significant. It can be considered as the first stage in the evolution of the nation state system.

WESTPHALIA TO UTRECHT:

The second stage in the development of the state system lies in between 1648 to 1713. This period marked a conflict among France, Britain, Holland and Spain for colonial supremacy Louis XIV of France was determined to establish an empire. But, soon France had to face a coalition of Britain and Austria at the question of Spanish succession. France suffered heavy losses at the treaty of Utrecht. The agreement reached at Utrecht established such a balance to which Sweden, Russia and Poland could no longer resolve issued in the East with out involving West.

UTRECHT TO VIENNA

Another development was the rise of Frederick the great of Prussia, After the Utrecht treaty whenever a continental issued around France and Austria clashed. In order to check the threat of Frederick the great of Prussia, France and Austria form an alliance, which was joined by Russia. Inorder to establish a balance of power, Great Britain joined with Prussia. The result of these alliances and counter alliances was the 7 years war in which France, Austria and Spain were defeated. The third development was the French Revolution France under Napoleon become and important power. Britain, Prussia, Russia Austria and Sweden by combined efforts defeated France, War ended with Vienna meeting in which the old balance of power, was established again.

VIENNA TO VERSAILLES

The period between 1815 and 1914 is called the period of Pax Britannica. In cremean war (1854 - 56) Britain and France collectively checked the ambition to Russia to dominate Constantinople. As a result of the Franco- Prussian war Prussia unified empire under Bismarck and it became a leading power in the continent.

The decline of Turkish empire in the Balkans led to the rise of many sovereign states in Balkans. The states fulfilled their long cherished goals and nationalism became the basis of their Independence.

In the Western hemisphere the decline of Spanish power led to the rise of many independent states. These states today are known as Latin American states. In this period USA made tremendous progress.

In the Far East, Japan came into conflict with China. At the beginning of the 20th century Japan achieved great credit by defeating one of the major powers Europe. Before the I world war European powers entangled themselves in such alliances and treaties which clearly divided European states into two groups. Tripple Alliance and Tripple Entente came into existence.

VERSAILES TO PRESENT

The treaty of Versailles contained the seeds of war. It humiliated the defeated nations. Moreover, it gave rise to Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. Russia grew powerful under the communist rule.

The modern state system which came into being with Westphalia basically continues to be the same. It is a term in which the independent communities of the world, by organizing themselves into sovereign political entities, act and react with one another. The state is sovereign externally and internally. Internal sovereignty means that the state can formulate laws at its own will and accept any method to secure its interest. The states manifest their sovereign political entity by adopting specific, currency and Flag.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN STATE SYSTEM

The states the sovereign political entities - are different from one another in many respects. Infact, there are both similarities and dissimilarities among the states.

The territorial basis gives the state legitimacy because the community inhabiting a specific territory evolves a language culture and religion. Almost all the states of the world are distinguished by their territory. After the II. World War many states in Asia and Africa came into being which do not possess a natural geographical boundary or a distant territory. Whatever difference may be among the states as the basis of territory, population or culture, the states are considered legally equal to one another.

There is difference among states on the basis of Industrial development. They are as follows.

1. **Industrially developed** : Industrially developed countries have high rate of literacy. The use of luxurious goods is higher, death and birth rate is checked and balanced, political awakening is sufficient and its impacts can be seen in the foreign as well as domestic policy.

2. **Developing :** In the case of developing countries they are facing a lot of problems and it become some times very difficult for them to break and solve this problem. Their main problems are illiteracy, epidemics, political instability and lack of technical knowledge. India, Pakistan etc., belong to this category.
3. **Under developed:** In this category lives the major population of the world. These countries have to face problems of illiteracy, problems of transport and communication, rapid increase of population etc. Indonesia, Sudan are the examples.

Classification of states on the Basis of Power

The prominent writes of International politics classify the modern states on the basis of power. They are as follows.

1. **Great powers:** A great power is 'a power with general interest, and with such interest that it can attempt advance or protect those interests in every sphere". According to some, power is a changing factor. So a major power can become middle power and vice-versa.
2. **Middle powers:** It stands mid way between great power and small states.
3. **Small power:** It stands midway between middle power and no power. It is all power with the means of defending only limited interests."

Basic Features of Modern State System

There are certain important features, with our which modern state system loses its sanctity Palmer and Perkins call them "corollaries of state system". They are as follows.

- a. **Concept of Sovereignty:** In the words of Palmer and Perkins, 'Sovereignty is the legal theory that gives the state unique and virtually unlimited authority in all domestic matters and in relation to other states" In international Politics Sovereignty would mean the right of self government and promotion of national interest through foreign policy. It imphe that states can make laws at its own will and has the right to make relations with other states.
- b) **Doctrine of Nationalism:** Modern states cling to the idea of Nationalism. It is feeling of oneness among the people. Modern states are known as nation states. Aggressive nationalism, however, is harmful.
- c) **Principles of National Power:** National power is the strength or capacity which a sovereign state can use to achieve its national interests. In the absence of national power, there is no existence to the nation states. Nation states in the International field is decided by the amount of national power.

Decline of modern State System:

In the opinion of CAW Manning the western state system determined at the Treaty of Westphalia still continues to be the same. Even today the modern states are associated with 3 characteristics. But his view is not completely correct because modern state system has completely changed. The concept of sovereignty has changed a lot. Sovereignty does not exist in its ancient form of royal absolutism. Scientific and technological advancement has completely changed the impermeability and territoriality of the states. Modern sophisticated weapons has completely changed the warfare. Ideology began to play an important role in International Politics. After the Second World War many states made alliances with powerful states. Supernational Institutions like NATO, SEATO, CENTO etc. are the result of this. As a result International Politics is not an inter action between two or more groups of sovereign states. Hence we can say that there is a decline of the nation state system. That is why the term 'International System' is used in place of national system.

C. IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

The aspiration for power is the distinguishing element of International Politics. Every nation possess the tendency to dominate and rule, and it tries to pursue the same policy by all means. Imperialism and colonialism are powerful instruments of national policy. Some nations tries to establish its dominance over others by conquering its territories or in other words, they want to expand their kingdom. Such expansionist policy has no limit and we generally call the expansionist policy as imperialism.

The term 'imperialism' is used in a very vague way. It lacks any common definition. Imperialism like other 'isms' has been defined differently by different people. Imperialism remarks, Palmer and Perkins. "can be discussed, denounced, defended and died for, but can't be defined in any generally acceptable way. It means different thing to different people"

DEFINITIONS

According to Schuman, "Imperialism is the imposition by force and violence of alien rule upon subject people'

According to Morgenthau, "Imperialism is the expansion of a state's power beyond its borders".

According to Julius Bonn "Imperialism is a policy which aims at creating, organizing and maintaining an empire."

Methods of Imperialism

The following are the three general methods of imperialism.

1. Military Imperialism:

In the words of Morgenthau, "The most obvious, the most ancient and also the crudest form of imperialism is the military conquest. By military conquest new territories are acquired and thus new power relations are established. Any change in this situation is only possible by another war instigated by the defeated nation. But in the new war, the change of victory goes to the victorious nation. Thus the use of this method is a great advantage to the imperialist nation. But it has a drawback. War is a gamble. Some times the Imperialist nation may fall, Napoleons' example can be cited.

2. Economic Imperialism

Economic imperialism is concerned with controlling policies, domestic or foreign of the economically weaker nations by means of economic investment and economic assistance. The most modern economic Imperialism does not change the power relation through the conquest of territory by way of economic control.

3. Cultural Imperialism:

It is not at the conquest of territory or at the control of economic life, but the conquest and control of the minds of the man as a instrument for changing power-relation. If a state conquest the minds of men of other nations and is able to impose its ideology it would be far more superior to economic mastery and military victory. The cultural imperialism would win a more complete victory than any military victory and economic master.

Colonialism

There is enough similarity between Imperialism and Colonialism and, therefore, the two terms are used almost interchangeably. They differ in the following respects.

- 1) Imperialism is comparatively older than colonialism. Colonialism is the modern form of Imperialism.
- 2) The purpose of Imperialism is basically to acquire political power, but the prime object of colonialism is economic.
- 3) Imperialism is the imposition of alien rule upon other people. It generally involves the use of military force. Colonialism is the natural outflow of alien nationality in the subject territory.

In Imperialism the control of the imperialist country is rigid and it establishes an autocratic rule over the subject people. In colonialism however, the control of the alien power is comparatively less rigid, and it also provides better opportunities for development and self government.

Imperialism and colonialism have common objectives today. A distinction, therefore, must be made. Colonialism is a form of Imperialism itself. Economic Imperialism is known as colonialism. Colonialism is the modern and economic form Imperialism.

Motives of Imperialism and colonialism.

1. **Nationalism:** Nationalism is one of the fundamental motives of Imperialism and Colonialism. Nationalism is charged for the evils of Imperialism Nationalism has an inherent desire to exalt a state and to further its interests of national territorial expansion. R.L.Buell remarks "Paradoxical as it may seem, pure nationalism has forced governments in the path of Imperialism." Every nation takes pride in its national expansion. Generations of Englishmen glorified in the boast that "the Sun never sets on the British Empire".
2. **Increase in National Prestige and National Power:** Every imperialist expansion adds to the prestige and power of the imperialist nation. Mussolin, Hitler and Napoleon etc. had the same in their mind.
3. **National Defense:** Imperailism also fulfills the objectives of National defence. It helps national defence by providing markets and essential raw materials. and by providing populations from which troops and labourers may be drawn. It also helps in the national defence by providing areas and bases for the defence of the state or its line of communications. Colonies have proved a good source of providing man power to the Imperialists. For example, England had nearly 4,00,000 troops from India alone, during the first world war.
4. **Adjustment of Balance of Power:** When a nation moves towards imperialist expansion, other nations also do not lag behind. France and Britain fell in the imperialst race for gaining control over more and more colonies to ensure the adjustment of Balance of power. When the imperialistic objectives of one nation is achieved, the rival nation also tries to pursue the same end by whatever means available to it. The so called American and Soviet Imperialism are example to this.
5. **Economic gain :** One of the fundamental motives of Imperialism is economic gain. The capitalist system also has motivated Imperialism. The grown industrialization in Europe was very much responsible for imperialism and colonialism. The Imperialist nations for getting raw materials, market for their surplus goods and investment opportunities for surplus capital acquired colonies in the far of areas. Imperialist powers has always used colonies as means for economic exploitation.
6. **Surplus population:** Surplus population is also cited as one of the motives of Imperialism. Imperialism serve as an outlet of surplus population. When there is a rapid increase in surplus population., new areas are needed to emigrate surplus population, In the 19th century the European countries faced the problem of surplus population and the same has been adjusted by emigration to colonies. Actually populated states have found relief in emigrating to their colonies.

7. **Religious and Humanitarian Cause:** The advanced and developed western societies placed this argument that it was their obligation to carry the blessing of their religion and civilization to backward people. The whole men felt that God has made them superior and therefore it becomes their duty to uplift the inferior race. For an example Joseph Chamberlions in 1893 declared that "it is our duty to take our share in the work of civilization of Africa".

Merits of imperialism and Colonialism

1. **White man's Burden:** The imperialist place this argument that God has imposed a moral obligation upon the advanced and cultured races to uplift the backward races. The white race of Europe claim that in the very discharge of their moral obligation they have assumed control over the backward races of Africa and Asia. It is indeed true that the modern and superior civilization of Europe had made its effects upon Asia and Africa. Asians and Africans got an opportunity of learning European languages literature and modern science and they also came into contact with the superior and advanced race of Europe. This was an advantage of Imperialism to the subject people.
2. **Political Unity:** In Asia and Africa there used to be small states which lacked efficient and orderly government, The imperialist powers bound this areas in the threat of unity and centralized government. The Political unity of India is an example.
3. **Economic Development:** With the establishment of European empires in Asia and Africa, economic development of the areas took place. These areas got the advantage of railway, transport and means of communication. The opening of new materials paved the way for industrialization. Trade and commerce also developed.
4. **Training for self government:** The European established despotic and autocratic rule in the colonies. But gradually, they were given training for self government and ultimately got the rights of self-government. In due course they all become independent. It is also said the Imperialism is responsible for the resurgence of Asia and Africa.
8. **Promotes Inter- Nationalism :** Imperialism has given impetus to World brotherhood and internationalism. An empire comprises people of different nationalities, religion, races and languages and they come closer to each other. In this way world brotherhood and internationalism supersede nationalistic and parochial tendencies.

Demerits of Imperialism and Colonialism

- 1) **Imperialism as symbol of Political subjection :** Imperialism is the imposition of alien rule upon the subject people. It is based on superior- subordinate relationship imperialist power never consider the dependent people on equal status. It deprives the people of their political rights. Imperialism is established by force.

- 2) **Economic Exploitation** : Economic gain is one of the fundamental motives of imperialism. For their own interests the capitalist imperialist countries fully exploited the dependent countries. The Imperialist powers established factories in the colonies. But it was not for the development of the colonies, it was for the economic gain of the imperialists. Imperialist powers had exploited the colonies with all possible measures.
- 3) **Encourage racial discrimination:** Imperialism encourage racial discrimination. In India the Britishers created the problem of racial discrimination on the basis of religion. In Africa the policy of colour discrimination was pursued between whites and blacks.
- 4) **War and -rivalry:** Imperialist rivalries among the Imperialist powers have become a source of War and Inter-state conflicts. The first and second world wars were the results of the imperialistic rivalries among the big powers.
- 5) **Destroys native culture and morality:-** The imposition of western language, culture and dress etc. has destroyed completely the native language, literature and culture. It resulted in the decline of the prestige of national language and culture in the colonies. The Britishers even destroyed the morality of the colonies, by encouraging gambling and opium smoking in Far East.

New Imperialism and Neo - Colonialism

With the time and age the form of Imperialism has also undergone or change. The age of militarys and political Imperialism has gone and its place has been taken by Economic Imperialism. As the form of Imperialism has undergone a change, Neo colonialism, has also taken the place of classical colonialism. After the II world war most of the Asian and African colonies got independence and they are free politically. But they are dependent economically. Actually they are under the influence of big powers. This is called Neo colonialism. The aim of Neo colonialism is to establish Economic dominance. According to Palmer and Perkins" Neo colonialism is a new and more insidious form of imperialism, widely prevalent and particularly pernicious and dangerous".

TYPES OF NEO-COLONIALISM

- 1) **Economic Dependencies** : An Economic Dependency is a politically independent and sovereign ntion whose Economic enterprises are control by a foreign country. They are economically under developed nations. If the major economic enterprises in the nations are run and controlled by foreigners the nation is an Economics Dependency. If a given percentage of national Income, say 51/- is earned by foreigners the nation is an economic dependency.
- 2) **Satellites:** A satellite if formally an independent nation but it is controlled both politically and economically by some big powers. In communist nations major economic enterprizes are run by the government. So it is not possible for one nation to control the economy of other with our dominating its political institutions. Thus a nation which is controlled to the politically and economically by some foreign power, becomes completely dependent to it and has to freedom of by a Foreign power over satellite is much more complete than exercised over the Economic Dependencies.

MODULE III

A. DIPLOMACY

The term diplomacy has two principal meanings. Firstly, diplomacy is used in the sense of means or method of conducting the foreign policy of a nation. Secondly, diplomacy is also used to refer to the process of formulation and conduct of foreign policy of a nation. Thus diplomacy can be said to be a method and a process of conducting relations among nations. The essence of diplomacy consists in bargaining for a nation's interest and securing it best by skilful and opportune use of the resources of the nation. Generally, diplomacy is supposed to secure the maximum advantage for a nation by means of negotiation and compromise.

DEFINITION

Diplomacy may be defined as the management of international relations by negotiation or the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed. In other words it is the process of representation and negotiations by which states customarily deal with one another in terms of peace.

Sir Ernest Satow has given a charming definition of diplomacy in his book "Guide to diplomatic practice". He writes "Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the government of independent states".

E.A Johnson opines that diplomacy is an instrument and machinery which is used to influence and reduce misunderstanding to avert international crisis".

Morgenthau is of the opinion that diplomacy is the promotion of the national interests by peaceful means".

In the opinion of K.M Panikkar diplomacy is used in relation to international policies, is the art of forwarding one's interest in relation to other countries.

Quincy Wright observes that Diplomacy in the popular sense means the employment of task, shrewdness and skill in any negotiation or transactions. In the special sense used in international relations is the art of negotiation, in order to achieve the maximum, of group objectives with a minimum of costs within a system of politics in which there is a possibility. In short, it is an application of tact and intelligence in international policies through negotiation, persuasion and compromise.

Functions of Diplomat:

A diplomat is the eyes and ears of his government. His primary duty is to execute the policies of his government report the major developments to his government and protect the interest of the nationals. Diplomacy functions through foreign office, embassies, consulate and special mission.

A diplomat is an agent of mutual adjustment between the ideas and forces upon which nation act. According to J.R. Childs a diplomat performs four basic functions.

1. **Representation:** A diplomat is the eyes and ears of his government. He is a link between his government and the Government to which he is accredited. He has to cultivate finest qualities of human behaviour and to make a lot of social contacts. He has to explain the policies and aspirations of his government and at the same time he has to take notice of undercurrents of the society its impulses, its reactions and its likings and disliking.

Diplomatic representation is of three kinds- Symbolic, legal and political. He performed the symbolic function of the diplomatic ceremonial. He is the legal agent of the government he represents. His acts possess legal value. He may cast his vote at international conferences in the name of his government. He also contributes in shaping foreign policy of his state. This is his most important function. It is said that if foreign office is the nerve centre of foreign policy, the diplomatic representative are its outlying fibers maintaining the two way traffic, between centre and outside world. Upon the reliability of his report and soundness of his judgment the success or failure of the foreign policy of his government depends.

2. **Negotiations:** Negotiation is synonym and diplomats are by definition negotiators. Negotiation is the pursuit of agreement by compromise and direct personal contact. Their duty is to draft a wide variety of bilateral and multilateral agreements, Treaties conventions, protocols and other documents of a political, social and economic nature. The diplomat endeavours through negotiation to obtain certain privileges for the citizens, businessmen to win over the state to participate in regional organisations or security arrangements. It involves the presentation of views compromising differences search for areas of mutual interest and common agreement and to reach some agreement on accord.
3. **Reporting:** Diplomats are required to report to their governments developments in the appointed states. Their reports are the raw materials of foreign policy. These reports cover a wide range of subjects on current political, economic, social and military conditions technology achievements legislative programmes, public opinion, market conditions and trends of significance in the country which they are appointed. It is on the basis of the report that the governments shaped its foreign policy towards that nation in particular and to other nations in general. Hence a diplomat must be a man of keen observation, sound judgment and accurate description.
4. **Protection:** The primary function of the diplomat is to protect and advance the rights and interest of their country and its nationals abroad. They will have to watch that the honor of their country is not compromised. This responsibility is carried out through negotiations representations, treaties, and executive agreements. They also have the more specific duty of attempting to assist and protect businessman, seamen and all other nationals of their own country who are living or traveling in the country in

which they are stationed. Under disturbed conditions, this function of diplomats becomes much more heavy. They have to arrange for the safety of life of those nationals who are there and have to do everything in their power to help their nationals reach the places of safety. They also lodge protests or just appeal against the discriminatory treatment faced by their nationals.

Diplomacy and foreign policy

Diplomacy should not be confused with foreign policy. The foreign policy of a state according to J.R.Childs is “the substance of foreign relations” whereas “diplomacy proper is the process by which policy is carried out”. One is substance the other is method diplomacy is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war. Diplomacy’s methods are persuasion, compromise and threat of war.

Appointment and termination of Diplomats:

Appointment: Much ground work is done before a diplomat is named to a country. Before formally announcing his posting informal enquiries are made with the government of the country of his posting. If he is acceptable and if the country is agreeable to receive him as a diplomat, then his nomination to that country is formally announced. The foreign country’s approval is called agreement and the procedure of determining it is known as agreement.

But a country is not always obliged to accept a proposed diplomat. Occasionally, a country may not be agreeable to receiving a particular diplomat, and hence agreement may not be extended in such a case. But such occasions are rare. Such unacceptable diplomats are known as *personae non gratae*.

After the formal announcement of his posting the diplomat will spend sometime in his home country’s capital acquainting himself with the working of the foreign office, meeting the foreign minister, other officials, the diplomats in his capital from the country where he is posted etc. Then, after he is briefed and prepared he arrives in the country of his posting. On arrival he contacts the foreign minister and seeks an audience with the head of the state. Then at a formal ceremony he makes a brief formal speech. The head of the state also makes a similar speech. The copies of the speeches are generally exchanged in advance. After this ceremony his posting is formally complete, and soon he confers with the foreign minister and influential leaders of the government, meets his colleagues and settle down to his business.

Termination: The termination of the diplomats stay or the diplomatic mission may occur due to several factors.

1. A diplomat may not agree with the home government’s policy in relation to the country in which he is posted. In such a case, he may ask for a transfer to another country or resign his post.

2. A mission may be terminated or wound up on account of differences or strains characterizing the relations between his home country and the country of his posting.
3. The diplomat may be recalled by the home government or brought home for consultation generally because he has become unpopular in the country of his positing and the government in that country requires his government to recall him.
4. Sometimes the diplomat becomes so much unacceptable to the country of his posting that the government of that country dismisses him and even sends him back to his home country. In times of war or on account of dangerous provocations such as spying, passing strategic or military secrets to his home country the diplomat may be handed back his passport and asked to go home.

Privileges and immunities of diplomats

Diplomats are granted several privileges and immunities which ordinary citizens do not enjoy. They represent heads of their nations, Hence, some privileges and immunities are necessary in order to help them maintain their status and dignity. Further in order that they carry out their duties freely and satisfactorily it is desirable that they enjoy a measure of freedom from the local laws and restrictions. Broadly speaking the following privileges and immunities are granted to diplomats.

1. Diplomats, their families and members of their mission are personally inviolable.
2. Generally, they enjoy exemption from direct taxes, customs duties etc.
3. They enjoy exemption from civil and criminal jurisdiction. If they happen to commit crimes of a grave nature, the government of the country where they are appointed may request their home governments to recall their diplomats for trial or proper action at home.
4. The mail or the correspondence of the diplomats is inviolable. They are entitles to privacy in matters of correspondence and telephones.
5. The premises or the buildings of the embassies together with their furnishings, equipment, archives, etc. are considered to be a property of the nations represented by the diplomats. These are inviolable.
6. In case of war or severance of diplomatic relations between two nations the diplomats are assured safe return to their home countries.
7. They have inviolable right of passage through third friendly countries while on duty.

The extent of privileges and immunities enjoyed by diplomats depends upon the principle of reciprocity. If a nation displays courtesy and consideration in the treatment of diplomats from another nation its diplomats are generally shown the same courtesy and consideration by the other nation. On the contrary if a nation restricts the freedom or denied the privileges of diplomats of another nation, its diplomats may be given similar treatment. For example when the Sino- Indian relations were restrictions on the movement of Indian diplomatic personnel in peking. The Indian government retaliated this by placing similar restrictions on the movement of Chinese diplomatic personal in New Delhi.

TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

1. SECRET DIPLOMACY :

Prior to world war I diplomacy was largely secret. The general public was not informed as to the nature of negotiations going on or told in full about the agreements reached. But after the war the belief began to circulate that the diplomacy should be open ie public. In old diplomacy the diplomats were responsible only to the executive and the executive being unaccountable, decided the guide-lines for diplomats. The general public was not informed as to the nature of negotiations conditions, attitudes and beliefs. It is undoubtedly true that the secret diplomacy was more successful than any other style as it made the diplomatic conduct more flexible and negotiations more successful. The diplomats were more confident and their area of activity was much wider.

The following arguments are generally forwarded in the favour of secret diplomacy.

1. Secret diplomacy is more successful as it is carried out in an atmosphere of realism. The concessions in the bargaining are flexible as the negotiations are free from the confusing noise of publicity.
2. In secret diplomacy the diplomacy, has the option to be more dynamic and realistic. His capabilities are respected and he commands much faith.
3. It never gets polluted by malicious propaganda.
4. In secret diplomacy, the negotiators may agree on certain points which they will never allow in an open diplomacy.
5. Secret diplomacy is conducted by professional diplomats.

2. OPEN (DEMOCRATIC) DIPLOMACY:

Open diplomacy is a reaction against the totalitarian and secret approaches to diplomacy. The attack on traditional diplomacy was led by Woodrow Wilson who specifically mentioned that "open covenant of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view".

The arguments in favour of open (democratic) diplomacy run like this:

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

3. DIPLOMACY BY CONFERENCE:

Diplomacy by conference has now come to stay as a permanent factor of international relations. In a conference diplomacy the normal channels of diplomacy like diplomatic and consular establishments are by passed and the conferences are made as an important diplomatic channel. The states through conference are able to postpone their hostilities for the time being and thus succeed in avoiding the armed conflict.

The history of conference diplomacy is very old. Even before the world war I it became a very popular phenomenon in international relations and it was adopted and successfully tried. The treaty of Westphalia (1648) is one of the most glaring examples of conference by diplomacy. The league of nations had unsuccessfully tried to make conference diplomacy as one of the important means to maintain world peace and to iron out the misunderstandings among the member states. The UNO also attached much importance to such a diplomacy.

In conference diplomacy opposite camps can be brought around a table and open discussion can be conducted to dissolve the differences among nations. It is open and parliamentary in character and the procedure is flexible and there are very many possibilities for the representatives to establish personal friendship.

But there are some defects or limitations for the diplomacy by conference.

The representatives who participate in a conference are the representatives of their sovereign government. They are assisted and watched by the experts of auxiliary services. They are briefed by their respective governments on all those aspects where they have to agree and disagree. Nothing is left at their discretion. So the conference is merely show because the members are strictly controlled by the heads of the government the

ideological differences between west and communist countries are so wide that no agreements by a way of conference can be dreamt of. But they convene conferences just to clarify their stand and to put all blame on other.

4. PERSONAL DIPLOMACY: When the foreign ministers, prime ministers or heads of the states directly participate in diplomatic negotiations this termed as personal or summit diplomacy. Resort to such a diplomatic style is warranted in case the matters of serious concern are involved. During World War II this diplomatic style came to frequent use among the allied and axis powers. There were many personal meetings between Churchill and Roosevelt. The Atlantic charter (1941) was the result of the personal diplomacy.

Many conferences that have been held in post war period of nonaligned states were summit conferences. The Afro- Asian conference at Bandung (1955) is one of the most successful milestones of personal diplomacy in which the world saw a political awakening of high magnitude in the developing states.

Some of the examples of summit meetings are Bhuto- Indira Gandhi meeting at Simla in 1972. Rajiv Gandhi- Gorbachev meeting at New Delhi in 1986 and Shaik Haseena- Devagowda meeting at New Delhi in 1996.

In personal diplomacy the representatives are assisted by a number of experts of different branches while the information rendered by experts makes the representatives upto date the presence of the head of the states or governments makes the experts confident. The agreements reached in such conferences are sure to be ratified as it has commitment of the highest officials of the states.

Personal diplomacy also suffered from some defects and they are:

1. The failure of personal diplomacy leaves no alternative to resume negotiations.
2. The presence of a high dignitary like head of the state or government arouses much public expectations and inspire the press. If the negotiations fail, public expectations and inspire the press. If the negotiations fail, public may cause embarrassment to the government. Whereas the presence of diplomats in foreign capital is a normal thing the failure of negotiations remains unnoticed.

LIMITATIONS OD DIPLOMACY

Limitations of diplomacy does not mean the complete failure of diplomacy as an instrument of national policy. It only conveys the ineffectiveness of diplomacy in resolving problems in international affairs. These diplomatic problems which have challenged diplomacy pose a great threat to the world peace. At the same time they indicate certain limitations of diplomacy also. The following causes may be attributed to the limitations of diplomacy.

1. Nature of Nations commitment to the issued concerned

Certain issues in international relations are so important to the states that they attach them with core interests and values of the Nation. They adopt an obstinate and non-compromising attitude in all negotiations. For example, the Kashmir problems is the question of India's core interests and values. Any compromise on this issue may create a turmoil internally and externally, harming the very ideals India is cherishing.

2. Role of a nation on the basis of ideologies

Nations pursue some specific ideologies through out their foreign politics. They take a rigid and a compromising stand in the negotiations which created problems and dims the possibility of diplomatic success. The communist and capitalistic blocs of the world are suspicious of each other. Diplomatic talks between these blocs has put diplomatic moves to light.

3. The nature of International System

Power relations and international law limit the impact of diplomacy on international system. Many problems in the field of international relations have remained unresolved as the states involved deem that any decision would affect the balance of power. The states in order to maintain status-quo took rigid stands in negotiations. In post 1945 period the observance of international law in international relations is one of the norms the world public opinion expects. It is significant because of the general support it has achieved. This phenomenon of international relations has made diplomacy a weak force in conducting negotiations and diplomatic tactics obsolete to some extent.

4. Equal power of the opponent:

In a world of bipolarization almost all the problems have become a sort of tug of war between the opponents of equal power. If, in negotiations a party is weaker, it is supported by super-power because of the ideological rivalry to neutralize the pressure of a particular party. The frequent use of veto by the former Soviet Union in favour of India is a classical example to prove this contentions.

5. Weak Diplomatic Capabilities:

The total effectiveness of a state in international politics is termed as diplomatic capacity. Whenever there occurs a diplomatic intercourse between two states, each tries to bargain for maximum advantages. If a state does not have the sufficient force military power to pursue its interests, economic strength to reward the counterpart and diplomatic skill to outwit others diplomacy will fail to achieve its objectives. The emergence of Asian and African states, with weak diplomatic capabilities have contributed to the failure of negotiations.

MODULE IV

A. BALANCE OF POWER

It is widely accepted that maintenance of balance of power is necessary for international peace and security. The political relations independent nations and especially of great powers traditionally have been explained by the theory of balance of power. Palmer and Perkins suggest that the assumption of the theory of balance of power is that "the power alone can limit power". Palmer and Perkins on balance of power remark them. "The essential idea is simple. When the weights in the scales are equal sented by a pair of scales. When the weights in the scales, the concept of the balance of power of power assumes that no one power or combination of powers should be allowed to grow so strong as to threaten the security of the rest.

DEFINITION:

Sideny .B.Fay maintains "Balance of power is just an equilibrium in power among the members of the family of nations as would prevent any one of them form becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon others". George Schwarzenegger defines it " as an equilibrium or a certain amount of stability in international relations that under favourable conditions is produced by an alliance of states or by other devices."

FORMS OF BALANCE OF POWER

Balance of power is of two types. Simple balance and Complex balance.

1. **Simple balance:** If power is concentrated in two states or in two opposing camps, the balance or distribution of power is said to be simple. The important feature of the simple balance is that states or group of state are also divided into two camps like the two scales of the balance. In simple balance the power distribution between two opposing camps approximately equal. America and Russia individually and the western bloc and communist bloc collectively, are examples of the simple balance. Such pattern of balance is called "Bi-polarization", which has resulted in the cold war between the communist and the western bloc.
2. **Complex or multiple balance:** When there is a wide dispersal of power among states and a number of states or groups of states, balance each other, the balance is said to be 'Multiple of complex". A complex balance needs not have a balance. A simple balance may turn into a multiple or complex balance. Polycentrism has become a marked feature of politics. Within the communist as well as western block many new centre of power have come into existence. The uncommitted bloc is one of them.

Balance may in terms of their geographical coverage be spoken of as local, regional or worldwide. The balance of power is local if it operates between two neighboring states for example India and Pakistan. The balance of power is regional if

it involves in a number of states within a particular geographical area. The balance of power is worldwide if most of the countries of the world participate in the balance of power. The so called war between the communist and western bloc is the example of a global balance of power.

Methods of maintaining balance of power:

The following are the ways or methods of maintaining the balance of power.

1. Alliances and counter alliances:

Alliances are a necessary function of the balance of power operating with a multistage system. The rival groups in the balance of power system have three choices in order to maintain and improve their relative power positions.

1. They can increase their own power, 2) they can add to their power the power of the other nations 3) they can withhold the power of other nations from the opponents. If they make the first choice, they embark upon an armament race. If they make second and third choices, they purpose a policy of alliance.

Alliances generally lead to counter alliances. When an alliance is specifically or indirectly directed against some states, it is quite natural that they will not remain as silent spectators. For example the triple alliance of 1882 between Germany, Austro Hungary and Italy led to a rival alliance, triple entente 1907 between Britain, France and Russia. Alliances may be both offensive and defensive. While an offensive alliance seeks to upset the balance in favour of its members a defensive alliance aims at restoring peace.

2. Armament and disarmament

Power is a relative term which is determined in the context of a particular nation or a group of nations. In the event of an impending danger from the enemy, every nation tries to maximize its power. The direct way of maintaining the balance is to increase one's own power in relation to power of one's opponents. When there is a great disparity between power position of two nations, it is not possible for the weaker one to increase its own power to the level of its rival. This method of maintaining the balance can be resorted to only when there is a rough parity in the power position the rivals.

Like armament, disarmament can resolve a balance of power one can succeed in keeping its rival disarmed one preserves the balance in one's favour. But in practice disarmament as such has rarely been resorted to except in case of defeated powers on the conclusion of general war. For example the effort on the part of the allied powers after the first world war was to keep Germany permanently weak.

3. Acquisition of territory :

Acquisition of fresh territories is also a method of balance of power. This is made possible either by occupying neighboring territories by Israel is considered by the latter as essential for its security and the preservation of the balance of power.

4. Compensation and partition:

A state increases its power by acquisition of new territories and thus balance is tilted in its favour. When such things occurs the other side also takes immediate steps to increase own power in compensation in order to preserve the balance. When some powerful nations occupy the territories of small nations, the powerful nations cannot tolerate this act. They place a condition either to share its under such conditions the powerful rival nations divide small nations swallow their share of prey.

The partition of Poland and later on its division between Russia, Prussia and Austria in a well known example of the Policy of compensation and partition. This principles is seen in the division of Germany, Korea and Vietnam. Each great power becomes a beneficiary and weak state their victim.

5. Creation of buffer states:

The creation of a buffer state is also a technique of maintaining the balance of power. A buffer state is a natural zone sandwiched between two powerful nations. It is usually a weak state. Its function is to keep two giants apart and thus reduce the chances of friction between them. Poland has been the traditional buffer between Russia and Germany. Tibet has been buffer between China and British India. Thus the buffer state acts as a balancing force between the two powerful rivals because neither of them can allow the other to absorb the buffer. But the balance can also be maintained if the two giants decide to decide the buffer zone between them. Buffer states have been often vanished this way.

Objects of balance of power

The advocates of the balance of power have suggested the following main purposes of the balance of power.

1. preservation of independence of states;
2. preservation of peace;
3. maintenance of International Law

1. Preservation of independent of states

The balance of power aims at such distribution of power among the state, that no single state or group of states becomes so powerful as to enforce its will upon the others. The balance of power helps to achieve stability nations to conquer or acquire control over

small and weaker nations and they would probably be swallowed up if one ambitious state were allowed to achieve great superiority of power. But if there happen to be two or more powerful states none of them will tolerate the other to become more powerful. Each of the big powers will see to it that none of them commits aggression against the small and weak powers. Taylor remarks "No one state has ever been strong enough to eat up all the rest and the mutual jealousy of the great powers has preserved even the small states, which could not have preserved themselves". Thus the security and independence of all the states is assured.

2. Preservation of peace:

Between peace and security, security will get priority over peace, because security is the first condition of peace. If security is in danger, peace shall have to be sacrificed. If big powers start absorbing small ones first and second world wars. Advocates of the balance of power believed that the balance of power causes peace and so long as the balance is maintained, peace is assured. If balance is maintained neither there will be aggressions, nor wars and therefore peace would automatically be established.

3. Maintenance of international law

Balance of power is essential to the maintenance of international law. Regarding the relation between international law and balance of power Oppenheim writes "Balance of power is an indispensable condition of the very existence of international law. A law of nations can exist only if there can be an equilibrium, a balance of power between the members of the family of nations".

Relevance of balance of power today

Although the concept of the balance of power has lost much its validity in the present day conditions, its operation is still meaningful. As long as the multi-nation state system exists, balance of power will remain as a relevant concept. The changes brought about in the international society have removed many of the conditions in which the balance of power operated. Since the balance of power is a device of the management of power it will remain relevant till some other device of managing power has not been found out.

If balance of power survives even today it is because of the fact that an effective substitute has not yet been possible such a substitute can probably be found out in the effective world organization, world public opinion and worldwide acceptance of the obligations of international law. But this prospect is very remote. However, Palmer and Perkins believe that balance of power will continue to operate, even if super-national world organization is formed. Anyhow that idea of balance of power is still the central theoretical concept in international relations.

But we cannot shut our eyes to realities. The rise of non-aligned countries on a large scale has adversely affected the importance of the principle of balance of power in the late twentieth century. The non-aligned countries have become the largest group in

the United Nations General Assembly and consequently have enhanced their position in world affairs. Since the non-aligned countries represent a force without a military power they have affected the principle of balance of power in its traditional sense.

With the increasing non-use of physical force against each other by the major nuclear power, the phenomenon global or world wars might vanish. But wars may persist at regional levels among non-nuclear powers or among the nuclear and non-nuclear powers with conventional weapons, and the concept may prove its validity also in the changes circumstance in regional affairs. All these local and regional wars have affected the balance of power position at the regional level. It would be safer, therefore to conclude that the balance of power situation has reduced the validity of the principle of balance of power on a global scale but has retained it at regional level where wars are fought with conventional weapons. At the global level balance of power has lost much of its reference but it continues to hold good at regional level relations among nations. In this way it continues to be an important controlling mechanism of international politics.

B. COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Collective security is commonly regarded as most effective method of maintaining peace and deterring aggression. Collective security was supposed not only to be the basis of the League of Nations but is also supposed to be the basis of the United Nations. Collective security is a device by which the security of all the nations is assessed. Under the system of collective security, aggression or war would no longer be the concern of any individual nation, but would be the concern of all nations.

Meaning and Definition

Collective security is a collective measure for security. The word security represents the goal while the word collective indicates the nature of the combined strength will face the aggression. The basic principle of collective security is that an attack on one state will be regarded as an attack on all states. Security becomes the concern of all nations and all will take care collectively of the security of each of them as if their own security were at stake. According to Morgenthau "one for all and all for one is the watchword of collective security."

On collective security Palmer and Perkins observe "It clearly implies collective measure for dealing with threat to peace".

George Schwarzenegger has defined collective security as machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order".

According to F.H Hartmann collective security is basically a mutual insurance plan against aggression anywhere and everywhere.

The basic principle of collective security is that if an aggression takes place it should be frustrated by an overwhelming force. It is therefore necessary that all nations must stand unitedly against the aggression. So the principle of collective security is based upon the preponderance of power in the hands of the protectors of peace and order and this is said to be the only basis of the success of the system. Its chief merit lies in the force may not at all be needed. A threat of collective action will be sufficient to deter the potential aggressor.

Conditions of maintaining collective security.

The principle of collective security in order to work successfully as an instrument for providing peace must fulfil the following conditions.

1. The basic requirement of collective security is that it should function impartially. If collective security is to operate impartially government and people must exhibit flexibility of policy and sentiments.
2. The system of collective security must be able to muster at all time such overwhelming strength against the potential aggressor that the later should not repeat the aggression. The collective system must be able to meet any situation.
3. The nations which offer the combined strength to meet the threat of aggression under collective security system must have identical conception of security.
4. The nations must be willing to subordinate their political differences to the service of the world community by whole heartedly supporting collective action against the aggressor.
5. In the event of any aggression there should be unanimity among states in determining the aggressor.
6. Collective security must not be directed against any specific states group of states, but against aggression in general, that is against any aggression anywhere.
7. Collective security is incompatible with the traditional doctrine of neutrality in war. Neutrality strikes at the very root of collective security.
8. Collective security system necessitates the willingness of the nations to fight for the status- quo. Collective security does not accept a forcible change in the international order.

Objects of Collective Security

1. It aims at the preservation of peace by the collectivization of force.
2. It focuses upon the ideals of world government and international cooperation.

3. Collective security aims at mutual co-operation in which the ideas of common outlook, co-operation and trust are inherent.

RELEVANCE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY TODAY

In its theoretical aspect collective security system appears to be logical but in its actual operation it reveals a number of shortcomings and drawbacks. The difficulties that come in the operation of the collective security system actually make the system itself unrealistic and unworkable. In reality collective security is an ideal which cannot be realized under the conditions prevailing on the international scene.

The collective security has not worked satisfactorily under the League of Nations and the United Nations. In fact the machinery of collective security has never been satisfactorily developed.

Collective security is based upon wrong assumptions which are mostly hypothetical. The conflicting interests of the nations, the lack of common outlook, cold war and group rivalries and the threat of nuclear war are the factors which run counter to an effective system of collective security. Whatever failures might have been faced in creating a system of collective security, its value as theory is meaningful.

The Gulf War against Iraq in 1991 can be cited as the first example of the collective security measures undertaken by the UNO as conceived by the UN Charter itself. This perhaps became possible as the Soviet Union herself disintegrated during the same period and became dependent upon the United States for reorganization of her economy. The world order had become unipolar and no country was in a position to challenge the US. The US too functioned in a responsible manner by consulting all other big powers in her war efforts, and the Security Council was transformed into a seat of collective action. Thus, Iraq was defeated proving the success of the collective security measures.

The success of collective security lies in the fact that today any aggression is condemned legally and morally by the international society, any aggression is everybody's business and aggression and problems of the disturbance of peace become the general concern of the international organization. Moreover, it is a standing warning to the potential aggressor that is to be opposed by the combined and overwhelming force.

Collective security under the League of Nations

The first effort for the enforcement of collective security on a world wide was made with the establishment of an international organization, the League of Nations. For the first time in the history the Covenant of the League of Nations introduced the principle of collective security as a practical programme of action. However, the Covenant nowhere used the word. "Collective security". The Covenant contained three key articles on collective security- Article 10, 11 and 16.

Article 10 provided for guarantee against aggression and stated “ the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League” .

Article 11 provided for action in case of war or threat of war. It states “any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not is hereby declared a matter of concern to the while League and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations” .

Article 16 states that if a member resorts to war, all trade and financial relations with that members state will be cut and there will be prohibition of financial commercial or personal intercourse between the aggressor and the members of the League.

Despite the bold provisions in the covenant of the League of Nations, the scheme of collective security was never really implemented in fact; The members of the League were more concerned about their own security than a genuine and universal security system.

The failure of the United States to join, the rise of the Soviet Union outside the League system, the reluctance of great Britain to assume international obligation, and later the open defiance of Japan, Italy and Germany- all these combined to destroy any hopes that the League would be effective in major international crises.

In its short span of life, the League had to face two major crises involving open defiance of covenant but each time it proved unequal to the test and failed to take collective security measures. First was the Manchurian crisis in 1931-32 when Japan committed aggression against China. League branded Japan as aggressor and thereupon Japan withdrew form the League. The Principal members of the League were not prepared to use force against Japan. Thus the aggressor was left free and got what it wanted.

The principle of collective security was put to a very\ severe test in the Ethiopian crisis of 1935-36 when Italy invaded Ethiopia. The League powers were not prepared to apply military sanctions against Italy. However, the League Council voted to impose economic sanctions. In fact, the League members were not prepared to impose even economic sanctions sufficiently and efficiently. “The Italo- Ethiopian war the became the chief test case indeed, the only real one of the effectiveness of the League’s security system;, says Palmer and Perkins. All the world knows the League failed in this crucial test. “ The Italo- Ethiopian war thus became the most important and the most decisive chapter in the history of the League of Nations. The failure of the League in this crucial test led to disastrous consequences. It followed the Nazi conquest of Austria, the surrender to Hitler at Munich and the invasion of Poland that started the second world war.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND UN

1. Provisions of the chapter:

Like the covenant of the League, the Charter of the United Nations also made provisions for the collective security of its members. Article I of the Charter calls for "effective collective measures for prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace.

Charter VII makes detailed provisions regarding collective security measures. The Security Council can consider an act of aggression or a threat to the breach of peace and call upon member states to apply economic or military sanctions.

Article 39 of the charter says: The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Article 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 41 makes provision for economic sanctions and for the Severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42 provides for military sanctions, if economic and diplomatic sanctions prove inadequate. It may take such action by air, sea and land forces as may be necessary to maintain and restore international peace and security.

Article 43 makes it obligatory upon the member states to help the Security Council in such a task.

Not only has the UN charter empowered the Security Council undertake necessary measure for collective security, but also has provided the permanent members of the security council with veto powers and thus it has deliberately exempted the permanent members from the application of the collective security measures. Since most of the breaches of peace resulted either from direct action by the veto possessing big powers or by others with a support from some such power, the Security Council in effect had become powerless in this respect. It was only when the General Assembly decided to break such a constitutional deadlock that the UN Could be activated for discharging its responsibility of collective security. Such an action arose in the case of the Korean war which merits our attention at this stage.

2. The Korean War experience:

The Question of the North Korean attack on South Korea was referred to the Security Council. When the Security Council got seized of the matter, the Soviet delegation boycotted the council which thereafter passed a resolution recommending the members to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed Security Council the following month, the issue was deadlocked. Under these

circumstances, the General Assembly took over the Korean issue and passed a historic resolution entitled Uniting For Peace. By this resolution the General Assembly empowered upon itself the responsibility of taking collective measures. The main features of the Uniting For Peace resolution were.

- a) The General Assembly can meet within twenty four hours to consider breaches, or threats of breaches of peace, if the security council is deadlocked over this issue by the issue of veto.
- b) The General Assembly can make recommendations to the member states for use of the armed forces to thwart aggression.
- c) The member states should maintain elements of armed forces for use by the United Nations and make them available for collective security purposes.

3. The gulf war against Iraq in 1991

The United Nations was against Iraq in January, 1991 is another example of collective security in action. Saddam Hussain's Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990. The UN Security Council passed a resolution on November 29, 1990 authorizing the formation and the use of the UN forces to fight Iraq and liberate Kuwait. The gulf war began on 17 January, 1991.

Unlike the Korean war of the fifties there was no other power, small or big, which had joined the Iraq side. Since there was no use of veto by any permanent member of the Security Council, it could form a UN force to fight the Gulf war. In this sense the gulf war against Iraq in 1991 can be cited as the first example of the collective security measures undertaken by the UNO as conceived so in the UN Charter itself.

This perhaps became possible as Soviet Union herself disintegrated during the same period and became dependent upon the United States for reorganization of its economy. The world order has become unipolar and no country was in a position to challenge the US action. Although it was a war between the United Nations and Iraq on paper, in reality it was a war between the United States and Iraq. Iraq was defeated thus providing the success of the collective security measures.

C. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

One of the ways to avoid war is Pacific settlement of disputes which is regarded as one of the important principles of international Relations. It is also included in the study of the controls of inter-state relations. A number of attempts have been made to settle disputes among nations from time to time. Among them peaceful settlement is regarded as one of the important attempts.

Quest for peace has been one of the major factors responsible for the formation of International Organisations. Before the dawn of the 20th century the problem of peace and

security was mainly tackled through conventional diplomatic techniques or through occasional conferences convened to techniques or through occasional conferences convened to settle specific disputes which posed a threat to peace. With the creation of the League of Nations, this world body was specifically entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining International peace by encouraging the settlement of disputes. According to elaude the peaceful settlement helps 'to inject into the dispute a disinterested party, with who negotiation may be conducted by states and to whom concessions can be made which either state would refrain, as a point of honour from making directly to the other" Cohen regards "pacific settlement and collective measures are inseperable part of the collective security". The first paragraph in the very first article of the UN charter says that the aim of the United Nations is "to bring about a peaceful settlement" of disputes among nations" Inorder to maintain International peace and security. Whenever a dispute ariser between nations it may lead to war. To prevent war the concerned parties may follow peaceful methods to settle the dispute.

METHODS

The important methods of peaceful settlement of disputes provided by the UN Charter are as follows.

1. Negotiation;
2. Good officers and mediation;
3. Enquiry;
4. Conciliation;
5. Arbitration and;
6. Judicial settlement

The above methods may be classified into two main groups a those based on persuasion with no birdirg for and (b) those which have a binding character. Good- office and mediation, negotiation. enquiry and conciliation-come with in the first category. Disputes with political nature come under this category. They are considered as political methods. Arbitration and Judicial settlement come under the second category. They are legal methods and are concerned with legal disputes.

1. Negotiation

Direct Negotiation is the simple and common method of settling disputes. "Negotiation is the legal and orderly administrative process by which governments, in the exercise of their unquestionable powers conduct their relations with one another and discuss, adjust and settle their difference" Negotiations are conducted through diplomatic

representatives, foreign ministers or head of states or through conferences. The Indo-Pak Negotiation after the Indo pak war is an outstanding example of this method.

The conduct of Negotiation is a bargaining process. It is an attempt on the part of the contesting parties to settle the disputes by mutual discussions and deliberations. Negotiation the claims of one party may be recognised by the other party and the dispute is settled. Another advantage of Negotiation is that the period of Negotiation allows an interval to let the tempers of the concerned parties cool down.

Good offices and Mediation

When the parties in the dispute are unable to reach an agreement through Negotiation a third country may offer its “good offices” or services to facilitate a settlement. If the disputing parties accept the offer of good offices of a third country, then the third country simply acts as a transmitting agency. If the third country offers its suggestions to settle a dispute, then it becomes a mediator. Good office imply that the third country tried to bring the disputant parties together and suggest a settlement without “a tender of good office is a polite inquiry as to whether the third state can be of any service preserving or restoring peace.. Tashkent agreement entered into by India and Pakistan in 1965 is cited as an example. Russia offered her good office and the agreement known as Tashkent Agreement was reached by President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime -Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri of India.

Mediation on the other hand, is a method under which the third state whose good office is accepted, makes suggestion and assumes the responsibility to settle the dispute. The mediating state assume the role of a middle man. The mediator makes every attempt to reconcile the opposite claims of the disputing parties. However, the suggestions of the mediator are not binding on the contesting parties.

The main difference between good offices and mediation is that under the former the third country tries to call negotiations and enter the latter the mediating party takes under an active part in negotiations.

2. Enquiry

Enquiry and conciliation are more effective than good offices and mediation. The first Hague conference of 1899 recommended the use of commissions of Enquiry. It was renewed by the Second Hague Conference. Many treaties have made provisos for it . Even the covenant of the League supported this principle.

The duty of the commission of enquiry is to investigate the facts so as to clarify the issues and elucidate facts . It can hear both sides of the dispute, call witness and experts and on that basis presents its conclusions and recommendations. But it has no power to make the award binding on the disputant parties. Therefore, it investigates and makes suggestions when requested by the disputant parties.

3. Conciliation

Oppenheim defines conciliation as follows: "Conciliation is the process of setting a dispute by referring it to a commission of person whose task is to elucidate the facts and to make a report containing proposals for a settlement, but which does not have the binding character of award or Judgment'

Conciliation is a method under which an outside party promotes an agreement between disputant states. The Conciliation Commission hear and ascertains facts and it may ask for compromises or concessions before advancing its proposals for settling a dispute.

Conciliation differ from Enquiry and mediation. The main object of enquiry is to clarify the issues and elucidate the facts leaving the parties to settle a dispute. Conciliation on the other hand aims at bringing the parties to an agreement offering suggestions and recommendations. Conciliation differ from mediation because under it parties refer the issue to a committee or a council which ascertains the facts and makes suggestions for settling the dispute. Mediation, on the other hand, is a method under which the mediator assumes responsibility for the settlement of a dispute. Mediation is performed by an individual. Whereas conciliation is effected by a council, board, committee or commission. Conciliation is constructive method and UNO use these method frequently Eg: The UN conciliation commission on Pakistan.

4. Arbitration and Judicial Settlement.

Both arbitration and Judicial settlement are legal or Judicial in nature. Arbitration is a sort of semi-Judicial process and therefore a dispute is determined through a legal decision of one individual or of a tribunal chosen by the parties. The disputant parties bound to respect the award of the arbiter. Arbitration involves four important elements. They are (1) settlement of disputes between nations through their voluntary action. (2) by Judges of their own choice. (3) on the basis of respect for law (4) obligation to accept the award as binding. Disputant Parties can demand reconsideration of the award. If the tribunal exceeds the authority given to them then their will be nothing like strikes. From time imemorial, Arbitration has been employed as an effective force for settling disputes. the Legue allowed a permanent court of arbitration set up under the first Hague Conference. Even UNO has so many commission.

Arbitration and conciliation differ from each other in the following respects.

1. Arbitration is Judicial process.
2. Arbitration is legal in nature. So the decisions are binding, conciliation is only recommendatory.
3. Arbitration is binding but conciliation is a friendly advise.

5. Judicial Settlement:

Judicial settlement, on the other hand is a form of arbitration. It is known as adjudication. Arbitration and adjudication differ from each other in the following respects.

- a) Arbitration is more cheaper and simple than adjudication.
- b) Arbitration is more clastic than adjudication.
- c) Through adjudication, only legal disputes are settled. While arbitration tribunal settles both legal and politics issued.
- d) Arbitration is performed by person or states while in adjudication the agency is a permanent body of court.
- e) Arbitration has a character of voluntary Jurisdiction but there is no such thing in adjudication.

Adjudication of disputes obviously require the prior creation of a court to which disputes may be submitted. The central American Court of Justice (1907-17) was the first International court to handle legal dispute. League of Nations set up a permanent court of International Justice. It is continuing in the present UNO. The International court now decides all cases referred to it by the disputant parties.

Pacific settlement and UNO

One of the major objectives of UNO as stated in article is to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of Justice and International law, adjustment or settlement of International disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of Peace." By virtue of article 33 the Security Council can call upon the disputant parties to seek solution through peaceful means of their choice.

If the disputant parties fail to settle the dispute by peaceful means, they can approach UNO for a solution. Then the Security Council consider all possible means of solving such disputes by peaceful means. If the dispute is of a Judicial nature, UNO may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice.

D. DISARMAMENT

President Eisenhower has said, "There is no alternative to peace. War in our time has been an anachronism. Whatever the case in the past, war in future can serve no useful purpose." War needs no documentation to prove its horrors. People have constantly been in the search of alternatives to war and approaches to peace. Despite two world wars in the present century and the impending horror of the nuclear holocaust, the frequency of war has not decreased. The two world wars have frightened man badly and in the very

imagination of the Third World War one finds then end of mankind. Dr, Gerald Weudt asserted, " If world War III comes, which we pray will never happen, it will be a war in which most people may die from silent, insidious, anti-human weapons that make no sound, give no warning, destroy no forts or ships or cities, but can wipe out human beings by the millions." It must be recognized that war today has potentialities for destruction beyond the range of human comprehension. President Kennedy predicated: "A full scale nuclear exchange, lasting less than 60 minutes, could wipe out more than 300 million Americans, Europeans and Russians, as well as untold numbers elsewhere. " Dr. Albert Einstein once remarked, "I do not know the weapons with which World War III will be fought, but I can assure you that World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones." Among the many ways by which the war may be prevented the most important is disarmament. Palmer and Perkins put it: " If armaments are conducive to war, should it not follow that disarmament is road to peace?" In regard to approaches to peace, armament and disarmament, both are suggested as ways by which the war may be prevented. The supporters of the armament theory argue that the more frightful war became "the less likelihood there was of its becoming a reality." But this theory lands in very dangerous situation as " the creation of cast armament in itself calls for a condition midway between war and peace. "Moving in the direction of armaments will be going a long way on the path towards war. Morgenthau remarks, "Of the attempts to achieve peace through limitation, the most persistent has been that of disarmament."

Meaning of Disarmament

Disarmament literally means the reduction or elimination of armaments. The term ' Disarmament' is used in very general sense and as such it connotes the idea of limitation, or control, or reduction, or elimination of armaments. According to Morgenthau, "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armament race." Disarmament has become such a wide word that any matter relating to the regulation of armaments comes within its meaning

Kinds of Disarmament

1. **General and local disarmament:** In General Disarmament , all or most of the great powers participate. Examples are the Washington Treaty of 1922 for the limitation of naval armaments, signed by all major naval powers, and the World Disarmament Conference of 1932. We refer to Local Disarmament when only limited number of nations are involved. The Rush - Baghot agreement of 1817 between the United States and Canada is an example of this type.
2. **Quantitative and Qualitative Disarmament:** Quantitative Disarmament refers to an over all reduction of armaments of most or all types. This was the goal of most nations represented at the world conference in 1932. Qualitative disarmament aims at the reduction or abolition of only certain special types of armaments as was discussed by the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations.

3. **Total Disarmament:** Total disarmament aims at complete elimination of armaments. There would be no weapon of any kind whatsoever.
4. **Disarmament and Arms control :** Disarmament is concerned with the reduction or elimination of armament, but this applies only to the control of existing weapons. Arms control is concerned with regulating the armaments race in the future. As such, disarmament is concerned with the control of existing weapons and arms control with that of future weapons. Disarmament seeks to control armaments and arms control tries to check the armaments race.

Need for Disarmament

1. **The prevention of War and the Establishment of Peace:** According to Moregenthau, “ It is believed that, by doing away with one of the typical manifestations of the struggle for power on the international scene, one can do away with the typical effects of that struggle”; International anarchy and war.” Disarmament is considered to be the most effective means of preventing war and guaranteeing peace. It is commonly believed that unless there is disarmament, war and destruction cannot be checked. The only direct cause of war according to disarmament approach is the existence of armaments. It is argued that war results from armaments and, therefore, it can be checked only by disarmament. Thus the belief that arms cause war is fundamental to the theory of disarmament. The amassing of armaments and their instant availability make war probable and feasible or, as Clause asserts, even tempting for states to plunge into war. The theory of disarmament proceeds on the assumption that by limiting armaments, the nations would be deprived of the very means of fighting. When a nation increases its military strength, other nations develop feelings of fear and insecurity. This leads to belligerence on the part of other nations and they also seek to increase their military strength. In realms of arms, one nation’s common-sense is another nation’s high blood pressure.” Thus develops a war hysteria. Sometimes, in anticipation of an attack a nation is acting in self defense. Armaments make the national outlook aggressive and militaristic. While the armaments encourage conflict and war, it would be incorrect to argue that it is the sole cause of war. Complete disarmament would, however, lead to peace by eliminating the very means to fight. According to Cohen, “ Armaments aggravate tension and fear among nations. By releasing tension and fear disarmament should facilitate and strengthen the process of peaceful settlement.
2. **Nuclear Threat:** The threat of nuclear weapons and even a very remote possibility of a nuclear war have made the problem of disarmament all the more important. A nuclear war will lead to total destruction. But at the same time the view has been expressed that the fear of total destruction is so great that a nuclear war would never occur. Any war may turn ultimately into a nuclear war and the very threat of a nuclear war has restrained the nations from going to war in the nuclear age. If disarmament, both of nuclear as well as conventional weapons, is possible, war may be prevented.

3. **Economic** : A very important argument in favour of disarmament is economic. The very important argument which are allocated for military purposes by the nations are a broad indication of what is denied to other avenues of public and private expenditure. If nations had not expended their means for military purposes, they could obviously have put the resources so consumed to many other uses. The military expenditures affect both the immediate consumption as well as future economic growth. The path of economic growth is barred. The nations are deprived of the mutual economic aid they could otherwise receive from one another. International trade and exchange of technological "know-how" have been impeded. If there were no arms race, trade and other exchanges would almost certainly be easier. A halt to the arms race could by itself be an important stimulus towards the relaxation of other existing barriers.
4. **Social** The economic case for disarmament is closely linked with the social case. Military expenditure also have profound social consequences. The problem of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, housing and that of raising standard of living is not only confined to the developing countries. These problems in some measure are also present in the rich countries. Military expenditures absorb resources which would otherwise be released for providing social services. The military expenditure for the world as a whole is about two and half times the estimated total of the publicly financed health expenditure. A rough calculation suggests that all medical research in the world consumes only about 4000 million dollars as compared to some 25000 million dollars spent on military research and development. Nuclear tests and explosions are having their polluting effects on the physical environment and thus bring environmental devastation.
5. **Political**: Armaments cause international suspicious and fears and they poison relations in the political sphere. Political differences become sharpened by the fear and suspicion which the amassing of armaments generates. The amassing of armaments also increases the possibility that force might be resorted to as a means of dealing with international problems. Armaments, which are supposed to provide security, in fact, provoke the political difference. It should be borne in mind that war is not an answer to any of man's imminent problems. The spirit of militarism is opposed to the spirit of democracy and peaceful progress in the world.
6. **Psychological**: A war condition has a strange psychological influence over the minds of the people. Everybody feels that he lived in a world in which violence has become a commonplace, and which is stocked with sufficient lethal to create a psychological background of uncertainty, fear and anxiety. Some western social psychologists have expressed the view that the arms race and the horrors of war have developed a belief in the younger generation that world is a irrational place in which the improvement of society is a hopeless cause.

Hindrances in the way of Disarmament

1. The problem of disarmament is closely related to the problem of security. According to Palmer and Perkins. "There has long been a consciousness of an inverse relationship between disarmament and security. Unless some system can be evolved whereby nations will actually be more secure with less armed strength, disarmament will indeed remain a 'pipe dream'. International tension and the mutual fear among the nations develop in them a feeling of insecurity. So long as the nation are not assured of their security, any effort for disarmament would meet with failure. No guarantee can be provided to nations in view of the nature of the present international society. In the conditions like this, every nation is bound to depend upon its own power for its security.
2. Another hindrance in the way of disarmament is the fear and mutual distrust. As a result, every nation views with suspicion the disarmament proposals put forth by others. Every nation feels suspicious about the intentions of others nations that while it may effect a reduction in its armaments, other may not do so. This mistrust functions in two ways, " it hampers initial agreement and it might lead to the breakdown should a disarmament scheme be put into operation." But as Prof. Schleicher observes. "If there were perfect trust between nations, arms would be unnecessary and disarmament would but be the problem." So the basic problem of disarmament is that there is lack of mutual trust among the nations.
3. No nation express itself against disarmament as such, but it views any disarmament plan from the point of view of its national interest. During disarmament negotiations such conditions are placed by some of the participants, which are not acceptable to others. As a result, the disarmament conferences fail. In fact, the nations lack the real desire for disarmament and that is why they put such condition which may not be acceptable to others. As a result the disarmament conferences fail. In fact, the nations lack the real desire for disarmament and that is why they put such conditions which may not be acceptable to others
4. The developments after the second world war divided the world into two blocs, and that gave birth to so-called cold war. Every nation is concerned about its security because of unstable balance of power. Armaments are the result of certain psychological factors. So long as these factors persist, disarmament seems to be a distant possibility. And disarmament proposal is, therefore, considered by the nations only in the contest of present international system.
5. In the realm of armaments, the super powers have achieved the maximum limit. In other words, they have gained such a potential capacity in armaments that it would not be worthwhile to go any further. Today both the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R are in the possession of overkill capacity. It is now in their interest to put a halt to arms race. But the nations which are much behind in the arms race want

disarmament only when they have reached a rough parity in arms with the super powers. They consider the power- equality as the ideal situation for disarmament. Since this situation is highly improbable, disarmament also appears improbable in the near future.

6. One important hindrance in the way of disarmament is with regard to the ratio among the armaments of different nations after a reduction in the armaments has been effected. Every nation wants to be superior of disarmament to others. This questions is always the first on the agenda of disarmament to others. This question is always the first on the agenda of disarmament conference and commissions as so what should be the nation among the armaments of different nations and within that ration how different types and quantities of armaments are to be allotted to different nations.

E. INTERNATIONAL LAW

Nature and Definition

The laws which regulate the dealings of the states with one another are called international laws. It is a law which governs the conduct of the states. It is a law among nations. International law is the most important factor to preserve order and to prevent abuse of power in international area. Among the controls of interstate relations, the more general and continuous one is the international law. As Robert A Tatt observes, "peace in this world is impossible unless nations agree on a definite law to govern their relations with each other".

Today international law is given great importance and it is regarded as the law in the true sense of the term. But during the 19th century John Austin said that international law is not true law but only positive international morality. According to Austin every law must be backed by the authority of the state and if that element is lacking it cannot be called law. In that sense there is no political authority over and above the states of the world to implement international law in the true sense. Another jurist Holland calls international law as law only by courtesy. Kelson is also of the view that the so called international law cannot be classed law in the same sense as state law, because it is not supported by the coercive authority of the state.

The term international law was coined by Bentham in 1780. International law has been defined in different ways by different writers.

Oppenheim define international law as "the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilized states in their intercourse with each other".

Lawrence defines International law as "the rules which determine the conduct of the general body of civilized states in their mutual dealings".

Brierly defines it "as the body of rules and principles of action which are binding upon civilized states in their relations with one another".

Sources of International Law

It refers to the methods or procedures by which international law is evolved. Following are some of the important sources.

1. Roman Law

Roman law formed a complete and general code of dealings "the jus gentium". The jus gentium was applied to the dealings of citizens belonging to different nations. From this general code most of the continental countries in Europe derived their legal principles. Roman law provided a positive basis for international law in two ways.

- 1) By the idea of the law of nations, 2) By contributing the notion of equality of citizens before the law. This notion got extended to the equality of sovereign states in international law.

2) Customs

This is another source of international law. As a matter of fact international law is customary. Certain customs and conventions which particular states adopted have been accepted and followed so generally that they have come to constitute a definite body of rules. Customs may be defined as "the rules evolved after a long historical process which in due course find place in their recognition by international community. Many rules of international law relating to maritime warfare the right of aliens freedom of the seas etc. have been greatly determined by international customs.

3) Decisions of League of Nations and UNO.

League of nations and UNO have been very important international institutions of 20th century. The UNO lays stress on direct legislation, Mediation, Arbitration and International Court of Justice at Hague. Decisions of the court at Hague and the resolutions passed by UNO proved very fruitful in the growth and development of International law.

4) Opinions of Diplomats and Statesman

The written opinions of statesmen and lawyers and diplomatic correspondence have helped much in the growth and development of international law, These opinions are often confidential but in democracy there is greater tendency to publish them. The important portions of these opinions are published in England and USA. States also issue instructions for the guidance of their foreign service representatives and commanders of armed forces. These play a great role in the growth and development of international law.

5) Works of Eminent Jurists

The views of great jurists are taken into consideration while deciding international cases. For example Hugo Grotius's famous book "on the law of war and peace" published in 1625 is regarded as the Chief source of international law. Kent, Wheaton, Manning, Woolsey, Westlake, Lawrence and Hall are known as modern authorities on international law.

6) Treaties and Alliances.

Treaties, alliances and conventions for commercial or for political purpose are important sources of international law. When most of the states become parties to such a treaty, convention or alliance they tend to create an international law

7) State Laws:

Municipal law or state law also form a source of international law. For example the rules and regulations of citizenship, nationalization etc. are some of the rules and regulations which have international bearings. These rules and regulations have helped a lot in the development of international law.

Limitations of International Law

International law operates in the international society based upon non-state system consisting of sovereign states. It is a law among the states and not over them. International law has the following limitations and shortcomings.

1. *No legislative machinery:*

International law is not the product of any sovereign international legislative, whereas state laws are the product of a sovereign legislature.

2. *No Executive Machinery:*

International society has no central executive machinery for enforcement of international law.

3. *No effective Judicial machinery*

International law and international judicial system lack compulsory jurisdiction. International Court of Justice has no compelling jurisdiction over the states and the states, are not obliged, to submit their disputes to the court.

4. *Uncertainty of International law:*

The main instrument through which international law is created are international treaties. They are so vague and uncertain that they can be interpreted by the states in the

manner they like to suit their interest. The UN charter itself is vague and uncertain. For example the word 'self defence' can be defined differently in different circumstances and each state is its own judge in the matter.

5. Domestic affairs outside the jurisdiction of international law.

Domestic affairs of a state lies outside the jurisdiction of international law. UNO cannot interfere in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction are brought under the purview of international law, it would fail in performing its effective role.

Differences between international Law and Municipal Law

1. Municipal laws are framed by the competent legislative machinery. In other words state laws are framed by a sovereign legislature whereas international laws are not the product of any sovereign legislature.
2. Municipal law is definite and precise. But international laws are not definite. They are very vague and uncertain that they can be interpreted by the states in the manner they like.
3. There is a definite agency to enforce state laws. International society has no central executive for the enforcement of international law. UN in that respect is a weak agency.
4. Violation of law is punishable by the state. Law courts give punishment to those who violate it, That is Municipal law enjoys compulsory jurisdiction. International law lacks compulsory jurisdiction.
5. Municipal laws are within the territory of a state and that differs from state to state. But international laws are common to all states of the world even if it lacks compulsory jurisdiction .

MODULE V

FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign Policy is one of the wheels with which the process of international politics operates. So it is very essential to learn the concepts of foreign policies before deducing any conclusion in international politics. Foreign policy is not separate from national policy, instead, it is a part of it. It consists of national interests that are to be furthered in relation to other furthering national interests in their foreign policies within the limits of their strength and the realities of the external environment. In recent years, the term foreign policy has become so wide that it covers almost all sorts of relations of one government with the other. Obviously, then political relations also fall in the scope of foreign policy.

The term 'foreign policy' has been defined in a number of ways. George Modelski defines it as, "The system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.

C.C Rodee defines foreign policy as a group of principles which are adopted by the states to protect the national interests and to change the behaviour of others.

In his own words, "Foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with (contacting) other states to protect or further its vital interests"

The above definition makes it clear that foreign policy is the group of principles determined by the states. These principles involve those interests which influence the behaviour of the states, intending to establish their relations to further and promote them. This includes not only the general principles but also those means necessary to implement them. Thus, these principles are those broader interests which states strive to achieve in international relations.

Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is that part of national policy which the states adopt in relation to other sovereign states. All these states are the components of the international system. They are sovereign, independent and to a large extent cling to the idea of nationalism. Thus 1) the sovereignty of the states, (2) their inter-dependence, and (3) their domestic and international circumstances are the three elements which generate and determine the foreign policy and its direction.

The first element is the sovereignty of the state which determines the principle of safeguarding the territorial integrity of the states. The element of inter dependence necessitates the principle of bargaining in foreign policy as the states endeavour to achieve the maximum possible advantage under all circumstances. The third element the domestic

and intermediate circumstances add the factor of realism. The foreign policy of all states is based on these three principles.

1) Principles of Safeguarding the territorial integrity

This is the primary duty of a state to protect the property of its citizens and to safeguard their interests wherever they are. This duty also involves the concept of security of national boundaries and if necessary to occupy other alien parts of the territory. The states, aiming at the protection of their own territory, pursue the policy of "status quo". The American policy of Isolation (Monroe Doctrine) and Stimson doctrine of 1932, may be cited as the best examples of policy of status quo. The states, aiming at subjugating occupied or non-occupied territory, may be names as pursuing the revisionist policy. The policy of safeguarding the interests of the citizens inside or outside the state, is known as policy of "prestige";

2) Theory of Bargaining

Inter dependence of the states is an important phenomenon in international politics. All the states, big or small, are dependent on one another for one or the other reasons. This inter-dependence may result in conflict or cooperation. So the states under these stresses endeavour to create a situation under which international behaviour may not be broken completely. Foreign policy strives to create such a balance with bargaining.

3) Theory of the promotion of National interest

It is the pious duty of all sovereign states to promote and further their national interests through their foreign policies. There may be a little bit of difference between the interests on one state with that of another as they naturally vary according to time, place and location, but the interests as self preservation, security and well-being of its citizens are the common interests on the basis of which foreign policy is generally formulated.

4) Specific Determinants of Foreign Policy:

- i) Historical and National value
 - ii) Geography.
 - iii) Public opinion, and
 - iv) National capacity
- i) *Historical and National Values:* The foreign policy is shaped and conditioned by the history of a nation. From history alone the nation inherits a style and culture which in their turn influence and decide the course of actions the nation is to follow in relation to other sovereign states. History is the record of the doings of a community, of its failures and successes. These successes and failures guide the course of foreign policy.

ii) **Geography:** Geography is the factor that directly determines the national goals and aspirations and hence is one of the most potent factors in influencing the formulation of the foreign policy. An analysis of the foreign policy goals of different nations will reveal the strong influence of geography. The foreign policy of Britain in pre-Second World War period was centered on the principles of balance of power, superiority on the seas and expansion of empire. These aspects of the policy were the natural corollary of geography`

iii) **Public opinion:** The establishment of democratic institutions, the increase in the standard of living, the scourge of First World War and expansion of education have made the world public opinion a significant factor in foreign policy. The states never dare pursue the interest contrary to world public opinion. At least they will pursue only those interests which are not opposed to world public opinion.

Public opinion shapes the foreign policy provided it is clear and well shaped. It could be significant factor only in developed states. In developing or under-developed states either it is not reflected in foreign policy issued or it is too native to play a significant role.

iv) **National Capacity:** National capacity means the military preparedness of a state, its technological advancement and modern means of communication. The economic development and enlightened political institutions are also associated with the national capacity. A policy is doomed if it does not strike a balance with the national capacity, the change in American foreign policy in post Second World War period explains this. From 1823 the U.S.A had been pursuing the policy of isolation but the tremendous rate of economic growth in twentieth century compelled it to follow the policy of involvement in place of isolation. The increase in national capacity of India after 1971 brought diversions in the traditional policy of non-alignment.

National capacity is the pivot of foreign policy. It determines as well as implements it. In fact the foreign policy is directly associated with the national capacity. If the state increases its national capacity, its foreign policy will need a big change. It will strive to achieve a status of distinction in international relations, if it decreases, the state will have to compromise with its poor status. For example, at the end of Second World War Britain became a less powerful state in Europe as well as in the world. This change in national capacity has brought overwhelming diversions in British foreign policy.

External Factors

External factors are of two types – flexible and rigid. In flexible factors we include international organizations and world public opinion. These are dynamic elements as the international organizations, international law and the treaties create international environment. This international environment influences world public opinion. These are

dynamic elements as the international organizations, international law and the treaties create international environment. This international environment influences world public opinion. The states, while formulating foreign policy, have to keep in mind this dynamics of international politics. The reactions of state, on the other hand, is not dynamic. We may term it as rigid factor. The states have some area of agreement and disagreement. They have some allied, some neighbours and some foes. These factors are permanent. For a clear understanding of these elements let us elaborate them.

- i) **International Organization:** The international organizations have started playing important role in foreign policy formulation. The states have to take a note of international law, treaties and contracts so that their violation may not jeopardize the policies. The Communist China, for a long time, showed utter disregard to these factors and consequently could not secure its due position in the field of international relations. Only after 1971, she recognised their importance and that move on the part of Communist China have introduced new dimensions in international politics.
- ii) **World Public Opinion:** World public opinion is very dynamic element. Like a flicker of light it influences the foreign policies only too occasionally. In other words, the element of consistency is totally absent in it. Only if the domestic public opinion supports the world public opinion it becomes an important determinant of foreign policy.

The opinion is a factor which faces many obstacles in crystallization. The first and foremost is the ideological division of the world in which the actions good or bad of one part become naturally adverse to other part. The role of propaganda, absence of free press and economic backwardness of a larger number of states towards the evolution of a real public opinion.

- iii) **Reactions of the States:** The states have to take notice of the interests of other states while formulating their policies. They will never endeavour to pursue those interests which are totally opposed to the fundamental interests of other states. If a policy fails to apprehend the reactions of other in this light, it will come to apprehend the reactions of other in this light, it will come to a disastrous end.

Hitler in 1939 committed a blunder when he refused to be guided by the British reactions and went ahead with his Polish invasion. The result is well known. Japan's failure in assessing the American reactions in Pearl Harbour incident agains brought disaster to Japanese policy which had intelligently avoided offending the U.S.A upto that period.

Policy Making Factors: In the formulation of foreign policy, the statesmen including all other policy makers, play a decisive role. As the final shape of foreign policy is the handwork of these elites, the impact of their views and personality is but natural. The dictators generally try to change the public opinion in their favour through a controlled press. Leaders like Mussolini, Hitler, Mao Tse-Tung and Ayub

Khan have done the same. Generally, the policy makers have many tasks. They have to consider internal problems, public opinion, external circumstances and reaction of other states. In these tasks they are assisted by a number of departmental experts.

- i) **Head of the Government and Foreign Minister:** In a totalitarian state foreign policy depends upon the whims of a dictator. In a democracy the general public is not competent enough to participate in it effectively. This phenomenon centralizes the powers of formulating the policy in the hands of a few, termed in modern parlance, as elites. The American President Truman used to say that the president is the maker of foreign policy. In a parliamentary democracy it is the Prime Minister who wields this authority.

Personality equation plays a very significant part in politics and administration. This sometimes, makes the foreign minister more important than the President, or Prime Minister. During Attlee's Premiership Sir Earnest Bevin was the prime mover and so was John Foster Dulles under Eisenhower. Dr. Henry Kissinger virtually became the symbol of American foreign policy in Nixon and Ford period.

- ii) **Legislature:** The legislature is generally a clumsy house. It is very strong word unfit to be wielded properly. Nevertheless, it is the last authority in decision making and the strings of purse are under its control. These factors make it a strong determinant of foreign policy. The post Second World War period has seen anew aspect of foreign policy, ie. the economic aid and assistance to promote the national interests. For that matter, the executives of foreign policy depend upon the legislature of sanctions of huge amounts. The U.S.A is the chief donor of economic assistance. This has made the Senate a powerful concluded by the executives-Prime Minister or President by they must be ratified by the legislatures before they are applied. This against makes the legislature, important determinants.
- iii) **Foreign office and other services:** In theory the ministers make the policy and the permanent officials merely execute it, but in practice the officials formulate the policy and the ministers only render advice. It is equally true that if the minister is bent upon carrying out his own impressions then the bureaucracy has no alternative but to give way. Neville Chamberlain clashed with the foreign office over his policy of Appeasement. He removed Lord Vansittart from his policies are less firm and clashes less pronounced, the advice of the officials carries much weight?

Foreign policy is not conducted by diplomacy along; it relies heavily on the military forces and on the scientists who supply them with up-to date weapons, one economists and also, especially today, on intelligence and propaganda services. In the world of today the weapons are not use, on the contrary they are produced only to deter. Here the scientists start playing an important role. In the same manner the governments have to rely upon the information rendered by the

intelligence agencies. The role of Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S.A is now an open secret. We know from the newspaper revelations that this agency was responsible for the coup in Chile, invasion of Cuba in 1991, the U2 reconnaissance flight over Soviet Union and murder of many heads of the governments of hostile states. In Soviet Union the technical cabinet also processes the information of the K.G.B and only the a policy is formulated.

- iv) **Ideologies:** Ideology is the basis as well as the goal of foreign policy. The states establish their political and economic institutions on the basis of ideology and endeavour to translate those very principles in the sphere of foreign policy. As is obvious, a particular ideology has a goal which the state strives to achieve in international relation. The ideological division of the world between the Soviet bloc and American bloc has focused tow types of foreign policies. One is communist oriented and the other non communist. A sort of affinity can be traced among the states of identical ideologies while there is a feeling of animosity among the states adhering to contradictory ideologies. This is the root cause of cold war and post war tensions.
- v) **National Interests and Nation Values:** National interest is the key concept in foreign policy. These are the aspirations of the state to be achieved through foreign policy. The policy makers are governed by their respective national interests. If they agree on certain points it is because they view that the interests they are piously pursuing are not jeopardized. If they agree to concessions, they do only when they are convinced that this brings advantage if their states. national interests are the governing factors which loom large in diplomatic conferences-bilateral or multilateral. The success and failure of all these conferences depend upon the national interests involved. A conference cannot see the light of success of its conditions affect them and the area of cooperation stretches to the horizons of national interest. Lord Palmerston was too right to say that friendship or enmity is never permanent in foreign policy, it is the national interests that are permanent and it was the pious duty of the states to follow them.

Foreign Policy Objectives

If all the objectives of foreign policy are to be explained by one single word, that word undoubtedly is the national interest, but this word is too ambiguous to lead us to any clear understanding. Paul Seabury opined that the national interest can indicate such ideal objectives which the states pursue through their foreign policy or it can simply be the interpretation of the policy makers or its meaning may be different individuals and group."

K.J Holsti holds that the national interests are 'an image of a future state of affairs and future set of conditions which governments through individual policy makes aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behaviour of states.

In principle the foreign policy is always formulated on the basis of national interests but in practice the policy may drift far-off from these goals under the pressure of International environment and power pattern. The policy of the Soviet Union aims at the world revolution for spreading communism. The U.S.A since 1930 had specifically declared the support for democracies in the world. Both the countries have drifted from these aspired goals of their polities. The Soviet Union has been supporting governments of Iraq and Iran where a campaign of witch hunting for communists is official policy. It gives many surprises when the Soviet Union fails to reach a compromise with the communist regimes of China and Albania. The U.S.A in post War period found itself in awkward position of supporting the totalitarian regimes and fascist governments, which was least convincing in view of the old policy of supporting the democracies.

The objectives of foreign policy are divided in three categories namely.

- i) Core values and interests.
- ii) Middle range objectives, and
- iii) Universal long range objectives.

i) Core values and interests

Core values and interests determine the foreign policy of a nation. The basis of these objectives are those necessities and beliefs on which depends the existence of the state. These necessities and beliefs are as follows.

- a) **National security:** National security is the primary goal of a foreign policy. This is the article of faith society generally consents to without any dissent. The treaties, contracts and alliances which the states conclude with other states rest on this objective. In 1823, the then president of the U.S.A declared the famous Monroe doctrine which aimed at checking the interference of European powers in the affairs of America.

The deep involvement of Soviet Union in East European affairs, its historic concern to find a route through Dardanelles and Bosphorous, and its efforts to defend its eastern borders from any possible aggression are the Soviet interests related with the question of national security. The complexion of the government in Moscow would not bring any significant change in the Soviet Union's stand on these highly sensitive issues. The policy of status quo; This may include the protection of rights and property of the nationals living in foreign lands. This policy is known as 'policy of prestige';

The concept of national security is not confined to territorial integrity or security of national boarder. It may include the security of cultural and political institutions and beliefs and values.

- b) ***Economic development:*** The promotion of economic interests of a nation is the fundamental goal in foreign policy as this is directly associated with state's existence. The status of a state in international relations is always determined by the economic standard. So the state would always strive to adopt a course of action which brings economic prosperity thereby making its armed forces well equipped, citizens much relaxed and state a mention that the national interests are more economic than political and foreign policy more guided by economic factors than by political ones. War, imperialism and colonialism, treaties, alliances and contracts are totally based on the idea of economic property.

In post Second World War period, European states adopted the American line as American economic aid was more than necessary of economic recovery of Europe. India, at the dawn of its independence, shrewdly opted or a policy of non-alignment to seek the help of both the blocs for its economic prosperity. The Sino - American détente is again the confirmation of economic interests dominating the politics than the vice versa.

ii) Middle range objective:

The middle range objective include international co-operation, prestige and protection of the interests of the nationals. These objectives can be illustrated as follows:

- a) ***The interests of Pressure Groups:*** The existence of pressure groups with global interests, is a new phenomenon in politics which has a significant influence in foreign policy also. The pressure groups wield a considerable influence on their respective governments which have to include the interests of these pressure groups in foreign policy to bring stability in national politics or to assure the support of these groups in dominating the domestic political scene. This makes it clear that no government can get a smooth sailing without the support or these interest groups. That is why, to placate them, the governments have to deviate from political norms. The pro-Israel policy the U.S.A in the past was due to the considerable influence of the American Jews in American politics. India's repeated assurance to the Arab world to support them against Israel is because of the pressure of Muslim factor in India politics.
- b) ***Non-Political Cooperation:*** In the field of international relations mutual cooperation is more than necessary today. So the objectives of a foreign policy inevitably include economic cultural and social cooperation. The economic aid to the developing states and the facilities the states give to the foreign students to pursue higher and technical education well explains this.
- c) ***Promotion of National Prestige:*** The objective of this type includes those policies of states which are meant to focus an impressive image of the states abroad. The states generally resort to propaganda through mass media to create the desired effect. The competition between two super powers to reach the planets is motivated

by this desire. The success of any of them in its mission would certainly prove the scientific and technological superiority of one over the other.

- d) *Territorial expansion*: The policy of territorial expansion includes imperialism, colonialism which the states adhere to meet their economic and political aspirations. From 18th to 20th century the European states had adopted the policy of imperialism to capture the markets. Raw materials and to claim superiority in European affairs. In modern times the traditional imperialistic policy has undergone a change and this can be explained by illustrating its two prevalent forms. The first is a policy which aims at the increase of areas of influence, while the other seeks to capture the economic resources reducing the other state to the status of dependency. The economic or dollar imperialism of the West European countries and of the U.S.A falls in this category, while the Russian policy of imperialism can be covered in the former types: expansion of areas of influence or ideology.

iii) Universal long range objective:

These are objectives aiming at restricting the international system. The plans and dreams which an ideology forms to establish the international system of its own liking is the distant goal of foreign policy. Hitler's idea of 'Thousand years Reich', the idea of world revolution in socialist countries, the plans of the U.S.A to make the world for democracy are undoubtedly the foreign policy goals but with some distinction. While the primary and middle range goals are the policies immediately to be pursued, foreign policy is always coloured by them but the long range foals are the ambitions which the states may achieve in distant future and for them the states never press too much in the present.
