



# **BACHELOR OF ARTS (HONOURS) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**SEMESTER-III**

**CORE-VII: Perspectives on International  
Relations**

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*AUTHOR*

**Dr. Badrinath Das**



**ଦୂର ଓ ଅନୁଲାଇନ ଶିକ୍ଷା କେନ୍ଦ୍ର, ଉତ୍କଳ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ**  
**CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION**  
**UTKAL UNIVERSITY**

## **Core-VII: Perspectives on International Relations**

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Swapna S. Prabhu, (Member)

Asst.Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Utkal University, Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar

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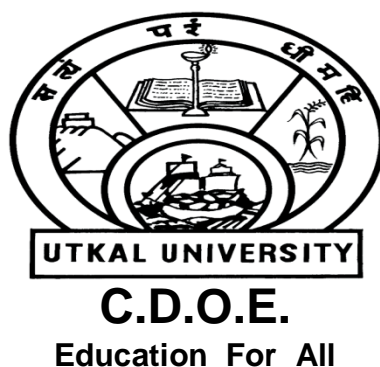
Dr.Badrinath Das, Faculty in Political Science, CDOE, Utkal University

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Founded in 1943, Utkal University is the 17th University of the country and the first of Orissa. It is the result of the efforts of Pandit Nilakantha Dash, Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati, Pandit Godavarish Mishra and many others who envisioned a progressive education system for modern Odisha.

The University started functioning on 27 November 1943, at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. It originated as an affiliating and examining body but shifted to its present campus spread over 400 acres of land at Vanivihar in Bhubaneswar, in 1962.

A number of Postgraduate Departments and other centres were established in the University campus. There are presently more than two hundred general affiliated colleges under the University. It has eleven autonomous colleges under its jurisdiction, twenty-eight constituent postgraduate departments, 2 constituent law colleges and a Directorate of Distance & Continuing Education. It boasts of a centre for Population Studies, a School of Women's Studies, an Academic Staff College, a pre-school and a high school. The University also offers a number of self-financing courses.

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We wish you happy reading.

DIRECTOR

## **CORE-VII: PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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## **BLOCK-1: STUDYING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Unit-2: Emergence of International State System

Unit-3: National Interest-Key Determinants of International  
Relations

Unit-4: Power Cornerstone of International Relations

Unit-5: Power and Base Elements

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## **UNIT-1: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: MEANING, SCOPE, AND EVOLUTION**

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### **Structure**

- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Meaning and Definition of IR
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- 1.5 Scope of International Relations
- 1.6 Evolution of International Relations
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### **1.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- Meaning and Definition of International Relations
- Nature and Scope of International Relations
- Evolution of International Relations

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### **1.2: INTRODUCTION**

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International Relations (IR) refers to the study of interactions between nations, states, and other actors on the global stage. It encompasses a broad range of topics, including diplomacy, foreign policy, conflict resolution, globalization, and international law. The scientific study of those interactions is also referred to as international studies, international politics, or international affairs. In a broader sense, the study of IR, in addition to multilateral relations, concerns all activities among states—such as war, diplomacy, trade, and foreign policy—as well as relations with and among other international actors, such as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), international legal bodies, and multinational corporations (MNCs). There are several schools of thought within IR, of which the most prominent are realism, liberalism, and constructivism.



International relations is widely classified as a major sub-discipline of political science, along with comparative politics, political methodology, political theory, and public administration. It also often draws heavily from other fields, including anthropology, economics, geography, law, philosophy, and sociology.

While international politics has been analyzed since antiquity, international relations did not become a discrete field until 1919, when it was first offered as an undergraduate major by Aberystwyth University in the United Kingdom. After the Second World War, international relations burgeoned in both importance and scholarship—particularly in North America and Western Europe—partly in response to the geostrategic concerns of the Cold War. The collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent rise of globalization in the late 20th century presaged new theories and evaluations of the rapidly changing international system.

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### **1.3: MEANING AND DEFINITION OF IR**

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International Relations is the study and practice of political relationships among the world's nations, especially their governments. International relations mean interactions between nongovernmental groups, such as multinational corporations or international organizations such as the OIC or the United Nations (UN). International relations is a broad and complex topic both for countries engaged in relationships with other nations, and for observers trying to understand those interactions. These relationships are influenced by many variables. They are shaped by the primary participants in international relations, including national leaders, oilier politicians, and nongovernmental participants, such as private corporations, and nongovernmental organizations. They are also affected by domestic political events and non-political influences, including economics, geography, and culture. Despite all of these other influences, the primary focus of international relations is on the interactions between nations.

To understand these interactions, experts look at the world as a system of nations whose actions are guided by a well-defined set of rules. They call this system the interstate system. The interstate system has existed for less than 500 years and is based on a common understanding of what a nation is and how it should treat other nations. But recent changes in technology and international norms have caused some scholars to question whether this system will continue in the future, or be replaced by some other system of relationships that is not yet known. Until the 1970s the study of international, relations centred mainly on international security studies, i.e.

questions of war and peace. Scholars believed a nation's military power was the most important characteristic in determining how that nation would relate to others. As a result, scholars focused on the relative military strength of one nation compared to others, alliances and diplomacy between nations, and the strategies nations used to protect their territories and further their own interests. Since the 1970s the importance of economics in international relations has increased and the study of international political 'economy has received increased attention. The primary force driving the interaction between nations is economic, not military. There is trade and economic relations among nations, especially the political cooperation between nations to create and maintain international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The term 'International' was used for the first time by Jermy Bentham in the later part of the 18th century with regard to the laws of nations. Consequently, the term "IR" was used to define the official relations between sovereign states. I he economic, social. cultural. political and military relations amongst the state of the world may also be included in the preview of the subject. Thus, there are broadly two views regarding the meaning of international relations. Narrow view: According to this view 'IR' includes only "The official relations conducted by the authorized leaders of the states." According to this view other relations do not fall in the domain of IR' Broad view: Some scholars have taken a broad view of international relations, and included apart from the official relations between states, all intercourse among states and all movements of people, goods and ideas across the national frontiers with in its preview.

### **Definitions of IR**

"International relations is the branch of political science that studies relations between countries of the world." (Encarta).

"It is not only the nations seek to regulate, varied types of groups-nations, states, governments, people, region, alliances, confederations, international organizations, cultural organizations, religious organizations must be dealt with in the study of international relations if the treatment is to be made realistic." (Quincy Wright)

"International relations is concerned with the factors and activities, that affect the external policies and the powers of the basic units into that the world is divided." (Hoffman).

"International relations is the discipline, that tries to explain political activities across state boundaries (Trevor Tayor).

It embraces all kinds of relations traversing state boundaries, no matter whether they are of an

economic, legal, political or any other character, whether they be private or official, and all human behaviour originating on one side of a state boundary International relations studies foreign relations, diplomacy. agreements and pacts, international law, international organizations, inter-state interaction, war and peace, international justice and alliances etc. pacts, international law, international organizations, inter-state interaction, war and peace, international justice and alliances etc.

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#### **1.4: NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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The context and nature of International Relations have undergone major changes after the Second World War. Traditionally, world politics was centred around Europe and relations among nations were largely conducted by officials of foreign offices in secrecy. The common man was hardly ever involved, and treaties were often kept secret. Today public opinion has begun to play an important role in the decision-making process in foreign offices, thus, changing completely the nature of international relations. Ambassadors, once briefed by their governments, were largely free to conduct relations according to the ground realities of the countries of their posting. Today, not only nuclear weapons changed the nature of war and replaced erstwhile the balance of power by the balance of terror, but also the nature of diplomacy changed as well. We live in the jet age where the heads of state and government and their foreign ministers travel across the globe and personally establish contacts and conduct international relations. Before the First World War a traveller from India to Britain spent about 20 days in the sea voyage. Today, it takes less than 9 hours for a jet aircraft to fly from Delhi to London, telephones, fax machines, teleprinters and other electronic devices have brought all government leaders in direct contact. Hotline communication between Washington and Moscow, for example, keeps the top world leaders in constant touch. This has reduced the freedom of ambassadors who receive daily instructions from their governments.

Decolonisation has resulted in the emergence of a large number of sovereign states. The former colonies of the European Powers, including India, have become important actors on the stage of international relation. They were once silent spectators. Today, they participate in the conduct of world politics. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has created 15 members of the United Nations, instead of the previous three. Some of the very small countries like Nauru may have no power but they also have an equal voice in the General Assembly. Four very small countries viz. Liechtenstein, San Marino, Monaco and Andorra were admitted to the UN during 1990-93. The

total number of UN members has gone up from 51 in 1945 to 185 in 1997. Thus, international relations are now conducted by such a large number of new nation-states. Besides, many non-state actors such as multinational corporations and transnational bodies like terrorist groups have been influencing international relations in a big way. With the collapse of the Soviet Union as a Super Power, the United States has emerged as the supreme monolithic power and can now dominate the international scene almost without any challenge. The Non-Alignment Movement ((NAM) still exists but with the dismemberment of one of its founders (i.e.: Yugoslavia) and the disappearance of rival power blocs, the role of the 'Third World' has changed along with that of NAM.

Due to increasing human-activities, the relations among various states has been changing and due to these continuous change in International Relations, the nature of International Relations has been changing. Due to the changing nature of International Relations, it is difficult to explain the nature of International Relations. However, these are the following important points explaining the nature of International Relations.

1. **No Single Definitions:** International Relations has no single definition. Unfortunately, till date, no universally accepted definitions of International Relations have been coined because of its continuous changing nature.
2. **Operates in Anarchical System:** International Relations operates in an anarchical system. There is no single organisations to regulate among states. Michel Nicholson says that International Relations is study of aspects of anarchy, though an anarchy which is not necessarily chaotic.
3. **Concerns with Global issues:** International Relations deals with key issues which concerns public global interest. For example, every country has an interest in stopping global warming, goal that can be achieved only by many countries act together.
4. **Nations as primary actors of International Relations:** Politics is a process of interactions among groups and International politics is primarily a process of interactions among nations. Nations-states are the key actors but along with the several non-state, transnational and supra-national groups, these groups also play an important role in International Relations. The primacy, however, belongs to nations states because these still control all the instruments like coercion and violence in International Relations.
5. **National interest as the objective:** National interest is the objective that each nation attempts to secure in relations with other nations. International Politics basically involves

the art of preserving or securing goals of national interests by using control over the other nations. It is the process by which each nation rises to safeguard and secure its interests in conditions of conflict with other nations.

- 6. Conflicts as the conditions of International Politics:** the national interests of various nations are neither fully compatible nor fully incompatible. The incompatibility of national interest of various nations is a source of conflict at the international level which finds concrete manifestation in the form of disputes. However, the possibility of making the interests compatible through accommodation, adjustment and reconciliation leads to some cooperation among nations. As such, conflicts and cooperation as well as coercion and persuasion are always present in International Relations.
- 7. Power as the means:** in conditions of conflict, each nation attempts to secure the goals of its national interest. The means for securing these goals is power. That is why each nation is continuously engaged in the process of acquiring, maintaining, increasing and using power. The power that backs a nation's attempt to secure its national interest is called national power. Power in the context of International relations is conceptualized as national power.
- 8. Power as the means as well as the end in International Politics:** In International Politics, power is both the means as well as end. Nations always use power for securing the goal of their national interests. At the same time, they regard power as a vital part of their national interest and therefore try to build and keep a reserve of national power. Each nation always works for maintaining and increasing its National power.
- 9. International Politics as a process of conflict-resolution among Nations:** Conflict is the condition of International politics. It is the most important element of International Politics because in the absence of conflicts of interests, power can have little function to perform. Conflict is the very basis of International Relations. It is at the root of both disputes and cooperation among nations. Conflicts of interests is a reality of International Relations. However, at the same time, it can't be denied that the existence of conflict compels the nations with similar goals of national interests to cooperate with each other.
- 10. International Politics involves continuous interaction among nations:** since, the national interest of various nations are in conflict with one another, conflict cannot be completely eliminated from International society. However, at the same time, conflict must be resolved because unresolved conflicts can lead to war. This necessitates

continuous attempts on the part of nations to adjust their relations with one another. Nations try to achieve this bemoans of their power and resources.

**11. Interaction among foreign Policies:** Since international environment is very complex and dynamic and each nation has to act in conditions characterised by conflict, cooperation, competition, war, tensions and uncertainties, it is essential for each nation to perform on the basis of its foreign policy. The relations among nations mostly take the form of interactions among the foreign policies of the nations.

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## 1.5: SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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As a subject of study, International Relations is relatively new and developing subject. Its scope has continuously expanding and developing. The scope of study of International Relations includes the following major areas or topics:

- 1. State System:** The study of international relations begins with the state system. One can see a great impact of the state system on international scene since last three centuries. The individuals organise themselves in sovereign states and through them strive to fulfill their interests. The incompatible interests of these sovereign states cause conflict, and international politics is those the natural outcome of the conflict of sovereign states. Not all states assume to every other national state. Some are significant because of their neighbourhood, some owing to their military or economic power, whereas some others due to the racial or cultural links. In brief, inter-state relations are the result of sovereign state and international relations studies this relations.
- 2. Relations in Conflict and Cooperation:** International relations studies relations between two or more states, which are very often complex and influenced by a variety of geopolitical, historical, social, religious, ideological, strategic and leadership factors. Broadly speaking, these relationship have taken the form of cooperation and conflict. Cooperation and conflict are two side of the same coin. Inspire of the fact that there were more conflict in international history than corporation Both Co-Existed throughout the various periods of history International relations is primarily a study of both conflictual and cooperative inter-state relations.
- 3. General and Diplomatic History:** In the initial years of the beginning of the discipline, its studies were mainly historical. International relations was considered identical with

international or diplomatic history for quite a long time. Under this tradition, certain major events were taken up for analysis against a historical perspective. After some time, the historical approach was replaced by many new and better approaches yet historical facts and events have not lost their relevance to international relations. For example, to study the recent Indo-Pak relations one has to go back into the past to know their historical background. The study of general and specially the diplomatic history cannot be separate from International relations.

4. **Power:** In the post Second World War period power became the central theme in the study of international relations. According to Morgenthau international politics is nothing else but power Politics and can be realistically understood only if viewed as the concept of interest defined in terms of power of a national state. Power has practical as well as theoretical relevance. It is a major determinant of the policies of the leading states of the world and of international relations generally. In international relations one studies the nature, elements and measurement of national power, balance of power, power equations and limitations on national power. Major limitations on power which are being studied are: international law, international morality, world public opinion, balance of power, collective security and international organisations.
5. **International Law and Organisations:** International law acts as restriction on national power and state action. Thus it is accepted as a very important aspect of the study of international relations. International law contains a set of rules, which regulates and determines the inter-state behaviour pattern both in time of peace and war. Therefore, a sound knowledge of international law is must or understanding international relations. The United Nations, the most comprehensive of all international organisations, regional arrangements NATO OAS, EEC, and SAARC and other organisations international or regional character have assumed significant role in the present world. These international institutions provide forums for cooperation and conflicts resolutions and are governed by their own rule. These organisations came into existence to for economic, military, technological or cultural cooperation among member states. Since all these organisations and institutions have bearings on inter-state relations, they become a subject-matter of international relations to that extent.
6. **War and Peace:** It is the problem of war and peace around which almost all the studies of international relations revolve. It is no less a problem than of human survival. Conflict of

interests and struggle supremacy among nations often lead to warfare between two or more nations or their groups. War is as old a phenomenon as the state itself and it is essentially followed by some sort of peace activity and settlement. War and peace activities are now studied more systematically in this sphere, the study of international relations is of great importance for all mankind and requires interdisciplinary approach and analysis.

- 7. National Interest:** National interests are the objectives of sovereign states which they pursue with the help of power and through the instrument of foreign policy. In a way national interests are the pivot around which international relations cluster. Hartmann correctly says that international relations as a field of study is focused upon the processes by which states adjust their national interests to those of other states. Thus, the concern of national interest becomes central to the conduct of national policies. The study of national interest has become useful in analysing the history and conduct of a nation's foreign policy.
- 8. Ideologies:** The twentieth century is also marked by the rise of rival ideologies such as communism, socialism, capitalism, Nazism, fascism, totalitarianism, liberalism etc. With conflict in political, economic and social systems, ideological issues came to the forefront on the international scene. Since the First World War many of the international problems have ideological overtones which further complicated inter-state relations. No doubt for the last few years there is the talk of end of ideology and de-ideologization of international relations yet ideological elements cannot be ignored in the study of international relations. To understand the contemporary international relations the process of both the idealisation and deidealisation has to be taken into account.
- 9. Foreign Policy:** The sovereign states conduct their foreign relations and interact with each other through their foreign policies and, thus foreign policy is international politics. It is like a charter containing national interests showing the areas of agreement and disagreement. It explains the ideals with which the state would exert its influence and the limit of its total effectiveness. Though foreign policies are not the be-all and end-all of international relations yet they constitute a significant part of its study.
- 10. Alliances and Groupings:** No doubt, most of the major multilateral alliances, including NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, CENTO etc. which flourished in the fifties and early sixties have now lost their relevance yet alliance politics became an important area of study in the postwar international relations. The study of international relations focused on



the factors that contribute to the growth of such military alliances, the degree of their unity and their impact on the balance of power situation among the states concerned. There are also groupings other than military alliances such as communist countries, the free world, the Islamic world, nonaligned countries, the Arab world, African countries etc. They function unitedly on many common issues inside and outside the UN. The uniting factors, the degree of their unity as well as their conflicts with other groups, form the subject matter of international relations.

**11. Economic Factors:** Economic interests, like defence interests play role in political transaction among state and thus they assume importance in inter state relations. No one can ignore in international relations the economic factors such as food problem, economic planning and development, rates of exchange, tariffs, exchange controls, commodity agreements, international trade, balance of payments, foreign aid, disparities between developed and under-developed economies, demand for New International Economic order, international investment, multinational corporations, international economic agencies such as the World Bank and international Monetary Fund and many other UN agencies and regional economic agencies. The Marxist approach to international relations lay stress purely on economic factors and many non-communist theories also recognise the role of economic elements in international life. Economic factors are within the scope of international relations to the extent they influence inter-state relations.

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## 1.6: EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Studies of international relations started thousands of years ago; Barry Buzan and Richard Little considered the interaction of ancient Sumerian city-states, starting in 3,500 BC, as the first fully-fledged international system. Analyses of the foreign policies of sovereign city states have been done in ancient times, as in Thucydides' analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta, as well as by Niccolò Machiavelli in *The Prince*, published in 1532, where he analyzed the foreign policy of the renaissance city state of Florence. The contemporary field of international relations, however, analyzes the connections existing between sovereign nation-states. This makes the establishment of the modern state system the natural starting point of international relations history.

The establishment of modern sovereign states as fundamental political units traces back to

the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 in Europe. During the preceding Middle Ages, European organization of political authority was based on a vaguely hierarchical religious order. Contrary to popular belief, Westphalia still embodied layered systems of sovereignty, especially within the Holy Roman Empire. More than the Peace of Westphalia, the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 is thought to reflect an emerging norm that sovereigns had no internal equals within a defined territory and no external superiors as the ultimate authority within the territory's sovereign borders. These principles underpin the modern international legal and political order.

The period between roughly 1500 to 1789 saw the rise of independent sovereign states, multilateralism, and the institutionalization of diplomacy and the military. The French Revolution contributed the idea that the citizenry of a state, defined as the nation, that were sovereign, rather than a monarch or noble class. A state wherein the nation is sovereign would thence be termed a nation-state, as opposed to a monarchy or a religious state; the term republic increasingly became its synonym. An alternative model of the nation-state was developed in reaction to the French republican concept by the Germans and others, who instead of giving the citizenry sovereignty, kept the princes and nobility, but defined nation-statehood in ethnic-linguistic terms, establishing the rarely if ever fulfilled ideal that all people speaking one language should belong to one state only. The same claim to sovereignty was made for both forms of nation-state. In Europe today, few states conform to either definition of nation-state: many continue to have royal sovereigns, and hardly any are ethnically homogeneous.

The particular European system supposing the sovereign equality of states was exported to the Americas, Africa, and Asia via colonialism and the "standards of civilization". The contemporary international system was finally established through decolonization during the Cold War. However, this is somewhat over-simplified. While the nation-state system is considered "modern", many states have not incorporated the system and are termed "pre-modern".

A handful of states have moved beyond insistence on full sovereignty, and can be considered "post-modern". The ability of contemporary IR discourse to explain the relations of these different types of states is disputed. "Levels of analysis" is a way of looking at the international system, which includes the individual level, the domestic state as a unit, the international level of transnational and intergovernmental affairs, and the global level.

What is explicitly recognized as international relations theory was not developed until after World

War I, and is dealt with in more detail below. IR theory, however, has a long tradition of drawing on the work of other social sciences. The use of capitalizations of the "I" and "R" in international relations aims to distinguish the academic discipline of international relations from the phenomena of international relations. Many cite Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (6th century BC), Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (5th century BC), Chanakya's *Arthashastra* (4th century BC), as the inspiration for realist theory, with Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Machiavelli's *The Prince* providing further elaboration.

Similarly, liberalism draws upon the work of Kant and Rousseau, with the work of the former often being cited as the first elaboration of democratic peace theory.<sup>[19]</sup> Though contemporary human rights is considerably different from the type of rights envisioned under natural law, Francisco de Vitoria, Hugo Grotius, and John Locke offered the first accounts of universal entitlement to certain rights on the basis of common humanity. In the 20th century, in addition to contemporary theories of liberal internationalism, Marxism has been a foundation of international relations.

### **Development as Academic Discipline**

International relations as a distinct field of study began in Britain. IR emerged as a formal academic discipline in 1919 with the founding of the first IR professorship: the Woodrow Wilson Chair at Aberystwyth, University of Wales (now Aberystwyth University), held by Alfred Eckhard Zimmern and endowed by David Davies. International politics courses were established at the University of Wisconsin in 1899 by Paul Samuel Reinsch and at Columbia University in 1910. By 1920, there were four universities that taught courses on international organization.

Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service is the oldest continuously operating school for international affairs in the United States, founded in 1919. In 1927, the London School of Economics' department of international relations was founded at the behest of Nobel Peace Prize winner Philip Noel-Baker: this was the first institute to offer a wide range of degrees in the field. That same year, the Graduate Institute of International Studies, a school dedicated to teaching international affairs, was founded in Geneva, Switzerland. This was rapidly followed by establishment of IR at universities in the US. The creation of the posts of Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at LSE and at Oxford gave further impetus to the academic study of international relations. Furthermore, the International History department at

LSE developed a focus on the history of IR in the early modern, colonial, and Cold War periods.

The first university entirely dedicated to the study of IR was the Graduate Institute of International Studies, which was founded in 1927 to form diplomats associated to the League of Nations. In 1922, Georgetown University graduated its first class of the Master of Science in Foreign Service (MSFS) degree, making it the first international relations graduate program in the United States. This was soon followed by the establishment of the Committee on International Relations (CIR) at the University of Chicago, where the first research graduate degree was conferred in 1928. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, a collaboration between Tufts University and Harvard, opened its doors in 1933 as the first graduate-only school of international affairs in the United States. In 1965, Glendon College and the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs were the first institutions in Canada to offer an undergraduate and a graduate program in international studies and affairs, respectively.

The lines between IR and other political science subfields is sometimes blurred, in particular when it comes to the study of conflict, institutions, political economy and political behavior. The division between comparative politics and international relations is artificial, as processes within nations shape international processes, and international processes shape processes within states. Some scholars have called for an integration of the fields. Comparative politics does not have similar "isms" as international relations scholarship.

Critical scholarship in International Relations has explored the relationship between the institutionalization of International Relations as an academic discipline and the demands of national governments. Robert Vitalis's book *White World Order, Black Power Politics* details the historical imbrication of IR in the projects of colonial administration and imperialism, while other scholars have traced the emergence of International Relations in relation to the consolidation of newly independent nation-states within the non-West, such as Brazil and India.

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## 1.7: SUMMARY

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In conclusion, International Relations is a dynamic and multifaceted field of study that examines the interactions between nations, states, and non-state actors on the global stage. With its rich history, diverse theoretical perspectives, and interdisciplinary approaches, international relations provides a framework for understanding the complexities of global politics and the ways in which

actors interact and shape the world around them.

As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, the study of International Relations becomes more important than ever. It helps us understand global issues, promote peace and security, advance cooperation, and address emerging challenges. By studying international relations, we can gain valuable insights into the complexities of global politics and develop effective strategies for navigating the rapidly changing world of international relations.

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## 1.8: KEY TERMS

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- **State:** A political entity with a defined territory, permanent population, government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other states.
- **Sovereignty:** The principle that states have supreme authority within their own territories and are equal under international law.
- **Nation:** A group of people who share common cultural, linguistic, or historical ties and identify as a distinct group.
- **International System:** The set of relationships among the world's states, structured by certain rules and patterns of interaction.
- **Anarchy:** The absence of a central authority in the international system; states operate in a self-help system.
- **Balance of Power:** A situation in which no one state is dominant, and power is distributed among multiple states to prevent any one from becoming too powerful.
- **Diplomacy:** The practice of conducting negotiations and maintaining relations between states.
- **International Law:** A body of rules and norms regulating interactions among states and other international actors.
- **Non-Governmental Organization (NGO):** A non-profit, voluntary citizens' group organized on a local, national, or international level.
- **Globalization:** The process by which states and peoples become more interconnected through economic, political, cultural, and technological exchanges.

- **Soft Power:** The ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, using cultural influence, political values, and diplomacy.

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## 1.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What do you mean by International Relations?
- Discuss the nature of International Relations.
- Discuss the scope and subject matter of International Relations.
- Describe the origin and growth of International Relations.

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## **UNIT-2: EMERGENCE OF INTERNATIONAL STATE SYSTEM**

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### **Structure**

- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 History of the International System
- 2.4 The West Phalian and Post-West Phalian International System
- 2.5 Functioning of the International System
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Key Terms
- 2.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 2.9 References

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### **2.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The History of the emergency of the International State System
- The West Phalian and Post-West Phalian International System
- The functioning of the International System

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### **2.2: INTRODUCTION**

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“International System” is a widely used term among students of International Relations. Scholars tried defining this term in various ways throughout the history. Scholars such as Morton Kaaplan Hugo Grotius, Karl Deutsch, Charles Mc Cleland, J. David Singer, Kenneth Boulding, David Easton and Anatole Rapport, have contributed to theorize the concept of international system. Starting with Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the eminent legal philosopher, depicted ‘great society of states’ as the foundation of international order. Joseph Frankel described International System is “a collection of independent political unites, which interact with some regularity.” Kaplan is considered as one of the most well-known believers of the International System. While insisting on the balance of power which maintains the order within the system, Kaplan defines a System as a “set points related in some way so that changing or removing any one thing in the set will make a difference to other things in the system”. Accordingly the states do not allow one state to become ‘over-dominant’ or a state to be totally rejected by the others.

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## **2.3: HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

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The evolution of International political system, some scholars believe that it began in the seventeenth century with the signing of the Peace accord of Westphalia in 1648. Since this period to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, the International System has undergone five evolutionary periods. All of these phases have different and characteristic features of each period based on the Balance of power and the major events occurred during these periods. Accordingly it was a particular fact that the first three phases in the evolution of the international system; that is from the peace of Westphalia era in 1648 to the end of World War II in 1945 were based on Multi-polar system. However, the main features such as Euro-centralism, Imperialism, rise nationalism and new powers as well as the ideological division affected mostly throughout the evolution of the system within these three phases. These features will be discussed separately in below sections.

### **Classical Period (1648-1815)**

The first phase of the international system begins with the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the congress of Vienna (1815). The Westphalia Treaty was signed after religious wars in Europe known as the 'Thirty Years' war, between Catholics and Protestant states and the modern state system was developed.

This concluded a long war among European states for religious reasons, and ended Pope's authority as the religious leader in Europe. Subsequently, the concept of sovereign state and modern states emerged. Consequently, nation-states learned the need of their active relationship between other states of the international system, most importantly the Balance of Power, which is being maintained by such sovereign entities in the system.

This can be fairly considered as the commencement of the international system. From this stage, the international system is created with relations among the nation-states and created the political foundation for state relations. This period is also remarkable for socio-political revolution such as industrial revolution and French revolution. Socio-political impact of these revolutions on state relations was significant. Industrial revolution changed the international system with new technologies for fast transportation and trade. The industrial revolution which changed the economic structure and created the rise of capitalism in the world, then led to imperialism. The Imperialist expansion changed all aspects of the entire international system, by creating the world



wars.

During the classical period, France, Russia, Britain, Austria, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the Netherlands and Prussia were the most powerful states on multi-polar power system where the international system was mainly Euro-centric. Multi-polarization was defined as “the balance of power or the equilibrium within the system was dependent upon a number of powers”

### **The Post-classical Period (1815-1914)**

The Post-classical period remained a century from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the beginning of World War I in 1914. Even during this period the major features of Classical period remained unchanged; Europe was considered as the powerful centre of the world, balance of the power system was Multi-polar, and major units of the International System were European States although the United States of America (USA) was emerging as a world power. However the significant and new features, which we can highlight during this period was the rise of *Nationalism* in Europe, which emerged as a strong force to allow states to grow more and more powerful. And also the *Imperialism* heightened the conflict of interest among European powers. European powers behaved in a manner towards their interest in overseas expansion. During the period from 1870 to 1914, European nations and the U.S. and Japan went on a colonization drive.

This nationalisms and the imperialism among the stated increased the hunger for additional territory and pushed the “strongest to survive” and to dominate the weak. This imperialism drove the European states to get divided and then the outbreak of World War 1.

### **Transitional Period (1914-1945)**

Transnational period is a complex one with many events with the beginning of the First World War to the end of Second World War. The massive destruction experienced from the first world war encouraged scholars and statesmen to focus on the international system with seeking for solutions for such conflicts. Many of them were influenced by the idealists such as Kant, Rousseau and Hugo Grotius and influenced by them, the then US president Woodrow Wilson pioneered to established the League of Nations. However, this later failed to fulfill the objectives and the collapse. This crisis period also created the arms competition among great powers, formation of power blocs, secret treaties and various aggressive campaigns, which ultimately led to the Second World War with the use of nuclear weapons. During this transnational period, the structure of the International System was likely changing. Although the balance of power still

remained Multi-polar, the United State of America and Soviet Union were emerging as the main two Super Powers, which was likely to changing the existing balance of power. This changing of power structure added new states to the international system. Some significances of this period can be listed as the transformation of old Russia to new Soviet union, creation of modern Japan, the rise of militarism most notably the developing of nuclear weapons and bombs. Ideological division between democracy, fascism and communism was another change.

However, when analyzing the evolution of international system upto world war II, it was clearly seen that the balance of power remained as multipolar order. This was then transferred to bipolar with the two blocs led by United States and the Russia.

All the historic changes occurred during these periods under multipolar world and as Kenneth Waltz described such international system is decentralized and anarchic. He stressed that the competition in multipolar system is more complicated. Waltz emphasized “In the old multipolar world, the core of an alliance consisted of a small number of states of comparable capability. Their contributions to one another's security were of crucial importance because they were of similar size”. Waltz argued that a bipolar structure dominated by two great powers is more stable than a multipolar structure dominated by three or more great powers. Under multipolarity, states rely on alliances to maintain their security. This is inherently unstable, since ‘there are too many powers to permit any of them to draw clear and fixed lines between allies and adversaries’. According to the Thomas Hobbes Realism, there are two ordering principles namely, anarchy and hierarchy. He considered that the unipolar world as a hierarchy, while also characterizing multipolar and bipolar systems as anarchical. Scholars debated on the balance of power several assumptions.

George Kennan was deeply regretting about the evolution of international system from a European-centred multipolar system to a bipolar system based on the dominance of two nuclear superpowers. In late 1940s Kennan agreed that the stability of the international system depends on the multipolar world order, which was dismissed after the world wars. He believed that the United States should use its economic power to restore Europe and Japan as great powers, so that the Soviet threat could be shared. When supporting the multipolar world order, Karl Deutch said that the international system consisted with at least five great powers such as during above mentioned phases, is historically more stable

### **The Cold War Period (1945-1989)**

Cold war period right after the Second World War was a real transformation in the international system. This period lasted till the collapse of the former Soviet Union, when the alliance with the west was ended. Following the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan after the World War II, the war partners into two blocs: Western democratic camp led by the United States and the Socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. The strange relationship between two camps was called the Cold War. This relationship was named by Joseph Frankel as “a war fought without firing a single shot”. During this period two blocs had Ideological conflicts with Intense arms race, both conventional and nuclear, Even proxy wars like the Vietnam War and the Korean War were also remained. Since there were two blocs, the balance of power was a Bi-polar one with two Super-Powers. Began with a tight balance, but later it became loose.

### **The Contemporary Period (1989 onwards)**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Super Power that balanced power in the contemporary international system was the United States. This transformation was caused by the economically weak Soviet Union and with the Globalization. The global economic and cultural forces have made the ‘relations’ or affairs more global than international. While many scholars call this is a uni-polar world, some remained doubtful to call so. since early 1990s, US had initiated to spread their primary ambition as to expand their supremacy, power and hegemony. This US hegemony had two advantages at the early era in both military and economic dominance as well as there was no other great power emerged to challenge the U.S.after Soviet Union’s collapse.However, the developments occurred in the international agenda during the past few years, we can see a certain changes in the international system from the uni-polar system. The next answer is to support this transformation of the international system to a multi-polar one.

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## **2.4: THE WEST PHALIAN AND POST-WEST PHALIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

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The basis of modern International Relations was established by the 1648 Westphalian Peace Treaties, which marked the birth of Nation-States as the privileged and primary actors, replacing the medieval system of centralized religious authority with a decentralized system of Sovereign states as the sole legitimate form of sovereign authority.

The Westphalian state-centric system was based on some new principles, including the sovereignty, sovereign independence and equality of the nation-states, territorial integrity, the equal rights and obligations of the states, non-intervention in others’ domestic affairs, and the

conduct of inter-state diplomatic relations through embassies, among many others.

Power was at the centre of this system to regulate inter-state relations in the absence of any higher systemic authority.

As Michael Vaughan argues, the Westphalian order was important for three reasons: (I) It secularized international politics and managed it on the norms of National Interests. (II) it introduced the concept of sovereignty which offered a privileged status to the states without any higher authority standing above them, unless the state voluntarily assents to such an authority. (II) it accepted the states as sovereign supreme authorities within their borders with legitimate authority over all inhabitants living there and promoted a conception of international society based on the legal equality of the states. Referring to this difference between internal and external sovereignty, domestic politics and foreign policy emerged as two distinct and independent domains for the Nation- states. This continued until the late 1980s when state sovereignty and the state-centric Westphalian system had to face the challenges of a newly emerging international order. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Eastern European Communist governments, mostly through the nonviolent Revolutions of 1989, transformed the international system by altering not only the rules governing superpower conflict but also the norms underpinning the international system. Thus, the end of the Cold War symbolized the end of modern international relations and state-centric ideology along with the weakening of the core state-centered tasks. In this respect, the Post-Westphalian International system can be conceived within the framework of three constitutive dynamics.

First, Sovereignty has been eroding in the globalizing and more cosmopolitan world. Nation states have become enmeshed in a complex network of global governance including regional and international organizations, transnational and sub-national entities, multi-national corporations and non-governmental organizations, citizen movements, and individuals that emerged as the independent actors with the assumed capacity to compete with states. Thus, states can no longer hold exclusive sovereignty and have lost the privilege of being the basic and determining actors of power struggles. Their capacities have been restrained by global dynamics which forced states to share their power and sovereignty with all non-state actors.

Second, the scope of International Relations has expanded by reaching many new fields of study. Human Rights, Gender, Women, the Environment, democratization, population movements, and energy politics are some of the new ventures. These are no longer confined to the limits of the Nation- states, inter-state relations, and state-centred activities.

Third, as Richard Haass argues, “International Relations becomes two-pronged: not just state-to-state, but between states on the one hand and sub-national and supra-national actors on the other, “along with its derivative impact on contemporary International Diplomacy as state-centred conduct.

In the Post-Westphalian International system, the nature of International Relations has changed because of the fragmentation and transformation of Sovereignty, its limits have been extended to embrace power and competition not only between states but also between cultures and civilizations. The International system has become much more interdependent, owing to the emerging partnerships between states and non-state actors. The difference between internal and external sovereignty has lost its validity. The distinction between domestic politics and foreign policy has become more uncertain than ever. Despite all of these changes, the discourse on the weakening of state power and the disappearance of states in the post-Westphalian system is only rhetorical. States continue to be important in a globalized world, although in a different way. Today, states have to open themselves to nonstate actors, which has forced the former to recognize and co-exist with the latter in a multilevel and multi-centred structure. As a result, what happened in practice in the postWestphalian era is that the conduct of certain activities and practices that were previously under the sovereign authorities of the states now take place through coordination and cooperation among several different actors. One of the most obvious areas of cooperation is diplomacy.

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## **2.5: FUNCTIONING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

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As players on the international stage, both state and non-state actors either work alone or attempt to work with other elements of the system. Such relationships might be with other states or non-state actors on a bilateral basis; formal groupings of states, IOs, NGOs, or other non-state actors; or informal, even unacknowledged, cooperation with other system members. States can opt to form or join existing alliances or coalitions. An alliance is a formal security agreement between two or more states. States enter into alliances to protect themselves against a common threat. The members of an alliance believe they can improve their overall position in the international system and their security relative to states which are not members of their alliance by consolidating resources and acting in unison. Additional benefits to alliance membership might include the ability to offset the cost of defence. Unless an Alliance partner is an actual liability, membership in an Alliance allows states to supplement their military capability with those of their alliance

partners. The Alliance is less expensive than a unilateral approach to security. Economically related Alliances can provide expanded economic benefits through increased trade, assistance, and loans between Allies.

States often agree to participate in a Coalition as a matter of convenience. Coalitions are likely to be temporary, while alliances can frequently endure for lengthy periods. Examples would be the American-led coalitions during the first Persian Gulf War (Operations DESERT SHIELD/STORM) and the second conflict (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Two ways states might use alliances or coalitions are to balance or to bandwagon. Both refer to decisions, conscious or subconscious, about relations with other system members. A state is balancing when it joins a weaker alliance or coalition to counter the influence or power of a stronger state or group of states. Balancing occurs when a weaker state decides that the dominance and influence of a stronger state are not acceptable, and the cost of allowing the stronger state to continue its policies unchecked is more than the cost of action against the stronger state. Balancing can be either external or internal in origin. In the external case, weaker states form a coalition against a stronger state, shifting the Balance of Power in their favour. A weaker state can also balance internally by deciding to undertake a military buildup to increase its power over the stronger state.

Balancing in the International system can also be either a hard or soft action. It would be hard when it is intended to increase or threaten the use of military power of one state relative to another. A soft use would occur if weaker states want to balance a stronger opponent but believe that the use of military power is infeasible. In that situation, states employ nonmilitary elements of power to help neutralize the stronger states. Band wagoning is different from balancing because it will always refer to the act of a weaker state or states joining a stronger state, alliance, or coalition. Band wagoning occurs when weaker states determine that the cost of opposing a stronger state exceeds the benefits to be gained from supporting it. The stronger power may offer incentives like territorial gain or trade agreements to entice the weaker actor to join with it.

Both State and Non-state Actors on the Global stage decide to participate in Alliances and Coalitions and to conduct policies in support of balancing and band wagoning based on their assessment of their relative power in the international system. This reflects one of the pervasive concepts relating to the system—that it represents or responds to a balance of power. It is important to distinguish between balancing of power as a policy (a deliberate attempt to prevent predominance on the part of another actor in the international system) and balancing of power as a description of how the international system works (where the interaction between actors tends to

limit or restrict any attempt at hegemony and results in a general status of stability). The most widely accepted usage of the Balance of Power term is related to the latter version: the process that prevents or opposes the emergence of a single dominant actor. Theoretically, the international system works to prevent any actor from dictating to any other actor—that is, it works to maintain the anarchy of equal, independent, and sovereign states. Balance of power performs that duty for the system.

The Equilibrium protects the sovereignty of the states and the inequality of power, and the threat of violence combinedly give both dominant and subordinate actors a shared interest in maintaining order in the international system. Balance of Power becomes a type of compromise among actors that find stability preferable to anarchy, although it results in a system that favours the strong and wealthy over the weak and poor. More powerful actors, like the Great Power states, play leading roles in a Balance of Power International System because they have the superior military force and the ability to make use of key technology. The Balance of Power concept fulfils three functions in the international system: 1. It prevents the system from being transformed by conquest into a universal empire. 2. Localized Balances of Power serve to protect actors from absorption by a dominant regional actor. 3. Most important, the Balance of Power has helped create the conditions in which other features of the international system can develop (i.e., diplomacy, stability, anarchy, or war).

The third function ensures the importance of the balance of power concept to the international system for the foreseeable future. The search for security is the most significant concern for the vast majority of actors in the international system. Security implies the absence of threats to one's interests. In absolute terms, complete security would mean freedom from all threats. Historically, the term security is equated to the military dimension of security. Thus, security meant security from war or violent conflict. But the 20th century witnessed an expansion of the concept to include other security issues such as those relating to the economy or environment. Economic security is the assurance that a hostile actor cannot control the supply of goods and services or the prices for those goods and services. Examples are guarantees of water, oil, or natural gas. Environmental security implies protection from environmental dangers caused by natural or human processes due to ignorance, accident, mismanagement, or design, and originating within or across national borders.

How an actor in the international system chooses to interpret the concept of security helps determine participation in Alliances or Coalitions, involvement in universal Collective Security

frameworks, and Balancing or Band wagoning behaviours.

States normally use power to achieve or defend goals that could include prestige, territory, or security. There are two general components of power: hard and soft. Hard power refers to the influence that comes from direct military and economic means. But Soft power refers to the power that originates from the more indirect means of moral authority, Diplomacy, Culture, Ideology, and history. Hard power describes an actor's ability to induce another actor to perform or stop acting. This can be done using military power through threats or force. It can also be achieved using economic power—relying on assistance, bribes, or economic sanctions. In contrast to the primary tools of hard power—the ability to threaten with sticks or pay with carrots—soft power attracts others or co-opts them so that they want what you want. The need to combine the hard elements with soft elements would reflect a state's active participation in critical areas like “alliances, partnerships, and institutions, global development, public diplomacy, economic integration, and support for climate change and energy security-related technology and innovation.”

Whether hard, soft, or smart, an actor's power is measured in terms of the ability to wield the instruments of power that it possesses. Such measurement is always done about another actor or actors and in the context of the specific situation in which the power might be wielded.

American security professionals often categorize the instruments of power in terms of the acronym DIME for the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic elements, and that remains the current DoD doctrinal definition. Regardless of which specific instruments of power are available for potential use, the most important consideration for an actor's ability to transform potential power into operational power is political will. The effectiveness of the actor's government and depth of domestic support (or leadership effectiveness and stakeholder support for nonstate actors) are crucial for developing and sustaining political will.

Any peaceful or forceful action taken by an actor in the international system will usually be taken to promote the interests of the executing actor. The National Interest is intended to identify what is most important to the actor. Until the 17th century, the National Interest was usually viewed as secondary to that of religion or morality. The rulers needed to justify their actions by engaging in war. This changed with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. For a state, the National Interest is likely to be multifaceted and can be oriented on political, economic, military, or cultural objectives. The most significant National Interest is the survival and security of the State. The assessment of the importance of its National Interests by the State determines what it will do or



not do within the international system.

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## 2.6: SUMMARY

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The contemporary international system is one of multipolarity, leaning towards non-polarity. The end of the Cold War marked the shift of the international system from being motivated by ideology to being motivated by strategy — an underlying feature of bipolarity. A Multipolar system exhibits a ‘Balance of Power’ mechanism, in which many states become allies to maintain power, without a single force dominating. The current international system exhibits all of the key characteristics of a Multipolar system — multiple nation-states of influence, alliances that shift based on power and stability, and international decisions made primarily for strategic terms. Facilitated by the advent of Globalization, Non-state actors possess an unprecedented level of economic, military, and cultural influence. Their expanded influence in the international system has helped shift it from the bipolarity of the Cold War era. The advent of globalization has also introduced a real-time effect into International Relations which has permanently altered the interactions between state and non-state actors, and the influence they have on the world.

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## 2.7: KEY TERMS

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- **Sovereignty:** The principle that states have supreme authority within their territorial boundaries and are free from external interference in their domestic affairs.
- **Nation-State:** A political entity characterized by a defined territory, stable population, government, and recognition by other states.
- **Diplomacy:** The practice of managing international relations through negotiation, dialogue, and communication between states.
- **International Law:** A set of rules and norms governing relations between states, including treaties, conventions, and customary practices.
- **Treaty:** A formal agreement between two or more states that is legally binding under international law.
- **United Nations (UN):** An international organization founded in 1945 to promote peace, security, and cooperation among states.
- **Balance of Power:** A principle aimed at preventing any one state from becoming too powerful by ensuring a distribution of power among states.
- **Multilateralism:** The practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more

states, often through international institutions like the UN or World Trade Organization (WTO).

- **Bilateralism:** The conduct of political, economic, or cultural relations between two sovereign states.
- **Globalization:** The process by which states and peoples become more interconnected and interdependent, often through trade, communication, and technology.
- **Statehood:** The status of being recognized as an independent nation with a defined territory, population, government, and capacity to enter into relations with other states.
- **Collective Security:** The cooperation of several countries in an alliance to strengthen the security of each.
- **Liberalism:** A theory of international relations that emphasizes rule-based international order, cooperation, and the role of international organizations.
- **Soft Power:** The ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction, often through cultural influence, political values, and diplomacy, rather than coercion (hard power).

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## 2.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What do you mean by State system
- What is International State system.
- Trace the evolution of the state system since the Peace of Westphalia.
- Examine the functions of the International State system.

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## **UNIT-3: NATIONAL INTEREST: KEY DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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### **Structure**

- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Meaning and Nature of National Interest
- 3.4 Foundation of National Interest
- 3.5 Types of National Interest
- 3.6 Methods for the promotion of the National Interest
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Key Terms
- 3.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 3.10 References

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### **3.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- Meaning and nature of the National Interest
- Various types of the National Interest
- Different methods for the promotion of the National Interest

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### **3.2: INTRODUCTION**

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National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. It is the key concept in foreign policy as it provides the material apparatus on the basis of which foreign policy is formulated. While formulating foreign policy all statesmen are guided by the irrespective national interests. In the last decade and a half, elaboration of a number of theoretical approaches to international relations has perhaps been the major development in that field. Quite a number of separate and for the most part, fruitful theoretical orientations have been devised, and the obvious gap which had existed for so many years has now begun to be filled up. At present it appears that a period of consolidation and expansion from within has set in, in which the various theories must be interrelated and tested through practical application.

Both Henry Kissinger and Robert Art make it clear that the identification of national interest is crucial for the development of policy and strategy. Interests are essential to establishing the

objectives or ends that serve as the goals for policy and strategy. "Interests are the foundation and starting point for policy prescriptions." They help answer questions concerning why a policy is important national interests also help to determine the types and amounts of the national power employed as the means to implement a designated policy or strategy.

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### **3.3: MEANING AND NATURE OF NATIONAL INTEREST**

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Frankel divides the various attempts to define national interest into two broad categories- **objective and subjective approaches**

The **first category** embraces those approaches which can be defined or examined with the help of some objectively definable criteria.

The **second category** contains those definitions which seek to interpret national interest as a "constantly changing pluralistic set of objective references."

The task of defining national interest becomes more cumbersome as the domestic and international activities of a state overlap. It is a synthesis of the objective and subjective approaches. In most of the nation-states, the "iron law of oligarchy" is prevalent, implying that governmental decisions are made only by a few men and women. These decisions are often taken in such a way as to promote the national interest as this notion is perceived and defined by the decision-makers, at the best, they are justified by being related to the national interest. A renowned British scholar of international relations, Hugh Seton-Watson, has recommended that the expression "national interest" is a misnomer as governments, not nation-states, make foreign policy. The terms "state interest" and "government interest" are, therefore, more appropriate.

The definition of national interest relies on the stand taken by a particular person about various pairs of extremes such as ideas versus self interest, idealists versus realists, short term and long term concerns and traditional and individual concerns.

In a very generic sense, national interests are "that which are deemed by a particular state (actor) to be a ...desirable goal." The attainment of this goal is something that the identifying actor believes will have a positive impact on itself. Realization of the interest could enhance the political, economic, security, environmental, and/or moral well being of a populace and the state (actor) or national enterprise to which they belong.

Lerche and Said define it as "the general, long-term, and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving."

Dyke defines it as that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other.

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### **3.4: FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL INTEREST**

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The state having an interest can mean holding an objective or subjective stake in something, but also crucially being affected either positively or negatively by that stake. Both usages of interest are relevant to this analysis. With the development of science and technology and a materialistic view of the universe national interest defined in spiritual theology was shifted to being defined in objective material conception. This is understood as something gainful in economic and tangible terms to be quantifiably measured. According to Beard, this can never be an objective or quantifiable process because interests cannot be separated from human motive and concern. There is no such thing as an objective reality called the national interest. Consideration of the national interest is a subjective assessment. As far as policy is concerned, interest inheres in human beings as motive or force of attention, affection and action. According to Beard, interest, subjectively considered, may take the form of an idea, and every idea pertaining to earthly affairs is attached to some interest considered as material thing and is affiliated with social relationships. There are no ideas without interest, and no interest without ideas.

This claim has important implications for all analyses of the national interest which attempt to disaggregate its component parts. It represents a challenge to claims made by classical realists that permanent, fixed national interest can be identified as objectives which should determine the conduct of the foreign policy of states. It also means that the national interest cannot be reduced to its component parts for scientific measurement and assessment.

Any analysis of the national interest must entail an inquiry into the ideas which express and represent the interest to be considered.

#### **The general will**

At the basis of claims for the national interest is an assumption that a political community can speak with a common voice. This is referred to as general will by Rousseau- the common expressions of a political community which cannot be reconciled with the particular interests. The bond of society is that identity of interest which all feel who compose it. Societies have common interest which should form the basis of decision making and policy. For critical perspectives of the national interest, the claim that a complex society can have common interest

is largely a myth which serves the interest of dominant groups. Perhaps Rousseau had in mind Thucydides remark that an identity of interest is the surest of bonds whether between states or individuals.

### **Raison d'état**

The transformation of raison d'état into national interest started from Machiavelli. He argues in his book *The Prince* that survival of the state was the paramount political consideration for rulers- an end in itself. The means necessary to achieve this goal are less important than the end itself.

### **Uses for National Interest**

Interests serve as the foundation and guiding direction for the formulation of policy for a nation state, there is more often than not a direct correlation between the nation's interests and foreign policy. In most cases," statesmen, think and act in terms of interest." Those interests believed to be the most significant for the attainment of a policy objective will earn the greatest amount of emphasis during the policy formulation process. They should be designed to tell the policy-making why and how much he should care about an issue. Interests help determine what kind and how much attention should be given to both challenges or threats and opportunities.

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## **3.5: TYPES OF NATIONAL INTEREST**

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Robinson has pointed out six types of national interest which are as follows:

- I. Primary interests
- II. Secondary interests
- III. Permanent interests
- IV. Variable interests
- V. General interests
- VI. Specific interests

### **Primary Interests**

Primary interests include protection of the nation's physical, political, and cultural identity and

survival against encroachment from the outside. Primary Interests can never be compromised or traded. All nations hold these same interests and must defend them at any price.

### **Secondary Interests**

Secondary interests are those falling outside of primary interests but contributing to it. For example protecting citizens abroad and maintaining proper immunities for a nation's diplomats are secondary interests.

### **Permanent Interests**

Permanent interests are those which are relatively constant over long periods of time; they vary with time, but only slowly. An example of this kind is provided by the determination of Britain to maintain freedom of navigation during the past few centuries for the protection of her overseas colonies and growing trade.

### **Variable Interests**

Variable interests are those which are a function of the entire cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interest, partisan politics and political and moral folkways of a given nation. In other words, they are what a given nation at any particular time chooses to regard as its national interest. These interests are considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances. Interest can diverge from both primary and permanent interest.

### **General Interests**

General interests are those which the nation can apply in a positive manner to a large geographic area, to a large number of nations, or in several specific fields (such as economic, trade, diplomatic intercourse, international law, etc.) An example would be the British interest in the maintenance of a balance of power on the European continent.

### **Specific Interests**

Through the logical outgrowth of the general interests, specific interests are defined in terms of time and space. For example, Britain regarded it as a specific national interest to maintain the independence of the new countries for preserving balance of power in Europe.

Thomas W Robinson has included three more national interests:

### **Identical Interests**

Identical interests between nations are those national interests which those nations hold in common. For example, Great Britain and U.S have had an interest in assuring that the European continent is not dominated by a single power.

**Complementary Interests** between nations are those which, although not identical, at least are capable of forming the basis of agreement on specific issues.

**Conflicting Interests** are those not included in identical and complementary interests. It should be noted, however, that today's conflicting interest can be transformed tomorrow through diplomacy, occurrence of events or passage of time into common or complementary interest. The same thing might be said about the possibility of transforming identical or complementary interests into conflicting interest.

### **Survival as National Interest or Hans Morgenthau's Conception of The National Interest**

In discussing Morgenthau's view of the national interest, let us divide the subject as follows:

1. Definition and analysis of the national interest.
2. Basic statement of the relation between interest and power;
3. National interest and morality;
4. Propositions about the national interest;
5. National interest and nuclear weapons;
6. National interest and international organization.

According to Morgenthau, "the concept of national interest is similar in two respects to the 'great generalities' of the constitution, such as the general welfare and due process. In Morgenthau's opinion, the minimum requirement of nation states is to protect their physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states.

Mahendra Kumar observes: "perhaps the only level at which it can be defined is the level at which it can be defined is the level of survival. It is difficult to define national interest either as more or less as survival. Not being a clear defined quantity, national interest is rather a



psychological phenomenon which is subject to drastic changes that may result from internal shifts in power or from a change in a nation's values".

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### **3.6: METHODS FOR THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST**

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Instruments and methods for the promotion of national interest are well explained by Palmer and Perkins. It will be pertinent to rely on their views while dealing with these instruments and methods. These can be briefly explained as follows:

1. Diplomacy
2. Alliance
3. Propaganda
4. Psychological and political warfare
5. Economic methods
6. Imperialism and colonialism

#### **Diplomacy**

It consists of the techniques and procedures for conducting relations among states. Diplomacy is practiced through diplomats. He is the eyes and ears of his government in other countries. Diplomatic negotiations are employed to reconcile the different interests of the states through the process of mutual give and take.

#### **Alliances**

There are usually concluded by two or more states for the promotion and protection of their common interests. Thus the character and the tenure of the alliance will depend on the relative strength of those interests, Robinson observes: "the advantage of pursuing the national interests through alliances, of course, lies in the translation of inchoate, common or complementary interests into common policy and in bringing the nation's power directly to bear on questions of national interests."

#### **Propaganda**

In the twentieth century propaganda has become a major instrument for the promotion of

national interest. In the most general terms “any attempt to persuade persons to accept certain points of view or to take a certain action” is propaganda.

Lasswell says, “Propaganda is the manipulation of symbols to control controversial attitudes; education is the manipulation of symbols to transmit accepted attitudes”.

### **Psychological and Political Warfare**

Eisenhower associated psychological warfare with “the struggle for minds of men”. Linebarger defined psychological warfare in the broad sense as “the application of parts of the science of psychology to further the efforts of political, economic, or military action,” and in narrow sense as “the use of propaganda against an enemy, to get her with such other operational measures of military, economic, or political nature as may be required to supplement propaganda”.

### **Economic Methods**

Economic methods states deliberately follow certain policies in pursuit of their national interests. Economic methods are regularly employed to fulfill national interests both in peace and war.

### **Imperialism and Colonialism**

From sixteenth century till the middle of twentieth century European nations used imperialism and colonialism as a tool to further their national interests.

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## **3.7: SUMMARY**

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"National interest" refers to the set of goals, objectives, and priorities that a nation considers essential for its well-being, security, and prosperity. It encompasses a wide range of factors, including political, economic, social, and strategic considerations. The concept of national interest guides a country's foreign policy decisions and domestic strategies. Key elements often include maintaining sovereignty, ensuring national security, promoting economic growth, fostering diplomatic relations, and safeguarding the welfare of citizens. National interest can vary between nations and may evolve in response to changing global conditions. Policymakers constantly assess and adapt their strategies to align with the perceived interests of their country.

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### 3.8: KEY TERMS

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- **Sovereignty:** The principle of governing one's own territory without external interference.
- **National Security:** Protection of a nation's borders, citizens, and institutions from external threats.
- **Economic Prosperity:** The pursuit of economic growth, stability, and well-being for the nation's citizens.
- **Diplomacy:** The management of international relations and negotiations to advance national interests.

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### 3.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What is National Interest? How the National Interest of a country can be defined.
- Discuss various types of National Interest of country.
- Discuss the methods used by a country to fulfill National Interest of a Country.

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## **UNIT-4: POWER CORNERSTONE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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### **Structure**

- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Meaning and Nature of Power
- 4.4 Kinds of Power
- 4.5 Role and use of Power
- 4.6 Methods of Exercising Power
- 4.7 Power Base Elements
- 4.8 Summary
- 4.9 Key Terms
- 4.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 4.11 References

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### **4.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The concept of power and its applicability to IR
- Various kinds of power
- Different methods of exercising power

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### **4.2: INTRODUCTION**

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Power is the crux of politics-local, national and international. Since the beginning of humanity power has been occupying the central position in human relations. In order to comprehend international politics and relations the study of the concept of power is a must. The relations between the state and power are very close. In order to attain power, the resources must be used and so used that a nation becomes able to influence the behavior of other nations, for the capacity to do so it is in contradistinction with the deification given by Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan who define power as participation in decisions. International relations or global politics is centred on power. Despite idealist coatings, the relations between and among nations are largely decided in terms of power. Power assumes greater significance in the realist approach to global politics because it presents a picture of insecurity and fear. So the primary concern of the states is

to increase their power to ensure their security. The legal basis of the power of a nation is to be found in sovereignty. States are responsible for the security and welfare of their people. So it is natural for the states to increase their security. Power and efforts to increase power need to be understood in this context to explain the nature of power. In the global political order, power is regarded as the best mechanism to ensure security.

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### **4.3: MEANING AND NATURE OF POWER**

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Power, influence, authority and capability are related terms and often used interchangeably and loosely. Such a use creates a conceptual confusion. An attempt has been made to remove this confusion by defining each term separately in the following paragraphs. The master of statecraft in ancient India- Kautilya wrote about power in the fourth century B.C as the “possession of strength” derived from three elements knowledge, military and valor. While defining power, Schleicher also makes a distinction between power and influence. Power is the ability to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value. To Dahl power is “ability to shift the probability of outcomes.” According to him, “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”. Thus, power is the ability to control the behaviour of the ability to control the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own intentions and interests.

In the words of **McLean and McMillan** power is the ability to make people do what they would not otherwise have done.

**Max weber** defines power as ‘the possibility of imposing one’s will upon the behaviour of others.’

In the words of **Karl Deutsch**, ‘it is the ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome the obstacle.’

To **Morgenthau**, power is man’s control over the minds and actions of other men. Political power is a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised.

Power is a relational concept in the sense that individuals or states exercise power, not in a vacuum but a relation to other individuals or states. It is not so much the absolute power of a state as its power position over other states that count.

According to **George Schwarzenberger** power is the ‘capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in the case of non-compliance.’

In the words of **Duchacek**, power is ‘the capacity to produce intended effects-to realise one’s will.’

**To Hartmann**, ‘power manifests itself along the line of influence beginning with latent or unintended use of power (persuasion), through conscious but regulated power (pressure) and reaching up to its final gradation( force) Power is different from influence. In the words of Schleicher ‘power relationship is marked clearly by the occurrences of threats, influence relationship is manifested without the presence of threatened sanctions.’

### **Dimensions of Power**

Deutsch gives three dimensions of power that can be easily measured and that allow analysis to quantify and rank the actual and protected capabilities of nation states. In brief these dimensions are as follows:

#### **Domain of Power**

Domain answers the question, over which power is exercised. Power is often exercised over people, territory and wealth. Domain can be divided into internal domain and external domain. In the context of international relations only the external domain is relevant.

#### **Range of Power**

Deutsch defines range as “the difference between the highest reward and the worst punishment which a power-holder can bestow upon some person in his domain”. Range has also internal and external components within its territory a state may control its people by benign and tyrannical measures. Governments can exercise power over their subjects both through rewards as well as punishment. The rewards include welfare measures, demarcation rights, facilities etc.

#### **Scope of Power**

The scope of power, in the words of Deutsch, is “the set or collection of all the particular kinds of classes of behavior, relations and affairs that are effectively subjected to governmental power”.

This 'set of collection' embraces all the types of activities a governmental seeks to control, domestic as well as foreign.

For example most of the Latin American countries are economically and politically controlled by the US albeit they are not its formal colonies.

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#### **4.4: KINDS OF POWER**

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There are three types of power, which are explained below:

##### **Physical Power**

Military strength of a state is known as physical power. Both USA and USSR were top ranking power so wing to their military might. Government of a state enjoys political power because of the subordination of the military to the political authority. As a result of rapid technological development, the physical power of the state is divided among its different wings such as the armed force, the air force, the navy and of late, the nuclear force with its missiles.

##### **Psychological Power**

It is a power over public opinion. It consists of symbolic devices that are utilized to appeal to the emotions of men. Psychological power is used very tactfully. In India, the republic day parade of the local made tanks and weapons is meant to impress upon the other nations its growing military power. Psychological power is usually employed to weaken the opponent countries by spreading disloyalty among their people and instigating them against their government.

##### **Economic Power**

Economic power is the ability to control the behavior of other nations by having greater control over economic goods and services. Economic development enhances the capacity of a nation to influence others through persuasion and also enables it to resist persuasion and punishment by others and both of them are the important methods of power.

Economically prosperous state possesses the ability to buy and the ability to sell and both are used to increase a nation's power through international trade. The developed countries follow that has been propagated as economic aid policy towards the developing countries.

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#### **4.5: ROLE AND USE OF POWER**

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Power in international relations may be used by nation for various purposes, the chief among them are:

##### **National Security**

Defense of its territory and sovereignty is the main purpose of any modern state. National

security is the vital national interest as well as major determinant of foreign policy of every nation. Power plays a significant role in achieving this purpose. Many nations have fought defensive wars. A defensive war may be pre-emptive or preventive.

### **Preserving Status quo**

The policy of status quo aims at preserving the distribution of power prevalent at any time in history. The moment in history taken as a reference for pursuing the status quo policy is often, the termination of war. After the end of a war peace treaty is signed indicating the new shift in power. Nations following the policy of status quo utilize power to preserve the new shift in the balance of power.

### **Changing Status Quo**

Nations also use power to change status quo in their favor or pursue a policy of imperialism. Any effort to change the existing distribution of power in its favor means that state is following a policy of imperialism, Alexander, Napoleon, Hitler and more recently Saddam Hussain used military power for their expansion.

### **Use In Diplomacy**

Power is also utilized by a nation's diplomats. Diplomats of a powerful country act more confidently in their diplomatic activities than diplomats of less powerful states. Power helps nations at the negotiation table. The Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung once wrote: "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Like wise it can be said that diplomatic strength comes out of political power. If a country is powerful its diplomats can effectively employ the means of persuasion and reward and their threat of punishment and use of force will carry more weight during diplomatic negotiations and man oeuvring.

### **Enhancing Prestige**

Enhancement is related with the show and demonstration of power. For this reason nations occasionally display power and strength before the other nations of the world in various ways. When the USA tested the atom bombs in the Pacific in 1946 she invited a large number of foreign dignitaries to see the fact that the USA was bombing a group of ships larger than many of the world's navies.

### **Serving National Interests**

Power is used not only to fulfill vital national security and independence, preserving status quo and prestige etc. but also to accomplish other national interests. These may be geographical,



political, economic, social, educational, scientific, technical, strategic, and cultural and so on. Power is thus the main tool used by nations to fulfill their various national interests.

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## 4.6: METHODS OF EXERCISING POWER

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In international relations, the exercise of power involves various methods, often shaped by diplomatic, economic, military, and geopolitical factors. Here are some key methods of exercising power in the context of international relations:

### 1. **Military Power:**

- **Force Projection:** Deploying military forces or engaging in military interventions to achieve strategic objectives.
- **Nuclear Deterrence:** Possession and demonstration of nuclear capabilities to deter potential adversaries.

### 2. **Economic Power:**

- **Sanctions:** Imposing economic sanctions on other countries to influence their behavior.
- **Trade and Investment:** Leveraging economic relationships and trade agreements for political influence.

### 3. **Diplomatic Power:**

- **Alliances and Treaties:** Forming strategic alliances and international treaties to strengthen diplomatic influence.
- **Multilateral Organizations:** Participating in and influencing international organizations like the United Nations.

### 4. **Soft Power:**

- **Cultural Diplomacy:** Promoting a country's culture, language, and values to enhance its international appeal.
- **Public Diplomacy:** Shaping public opinion through media, communication, and information dissemination.

### 5. **Informational Power:**

- **Propaganda and Disinformation:** Controlling narratives and spreading information to influence perceptions.
- **Cyber Warfare:** Employing cyber capabilities for espionage, disruption, or influence campaigns.

#### 6. **Coercive Diplomacy:**

- **Threats and Ultimatums:** Using the threat of force or economic consequences to achieve diplomatic goals.

#### 7. **Humanitarian Assistance:**

- **Aid and Relief:** Providing humanitarian aid to gain goodwill and influence in crisis regions.

#### 8. **Climate and Environmental Diplomacy:**

- **Environmental Agreements:** Engaging in international efforts to address climate change and environmental issues.

#### 9. **Strategic Alliances:**

- **Coalitions:** Forming strategic coalitions with other nations to address common challenges or pursue shared interests.

#### 10. **Intelligence and Espionage:**

- **Surveillance and Espionage:** Gathering intelligence to inform foreign policy decisions and gain a strategic advantage.

#### 11. **Economic Assistance:**

- **Development Aid:** Providing economic assistance to developing countries in exchange for political influence.

#### 12. **Leadership and Norm Setting:**

- **Setting International Norms:** Leading in the establishment of international norms and standards.

#### 13. **Security Cooperation:**

- **Military Alliances:** Participating in military alliances for collective defense and security.

#### 14. Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution:

- **Mediation and Peacekeeping Operations:** Playing a role in resolving conflicts and maintaining peace in troubled regions.

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### 4.7: POWER BASE ELEMENTS

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There are various elements of power. These elements are sometimes loosely called the determinants of power also, but it is wrong doing so. For, the elements of power do not determine power; their possession only helps the acquisition and growth of power. The various power base elements are:

#### **GEOGRAPHY**

Geo-politician such as sir Halfords Mackinder (1869-1947), Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914), Karl Haushofer (1869-1964) and Nicholas J. Spykman (1893-1943) attached great importance to geography. Mackinder in his “heartland theory” expounded, “who rules East Europe commands heartland; who rules heartland commands World Island; and who rules world island commands the world.” Geography, therefore, may be regarded as the most stable determinant of national power. This includes the size of the territory, topography, location relative to sea, and landmasses relative to other nations and control of strategic places.

#### **SIZE**

The size of states varies from one state to another, but the most important factors, which contribute to its national power, are the state’s internal organization, its capacity for foreign political unity and if it is capable of providing it with the capacity of containing a large population and a large varied supply of natural recourses.

#### **LOCATION**

More important than size is the geo-strategic location of the state in the sense that, position of a state in relationship to other land bodies and to other states which profoundly affects the culture, economy and both its military and economic power.

#### **CLIMATE**

It is another geographical feature that plays a crucial role in determining the national power. Climate affects the health, temperament and energy level or the population. It is closely related

to productivity.

## **TOPOGRAPHY**

It not only determines the density of population, which a region can support, but the climate of the land. Wind, rainfalls temperature and consequently soil conditions are influenced by the position of the land, sea and mountains.

## **NATURAL RESOURCES AND AVAILABILITY OF RAW MATERIAS**

Natural resources are available naturally to the states in the form of soil and its products and minerals. These in turn help the states to develop industrially, economically and also military. The most noteworthy incident shaking the international economy was the oil embargo by the OPEC countries in 1973. Self-sufficiency in food, mineral and energy resources has also helped the United States and Russian foreign policy choices.

## **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The economic performance of a state in terms of GNP per capita provides the key to understand the state's ability to utilize its natural and human resources which adds up to its national power and determines its policy choices and menu. However, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has forwarded a different view of development.

## **MILITARY PREPAREDNESS**

Military capability is the most determining factor as far as national power and prestige is concerned. Russia, the United States and China have huge army under their command as compared to Iceland, Costa Rica, Maldives, Mauritius and other small countries.

## **POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP**

The political structure of a state and the nature of the ruling elite determines to a greater extent the direction and realization of national polices and also influences the formulation of foreign policy of a state the quality of rule is also an important factor in considering the effectiveness of national power.

## **IDEOLOGY**

Ideology is also an important element of national power. Padelford and Lincoln defined ideology "as a body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals which

pose action programme for attaining their goals.”

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#### 4.8: SUMMARY

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Nuclear weapons have changed the nature of the balance of power. It has resulted in the balance of terror. This was in between the Soviet Union and America because of their mutually assured nuclear capabilities. It is said that the bipolar world that emerged out of post-war arrangements maintained peace for a long period. With the disintegration of the Soviet, Union world has become unipolar. Now the principle of the balance of power has become redundant. But Kenneth waltz said that this unipolar world is not durable. Realists consider the theory of balance of power as relevant. Recent developments like Russo- the Ukrainian war and China –USA tensions over Taiwan may provoke consideration of the Balance of power theory as becoming relevant. But the theory has a limited appeal and capacity to maintain peace and stability while maintaining the balance of power.

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#### 4.9: KEY TERMS

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- **Power:** The ability of a state or actor to influence the behavior of others to achieve desired outcomes.
- **Hard Power:** The use of military force, economic coercion, or other tangible resources to influence the behavior of other states.
- **Soft Power:** The ability to shape the preferences of others through attraction, persuasion, and cultural influence, rather than coercion or force. Soft power is often associated with a country's culture, values, and diplomatic influence.
- **Balance of Power:** A distribution of power among states or groups in such a way that no single entity can easily dominate or overpower the others, contributing to stability in the international system.

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#### 4.10: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What do you mean by Power? Discuss the features of it.
- Discuss the various power base elements.
- Discuss various methods of exercising power in international relations.

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## **UNIT-5: POWER AND POWER BASE ELEMENTS**

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### **Structure**

- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Meaning and Nature of Power
- 5.4 Kinds of Power
- 5.5 Role and use of Power
- 5.6 Methods of Exercising Power
- 5.7 Power Base Elements
- 5.8 Summary
- 5.9 Key Terms
- 5.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 5.11 References

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### **5.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The concept of power and its applicability
- The various method of use of power
- Various power base elements

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### **5.2: INTRODUCTION**

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Power is the crux of politics-local, national and international. Since the beginning of humanity power has been occupying the central position in human relations. In order to comprehend international politics and relations the study of the concept of power is a must. The relations between the state and power are very close. In order to attain power, the resources must be used and so used that a nation becomes able to influence the behavior of other nations, for the capacity to do so it is in contradistinction with the deification given by Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan who define power as participation in decisions. International relations or global politics is centred on power. Despite idealist coatings, the relations between and among nations are largely decided in terms of power. Power assumes greater significance in the realist approach to global politics because it presents a picture of insecurity and fear. So the primary concern of the states is to increase their power to ensure their security. The legal basis of the power of a nation is to be

found in sovereignty. States are responsible for the security and welfare of their people. So it is natural for the states to increase their security. Power and efforts to increase power need to be understood in this context to explain the nature of power. In the global political order, power is regarded as the best mechanism to ensure security.

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### 5.3: MEANING AND NATURE OF POWER

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Power, influence, authority and capability are related terms and often used interchangeably and loosely. Such a use creates a conceptual confusion. An attempt has been made to remove this confusion by defining each term separately in the following paragraphs. The master of statecraft in ancient India- Kautilya wrote about power in the fourth century B.C as the “possession of strength” derived from three elements knowledge, military and valor. While defining power, Schleicher also makes a distinction between power and influence. Power is the ability to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value. To Dahl power is “ability to shift the probability of outcomes.” According to him, “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”. Thus, power is the ability to control the behaviour of the ability to control the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own intentions and interests.

In the words of **McLean and McMillan** power is the ability to make people do what they would not otherwise have done.

**Max weber** defines power as ‘the possibility of imposing one’s will upon the behaviour of others.’

In the words of **Karl Deutsch**, ‘it is the ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome the obstacle.’

To **Morgenthau**, power is man’s control over the minds and actions of other men. Political power is a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. Power is a relational concept in the sense that individuals or states exercise power, not in a vacuum but a relation to other individuals or states. It is not so much the absolute power of a state



as its power position over other states that count.

According to **George Schwarzenberger** power is the ‘capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in the case of non-compliance.’

In the words of **Duchacek**, power is ‘the capacity to produce intended effects-to realise one’s will.’

**To Hartmann**, ‘power manifests itself along the line of influence beginning with latent or unintended use of power (persuasion), through conscious but regulated power (pressure) and reaching up to its final gradation( force) Power is different from influence. In the words of Schleicher ‘power relationship is marked clearly by the occurrences of threats, influence relationship is manifested without the presence of threatened sanctions.’

### **Dimensions of Power**

Deutsch gives three dimensions of power that can be easily measured and that allow analysis to quantify and rank the actual and protected capabilities of nation states. In brief these dimensions are as follows:

#### **Domain of Power**

Domain answers the question, over which power is exercised. Power is often exercised over people, territory and wealth. Domain can be divided into internal domain and external domain. In the context of international relations only the external domain is relevant.

#### **Range of Power**

Deutsch defines range as “the difference between the highest reward and the worst punishment which a power-holder can bestow upon some person in his domain”. Range has also internal and external components within its territory a state may control its people by benign and tyrannical measures. Governments can exercise power over their subjects both through rewards as well as punishment. The rewards include welfare measures, demarcation rights, facilities etc.

#### **Scope of Power**

The scope of power, in the words of Deutsch, is “the set or collection of all the particular kinds of classes of behavior, relations and affairs that are effectively subjected to governmental power”. This ‘set of collection’ embraces all the types of activities a governmental seeks to control, domestic as well as foreign.

For example most of the Latin American countries are economically and politically controlled by the US albeit they are not its formal colonies.

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## **5.4: KINDS OF POWER**

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There are three types of power, which are explained below:

### **Physical Power**

Military strength of a state is known as physical power. Both USA and USSR were top ranking power so wing to their military might. Government of a state enjoys political power because of the subordination of the military to the political authority. As a result of rapid technological development, the physical power of the state is divided among its different wings such as the armed force, the air force, the navy and of late, the nuclear force with its missiles.

### **Psychological Power**

It is a power over public opinion. It consists of symbolic devices that are utilized to appeal to the emotions of men. Psychological power is used very tactfully. In India, the republic day parade of the local made tanks and weapons is meant to impress upon the other nations its growing military power. Psychological power is usually employed to weaken the opponent countries by spreading disloyalty among their people and instigating them against their government.

### **Economic Power**

Economic power is the ability to control the behavior of other nations by having greater control over economic goods and services. Economic development enhances the capacity of anation to influence others through persuasion and also enables it to resist persuasion and punishment by others and both of them are the important methods of power.

Economically prosperous state possesses the ability to buy and the ability to sell and both are used to increase a nation's power through international trade. The developed countries follow that has been propagated as economic aid policy towards the developing countries.

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## **5.5: ROLE AND USE OF POWER**

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Power in international relations may be used by nation for various purposes, the chief among them are:

### **National Security**

Defense of its territory and sovereignty is the main purpose of any modern state. National

security is the vital national interest as well as major determinant of foreign policy of every nation. Power plays a significant role in achieving this purpose. Many nations have fought defensive wars. A defensive war may be pre-emptive or preventive.

### **Preserving Status quo**

The policy of status quo aims at preserving the distribution of power prevalent at any time in history. The moment in history taken as a reference for pursuing the status quo policy is often, the termination of war. After the end of a war peace treaty is signed indicating the new shift in power. Nations following the policy of status quo utilize power to preserve the new shift in the balance of power.

### **Changing Status Quo**

Nations also use power to change status quo in their favor or pursue a policy of imperialism. Any effort to change the existing distribution of power in its favor means that state is following a policy of imperialism, Alexander, Napoleon, Hitler and more recently Saddam Hussain used military power for their expansion.

### **Use In Diplomacy**

Power is also utilized by a nation's diplomats. Diplomats of a powerful country act more confidently in their diplomatic activities than diplomats of less powerful states. Power helps nations at the negotiation table. The Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung once wrote: "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Like wise it can be said that diplomatic strength comes out of political power. If a country is powerful its diplomats can effectively employ the means of persuasion and reward and their threat of punishment and use of force will carry more weight during diplomatic negotiations and man oeuvring.

### **Enhancing Prestige**

Enhancement is related with the show and demonstration of power. For this reason nations occasionally display power and strength before the other nations of the world in various ways. When the USA tested the atom bombs in the Pacific in 1946 she invited a large number of foreign dignitaries to see the fact that the USA was bombing a group of ships larger than many of the world's navies.

### **Serving National Interests**

Power is used not only to fulfill vital national security and independence, preserving status quo and prestige etc. but also to accomplish other national interests. These may be geographical,

political, economic, social, educational, scientific, technical, strategic, and cultural and so on. Power is thus the main tool used by nations to fulfill their various national interests.

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## 5.6: METHODS OF EXERCISING POWER

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In international relations, the exercise of power involves various methods, often shaped by diplomatic, economic, military, and geopolitical factors. Here are some key methods of exercising power in the context of international relations:

### 15. Military Power:

- **Force Projection:** Deploying military forces or engaging in military interventions to achieve strategic objectives.
- **Nuclear Deterrence:** Possession and demonstration of nuclear capabilities to deter potential adversaries.

### 16. Economic Power:

- **Sanctions:** Imposing economic sanctions on other countries to influence their behavior.
- **Trade and Investment:** Leveraging economic relationships and trade agreements for political influence.

### 17. Diplomatic Power:

- **Alliances and Treaties:** Forming strategic alliances and international treaties to strengthen diplomatic influence.
- **Multilateral Organizations:** Participating in and influencing international organizations like the United Nations.

### 18. Soft Power:

- **Cultural Diplomacy:** Promoting a country's culture, language, and values to enhance its international appeal.
- **Public Diplomacy:** Shaping public opinion through media, communication, and information dissemination.

### 19. Informational Power:

- **Propaganda and Disinformation:** Controlling narratives and spreading information to influence perceptions.
- **Cyber Warfare:** Employing cyber capabilities for espionage, disruption, or influence campaigns.

#### 20. Coercive Diplomacy:

- **Threats and Ultimatums:** Using the threat of force or economic consequences to achieve diplomatic goals.

#### 21. Humanitarian Assistance:

- **Aid and Relief:** Providing humanitarian aid to gain goodwill and influence in crisis regions.

#### 22. Climate and Environmental Diplomacy:

- **Environmental Agreements:** Engaging in international efforts to address climate change and environmental issues.

#### 23. Strategic Alliances:

- **Coalitions:** Forming strategic coalitions with other nations to address common challenges or pursue shared interests.

#### 24. Intelligence and Espionage:

- **Surveillance and Espionage:** Gathering intelligence to inform foreign policy decisions and gain a strategic advantage.

#### 25. Economic Assistance:

- **Development Aid:** Providing economic assistance to developing countries in exchange for political influence.

#### 26. Leadership and Norm Setting:

- **Setting International Norms:** Leading in the establishment of international norms and standards.

#### 27. Security Cooperation:

- **Military Alliances:** Participating in military alliances for collective defense and security.

## 28. Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution:

- **Mediation and Peacekeeping Operations:** Playing a role in resolving conflicts and maintaining peace in troubled regions.

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## 5.7: POWER BASE ELEMENTS

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There are various elements of power. These elements are sometimes loosely called the determinants of power also, but it is wrong doing so. For, the elements of power do not determine power; their possession only helps the acquisition and growth of power. The various power base elements are:

### **GEOGRAPHY**

Geo-politician such as sir Halfords Mackinder (1869-1947), Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914), Karl Haushofer (1869-1964) and Nicholas J. Spykman (1893-1943) attached great importance to geography. Mackinder in his “heartland theory” expounded, “who rules East Europe commands heartland; who rules heartland commands World Island; and who rules world island commands the world.” Geography, therefore, may be regarded as the most stable determinant of national power. This includes the size of the territory, topography, location relative to sea, and landmasses relative to other nations and control of strategic places.

### **SIZE**

The size of states varies from one state to another, but the most important factors, which contribute to its national power, are the state’s internal organization, its capacity for foreign political unity and if it is capable of providing it with the capacity of containing a large population and a large varied supply of natural recourses.

### **LOCATION**

More important than size is the geo-strategic location of the state in the sense that, position of a state in relationship to other land bodies and to other states which profoundly affects the culture, economy and both its military and economic power.

### **CLIMATE**

It is another geographical feature that plays a crucial role in determining the national power. Climate affects the health, temperament and energy level of the population. It is closely related to productivity.

### **TOPOGRAPHY**

It not only determines the density of population, which a region can support, but the climate of the land. Wind, rainfall, temperature and consequently soil conditions are influenced by the position of the land, sea and mountains.

### **NATURAL RESOURCES AND AVAILABILITY OF RAW MATERIALS**

Natural resources are available naturally to the states in the form of soil and its products and minerals. These in turn help the states to develop industrially, economically and also militarily. The most noteworthy incident shaking the international economy was the oil embargo by the OPEC countries in 1973. Self-sufficiency in food, mineral and energy resources has also helped the United States and Russian foreign policy choices.

### **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The economic performance of a state in terms of GNP per capita provides the key to understand the state's ability to utilize its natural and human resources which adds up to its national power and determines its policy choices and menu. However, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has forwarded a different view of development.

### **MILITARY PREPAREDNESS**

Military capability is the most determining factor as far as national power and prestige is concerned. Russia, the United States and China have huge armies under their command as compared to Iceland, Costa Rica, Maldives, Mauritius and other small countries.

### **POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP**

The political structure of a state and the nature of the ruling elite determines to a greater extent the direction and realization of national policies and also influences the formulation of foreign policy of a state. The quality of rule is also an important factor in considering the effectiveness of national power.

## IDEOLOGY

Ideology is also an important element of national power. Padelford and Lincoln defined ideology “as a body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals which pose action programme for attaining their goals.”

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### 5.8: SUMMARY

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Nuclear weapons have changed the nature of the balance of power. It has resulted in the balance of terror. This was in between the Soviet Union and America because of their mutually assured nuclear capabilities. It is said that the bipolar world that emerged out of post-war arrangements maintained peace for a long period. With the disintegration of the Soviet, Union world has become unipolar. Now the principle of the balance of power has become redundant. But Kenneth waltz said that this unipolar world is not durable. Realists consider the theory of balance of power as relevant. Recent developments like Russo- the Ukrainian war and China –USA tensions over Taiwan may provoke consideration of the Balance of power theory as becoming relevant. But the theory has a limited appeal and capacity to maintain peace and stability while maintaining the balance of power.

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### 5.9: KEY TERMS

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- **Power:** The ability of a state or actor to influence the behavior of others to achieve desired outcomes.
- **Hard Power:** The use of military force, economic coercion, or other tangible resources to influence the behavior of other states.
- **Soft Power:** The ability to shape the preferences of others through attraction, persuasion, and cultural influence, rather than coercion or force. Soft power is often associated with a country's culture, values, and diplomatic influence.
- **Balance of Power:** A distribution of power among states or groups in such a way that no single entity can easily dominate or overpower the others, contributing to stability in the international system.



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## 5.10: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What do you mean by Power? Discuss the features of it.
- Discuss the various power base elements.
- Discuss various methods of exercising power in international relations.

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## 5.11: REFERENCES

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## **UNIT-6: MEASUREMENT AND LIMITATIONS OF POWER**

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### **Structure**

- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Introduction
- 6.3 Measurement of Power
- 6.4 Limitations of Power
- 6.5 Summary
- 6.6 Key Terms
- 6.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 6.8 References

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### **6.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- What are the methods of measurement power
- Limitations of use of power

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### **6.2: INTRODUCTION**

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International relations or global politics is centred on power. Despite idealist coatings, the relations between and among nations are largely decided in terms of power. Power assumes greater significance in the realist approach to global politics because it presents a picture of insecurity and fear. So the primary concern of the states is to increase their power to ensure their security. As there is no world government to protect the states and restrain them, so they are always engaged in increasing their power even if it means at the cost of others. Thus the study of global politics or international relations is incomplete without the study of power and its dynamics. The word statecraft implies the actions and functions of the states from a global perspective. The comment of U. Thant given in 1965 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations charter, the then secretary general of the United Nations, is still relevant. 'The greatest obstacle to the realisation of the charter is the inescapable fact that power politics still operates, both overtly and covertly, in international relations. The concept of power politics, whether as the instrument of nationalism or ideological extremism, is the natural enemy of international order as envisaged in the charter. It is also an expensive, and potentially disastrous, anachronism.' There have not been great changes since then in international politics so

far as power is concerned.

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### 6.3: MEASUREMENT OF POWER

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In the realm of international relations, the measurement of power involves assessing and understanding the capabilities, influence, and resources of states and other actors on the global stage. The elements of power measurement in international relations are multifaceted and often fall into different categories. Here are key elements:

#### 1. **Military Power:**

- **Military Capability:** This includes the size, sophistication, and technology of a nation's armed forces. Assessments often consider the strength of the army, navy, air force, and missile capabilities.
- **Nuclear Capability:** The possession and capability to deploy nuclear weapons can significantly impact a nation's standing in global power dynamics.

#### 2. **Economic Power:**

- **Gross Domestic Product (GDP):** The overall economic size of a country is a critical indicator of its economic power. Both nominal and purchasing power parity (PPP) GDP can be considered.
- **Economic Diversity:** The diversity and strength of various economic sectors contribute to a nation's economic power. This includes industry, agriculture, and services.

#### 3. **Political Power:**

- **Political Stability:** The stability of a country's political system and its leadership influence its ability to exert power on the international stage.
- **International Alliances:** The strength and nature of a nation's alliances and diplomatic relationships contribute to its political power and influence.

#### 4. **Soft Power:**

- **Cultural Influence:** The spread and acceptance of a nation's culture, including language, media, arts, and education, contribute to its soft power.

- **Diplomacy and Public Relations:** The ability to effectively engage in diplomacy, build positive international perceptions, and shape narratives can enhance a country's soft power.

#### 5. **Technological Power:**

- **Innovation and Research:** Technological advancement, innovation, and research capabilities contribute to a nation's power. This includes advancements in areas like science, information technology, and space exploration.

#### 6. **Energy and Natural Resources:**

- **Energy Independence:** The ability to secure and sustain energy resources is crucial for a nation's power. This includes both conventional and renewable energy sources.
- **Access to Natural Resources:** Control or access to critical natural resources such as minerals, water, and arable land can impact a nation's power.

#### 7. **Geopolitical Position:**

- **Geographical Location:** A nation's geographical position can provide strategic advantages or disadvantages, influencing its geopolitical importance.
- **Access to Sea Routes:** Control or access to important sea routes can be a significant factor in power dynamics, especially for maritime nations.

#### 8. **Cyber Power:**

- **Cyber security Capability:** The ability to protect against cyber threats and conduct cyber operations can impact a nation's power in the digital age.
- **Technological Infrastructure:** The strength of a country's technological infrastructure, including internet connectivity and digital communication networks.

Measuring power in international relations involves considering a combination of these elements, recognizing that power is dynamic and can shift over time. It's essential to adopt a multidimensional approach that takes into account not only military and economic capabilities but also the ability to influence and shape global affairs through various means.

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## **6.4: LIMITATIONS OF POWER**

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This objective is sought to be realized with the help of several devices which act as limitations on nation power. The major limitations on national power of each state can be discussed as under:

### **Balance of Power**

The balance of power is a sort of limitation on the national powers of a nation. In international politics the power of a nation or group is used to prevent a particular nation from imposing its will upon other. Power is a crude and unreliable method of limiting the aspirations for power in the international scene. They do not pursue certain ends and use certain means because of moral limitation.

### **International Law**

It is another important limitation on the power of nation. These certain rules regulations which regulate the conduct of one independent state with the other, power is the basic necessity without which no nation can realize its national interest nor can execute its national policy. If each nation used its power in unlimited terms against her neighbor, the world society would come to an end.

### **The World Public Opinion**

Another limitation on the power of a nation which is more exclusive and lacks analytical precision is the concept of world public opinion. No nation can exercise the selfish ends in violation of the world public opinion. This world public opinion effectively guards the interests of humanity as a whole.

### **International Morality**

Just, as human behavior in a society is regulated by a set of moral norms or rules, like wise behavior of states in the international environment is limited by international morality. International morality is “a generally accepted moral code of conduct which nations usually follow in international relations”. It acts as a limitation on the national power of each state.

### **Disarmament and Arms Control**

Efforts at disarmament through League and U.N have also limited the national power. This aspect has acquired much importance in our days. An effort has been made through various conventions to control the use of nuclear weapons which have the potentialities to destroy the entire world.

### **International Organization**

The United Nations and all other international organizations help in the curtailment on national powers of state. The U.N with the mission of maintenance of international peace and security does not intervene in the internal matters of any state, but it can act as a check on the unfair and unlimited use of power by states.

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## 6.5: SUMMARY

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A conceptual analysis of the kind undertaken above cannot in itself provide any factual evidence of what is the essence of the power of nations. But it has produced indications as to how the necessary empirical research to clarify the nature of power bases should be organized.

When the concept of power base is assessed it is vital to make a distinction between the various research aims that could possibly be attained if a better and more systemized knowledge about the power of nations were available. One important field of investigations which is dependent on an accurate measurements of national power is the assessment of the 'would be radical changes' of the power structure of the international system.

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## 6.6: KEY TERMS

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- **Hard Power:** Refers to a nation's ability to use economic and military force to influence and coerce other states. It includes elements such as military strength, economic size, and technological capabilities.
- **Soft Power:** Coined by political scientist Joseph Nye, soft power refers to a country's ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction. Soft power is often associated with cultural influence, diplomatic relationships, and ideological appeal.
- **Smart Power:** Combines elements of both hard and soft power. It involves using a combination of military strength, economic leverage, and diplomatic influence to achieve strategic objectives.
- **National Power:** The overall power of a nation, taking into account its economic, military, technological, and diplomatic capabilities. National power is a comprehensive measure of a state's ability to achieve its goals in the international arena.

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## 6.7: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- Discuss the methods and elements of measurement of power.

- Discuss the limitations of Power.

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## **6.9: REFERENCES**

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## **BLOCK-2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Unit-7: Idealism

Unit-8: Classical Realism and Neo-Realism

Unit-9: Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Unit-10: Marxist Approaches, Feminist Perspectives

Unit-11: Euro-Centrism, Perspective from the Global South

Unit-12: Relevance of Ideology



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## **UNIT-7: IDEALISM**

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### **Structure**

- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 Introduction
- 7.3 Exponents and Theoreticians
- 7.4 Explanation
- 7.5 Assumptions
- 7.6 The Idealist Model
- 7.7 Criticism
- 7.8 Summary
- 7.9 Key Terms
- 7.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 7.11 References

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### **7.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The concept of idealism
- The idealist model of IR

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### **7.2: INTRODUCTION**

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After the World War 1 international relations was introduced as an academic discipline. The earliest theoretical approach adopted was the idealist approach. International relations scholars take of their work from time to time. As an organized discipline IR (international relations) has generated enormous literature since the First World War. It is necessary to periodically review IR as an organized academic discipline. Idealism therefore finds place both in classical or traditional and contemporary theories. The idealist approach to theorizing derives from philosophy, ethics, history and law. As its major concern is with international organization or institutions and with international law, it is also named as legal-international approach. Classical idealism as a political theory is traced to Plato. This theory is applied in modern ways as IR.

George Kateb has defined utopianism as a persistent tradition of thought about the perfect society in which perfection is defined as harmony. This harmony is in fact, a mere short-hand way of referring to a number of social conditions. Idealist approach laid great emphasis on norms, values

and thus gave a normative dimension to international politics

Modern Idealism emerged in the eighteenth century and is regarded as the major source of inspiration behind the American and French revolutions. In order to understand the process of creating a realist disciplinary history, and its relationship to progress and identity, we must have a working knowledge of texts from the days when 'idealism' supposedly reigned supreme. The world ravaged by the two world wars with millions being killed witnessed efforts on the part of some thinkers to conceive and design a world that would be based on cooperation, mutual understanding, trust, fellow feeling and non- violence. It would be certainly an idealistic reconstruction and portrayal of a world different from an anarchical international system likened to Hobbesian state of nature where all the nations were constantly in a state of war guided by their narrow selfish interests and impulses of egoism of power.

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### **7.3: EXPONENTS AND THEORETICIANS**

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One can trace this approach in the various earlier and twentieth century systematizations of international relations theory. Among scholars and statesmen who support idealism are Saint-Simon, Kant, Bentham, Kelson, Vattel, Wilson, Alfred Zimmern, Gentz, Herren Ranke, Corbett, Friedmann, Jessup, Claude Mitrany, Jenks, Russell, Deutsch, Haas, Nye, Falk, Best, Bailly, Walzer, Brown and Maclean, Lasswell, Chen, Goodwin and F. C. Northrup, etc.

#### **Representative Classical Idealists**

As noted earlier, idealism belongs both to classical and contemporary theories. Major Representatives of classical idealism are Kant, Hobson, Angell, Wilson and Russell. Hobson while criticizing modern imperialism gave an interesting plan for what could be called anarchic peace through social democracy. He recommends policies and reforms. He believed that genuine nationalism produces cosmopolitan internationalism.

#### **Representative Contemporary Idealists**

Among the representatives of contemporary idealists are Richard Rosecrance, Robert O. Keohane, Charles E. Osgood and Richard A. Falk. Rosecrance is in favor of peace through free trade because he anticipates an anarchic world in which trading nations are on the upswing. Keohane is a theorist of international regimes. He explains that after the decline of American

hegemony regimes develop a measure of autonomy and help to stabilize the international system. Like Rosecrance, Keohane maintains that path to peaceful order goes through a decentralized world. Osgood is a proponent of unilateralism, for reversing escalation by unilaterally induced tension reduction and by initiating a veritable spiral of peace.

### **In search of Idealism**

In order to understand the realist- Idealist' debate we must begin with an exposition of the 'idealist' writings of the inter war period. We should inquire into the 'real academic practices' and the 'real individuals' contributing to the discipline in the interwar period. Such a project unfortunately encounters numerous difficulties.

- No thinker claims to speak authoritatively for the 'idealists.'
- No one is accepted by others as an authority on 'idealism'.
- International organization and International Relations were just in formative stages of development as academic disciplines during this time.(between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> world war)
- Academic journals devoted to international organization or international Relations were rare. During the above period one possible solution to these difficulties would be to examine the writings of known realists for their references to 'Idealist' scholars. This proves problematic in that most realists refer only to the philosophic tradition of 'idealism' and its supposed reemergence in the interwar period without ever actually citing an incidence of a modern 'idealist'.

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## **7.4: ASSUMPTIONS**

Kelley, Jr. and Wittkopf observe: What transformed their movement into to a cohesive paradigm among western scholars were the assumptions about reality they shared and the homogeneity of the conclusion their perspectives elicited. According to them, idealists projected a world view usually resting upon the following axioms:

1. Human nature is essentially 'good' and capable of altruism, mutual aid and collaboration.
2. The fundamental instinct of the humans for the welfare of the others makes progress

possible;

3. Bad human behavior is the product not of evil people but of evil institutions and structural arrangements that create incentives for people to act selfishly and harm others including making war;
4. Wars represent the worst feature of the International system;
5. War is not Inevitable and can be eliminated by doing-away with the Institutional arrangements that encourage it
6. War is an international problem that requires global rather than national efforts to eliminate it and therefore,
7. International society has to reorganize itself to eliminate the institutions that make war likely;
8. Idealism reposes faith in reason , international peace and order as a natural condition among progressive people tied by mutually shared political , economic and other interdependent interests in a shrinking 'self-integrating world'.

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## **7.5: EXPLANATION**

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The idealists offer the following explanations and remedies for solving international problems and for reforming international anarchy.

1. States are main actors and units of analysis in the mainstream international organizational aspects of this approach. Progressive reform of the operations of the foreign state system is possible through its institutional/legal reorganization.
2. Moral nations should act according to moral principles in their international behavior, avoid all kinds of traditional power politics, and follow policies of non-partisanship.
3. Attempts should be made to create supranational institutions to replace the competitive and war-prone system of territorial states. Setting up of the League of Nations and the U.N.O and an insistence on international Cooperation in social matters as approaches to peace were symptomatic of idealists institutional solutions to the Problem of war.
4. The Legal control of war was also suggested. It called for new transnational norms

to check the initiation of war and, should it occur, its destructiveness.

5. The international institutional/legal restraints on conventional nation-state diplomacy, state-craft, balance of power and warfare through Collective Security, Pacific settlement, multilateral conference diplomacy, and the mobilization of institutionalized international public opinion, etc.
6. Another way suggested by idealists was to eliminate weapons. The attempts towards global disarmament and arms control were symbolic of this path to peace in the days of idealism.
7. The efforts should be made to see that the totalitarian forces cease to exist, as the idealist's believe that the struggles so far have been between democratic and totalitarian states. Totalitarian regimes have been the main causes of war in the world. Their elimination would pave the way for peace and harmony in the world.

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## 7.6: THE IDEALIST MODEL

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The following models were propounded during the inter war period with a view to establishing peace and security in the world by eliminating war.

### **World Federalism**

The proponent of this model discovered the cause of war in the division of the world into territorially fixed, geographically bound sovereign states as defined in Westphalia in 1648. The world federalist solution is not to eliminate the territorial nature of the state, but rather to impress upon states the necessity of ceding certain aspects of sovereignty to a higher authority. Thus international organization into some type of federation of states is a solution to war.

The **Marquis of Lothian**, a British diplomat and well known supporter of world federalism provides the conventional argument of the day for international organization into a federation of states. Lothian asserts three propositions about international life. First, war is an inherent feature of an anarchical system of sovereign states. Second, previous attempts to end war through international organization or law such the League of Nations or the Kellogg Pact were doomed to failure in such system of states. Finally, the absence of war can only be brought about through a common wealth of nations that will extend the rule of law throughout the world. He feels and understands that a world commonwealth or the federation of even a group of like minded nations is still a long way off.

**Spencer** (1923:392) suggests that the special task the 'student of Political Science in its international phase' is to use history as a means

to study the evolution of ideas and institutions that replace anarchy with order. This order can take three forms-an 'H.G Wellsian structure' of a unified world state- 'after millenniums'; the present order of multiple sovereign states which generally observe international law, but still lapse into war on occasion; or a federal combination of unity and multiplicity which is called internationalism. Spencer is realistic about the timetable for the creation of some form of international union and world consciousness, and at times he declares this work to be of decades, centuries or even millenniums.

**Lynch (1911)** suggests that while the 19<sup>th</sup> century was one of national development, the 20<sup>th</sup> century will be one of international development. He argues that evidence for this proposition abounds as many instances of intergovernmental cooperation, such as the first and second Hague conferences and non-governmental international meetings such as the young men's Christian associations and various conferences of the world's religions are becoming more frequent during this time period. As a result of these contacts across nations, individuals will transcend their blind and exclusive devotion to one nation and develop a sense of world citizenship and devotion to humanity and justice for all men.

**Edwin Ginn** took up the cause of world federalism as the solution to war. Like many of the proponents of world federalism he argued for a series of international institutions including an International Supreme Court, International Executive, International Parliament and most controversially International Police Force. In addition to these international institutions Ginn argued that an international sense of

community or feeling of world citizenship was necessary to persuade states to participate in this type of system. Being a good American he was naturally disposed to believe that the answer to the problem of war would be some form of world federalism based upon the American model.

Another proponent of this model **Eagleton** argues that to remove war from the international scene requires an international organization of states designed to which all states belong, willingly or not with a program wide enough to meet all the needs for which war might be urged and with a force behind it capable of overcoming all resistance.

**Culbertson** envisions a voluntary association of two or more leading sovereign states opens to all states, the object of which is to establish adequate machinery for collective defense of its members against aggression. The world federation embodies the ideal of world citizenship, to be

achieved eventually through gradual evolution. But it is not yet the brotherhood of man. It is not a guarantee of eternal peace. It is realistic and it puts war into a strait jacket tighter than any yet devised.

### **Anarchy/Sovereignty**

The discourse that emphasizes the problematic nature of anarchy and state sovereignty for international organization weaves its way through many of the texts examined in this excavation of the 'interwar' literature. Several scholars debate the logical foundations of sovereignty and its supposed consequences in the international system. Cornejo provides an argument linking the security of the individual to the sovereignty of the state. He maintains that states in order to justify the resort to war must appeal to the egoism of each individual to satisfy or resist ambitions of conquest. The egoism of the individual in society is then projected unto the egoism of the state in the international scene. The state maintains the unity of the egoistic individuals by recalling its egoism in the international realm. Thus, if the individual is to survive, the state must survive and that means that war is a necessary feature of interstate relations.

Another scholar **Reeves** suggests that individual security would be enhanced if the state ceded some aspects of its sovereignty to a higher authority. He argues that the notion of democratic states surrendering sovereignty to an international organization is nonsensical because states are not sovereign. The real source of sovereign power is the people not the state. Should the people in these states come to the conclusion that they would be better protected by delegating part of their sovereignty to bodies other than nation states, nothing would be surrendered but rather increased autonomy would be acquired. What is advocated some form of world federation to abolish war between states as it has been eliminated between individuals in domestic society. Another group including Laski argues that power of the state must be limited by law. Korff argues that Legal sovereignty can never more be an unlimited power; it must be strictly bound by legal limitations. If we consider sovereignty from this point of view we see that it is no longer dangerous politically. In other words, we can keep the idea

Of sovereignty in our conception of the state and need not be afraid of it, so long as we attribute to it a purely legal character, which in itself implies the existence of limitations and is a negation of all-powerfulness.

**Lothian** links the anarchy of the international economy to the anarchy of the international political system by arguing that it is interstate anarchy which is the fundamental cause of poverty

and an employment, of the partial breakdown of capitalism, and of war in this modern world.

**Laski** (1933), like Lothian (1935) is concerned with the dual anarchy posed by the international political economy. He states that a world divided into sovereign states cannot by reason of their sovereignty successfully organize their relationships upon any basis which can reasonably assume that peace is permanent. Due to increased economic interdependence Laski finds that it is obvious that the national state is an impossible unit of final discretion. The effect of sovereignty in the economic realm is the push toward imperialism and war. The solution reflects Laski's concurrence with H.G.Wells that there are really no effective middle terms between the anarchy of the pre- League world and a world state in the full sense of the term. Laski argues that a society of Socialist states with economic planning for the entire world is the best option to preserve the peace.

**Angell** agrees that the existence of a number of independent sovereignties side by side, each alaw unto itself with no general 'rule of the road' governing their intercourse has always involved war Angell observes that in the course of history the wars fought under the condition of anarchy have always been brought to an end by substituting the principle of authority or a federal bond for anarchy. He

believes that there are many different arrangements of authority to choose from in superseding international anarchy. According to Angell the main obstacle to achieving some type of supranational authority is that we have made of national sovereignty a god; and of nationalism a religion, so that even when the most solid advantages for international cooperation are offered they are rejected impulsively.

Suggesting some form of international organization above the state **Eagleton** cautions that states should divest some measure of their sovereignty to an international organization to avoid the constant state of war within which all states find themselves.

### **Disciplinary Concern**

The disciplinary concern of idealist approach includes internationally institutionalized and organized structures of peace to save man from the sufferings of modern warfare; the problematic of human and biological planetary survival.

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## **7.7: CRITICISM**

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Idealist theory can be criticized on many counts. Most of the assumptions on which it is based are only partially correct. Though full of ideals and norms, yet it is far from reality. No wonder it is



dubbed as imaginary, impracticable and thus utopian. Suggestions given by it to reform the international situation are difficult to be implemented. World government or world federation is nowhere in sight.

Kegley and Wittkopf rightly remarked: "Much of the idealist program for reform was never tried, and less of it was ever achieved".

According to Coulombs and Wolfe, "the dual problems facing the idealists are to be found in the nature and in the implementation of their ideas".

Jordon criticizes, "once they find men not accepting the ideas to which they subscribe, the idealists all too frequently decide to 'force men to be free'".

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## **7.8: SUMMARY**

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Thus, Idealism fails to provide a coherent explanation of international politics. The idealist wants rules and an empire but does not recognize the need to learn the maxims or 'science' of international politics in order to deal with cases in which these attributes do not exist. In the initial stage of international studies it provided a definite and rather uncomplicated point of focus. Thus, contributions in this area have helped to clarify the nature, structure and framework of the working of an international system, praises Thompson.

Between the two world wars (1914-45), numerous thinkers developed idealist theories of international relations. Their principal objective was to promote a world free of wars and establish a co-operative relation amongst community of nation states. They were inspired by classical idealist political thinkers (say Plato) and argued that it is possible to create a world nation state can have harmonious relationship without war and conflict. Harmony and perfection were the two most important ideas. As creation of states has helped in preventing minimizing conflict between individual creations of international organizations. Federation can minimize conflict among states. As creation of states has helped in preventing minimizing conflict between individual creations of international organizations. Federation can minimize conflict among states. As creation of states has helped in preventing minimizing conflict between individual creations of international organizations. Federation can minimize conflict among states. As creation of states has helped in preventing minimizing conflict between individual creations of international organizations. Federation can minimize conflict among states. Men by nature are good and peace loving it is the state and its ego which creates conflict. As men are good state can also be good. Reason, peace and order can lead to harmony. Weapons and arm need to be limited to reduce

wars. International legal mechanism (court of justice) can also restore conflict among nations. Totalitarian states must be abolished and democratic states must be established to promote peace. The idealist floated several ideal to achieve world peace and harmonious international relations. World federalism, creation of an international consciousness. People are to gradually—increasingly identify themselves as members of humanity and not mere citizen at specific nation states. Non political international organizations (including social, cultural, literacy etc) can promote international identification, collective groups, as a bull work of defense against war can also work. People are ultimately sovereign. They must gradually agreed to surrender them partly (at least) to an international state. Poverty, unemployment, difference in economic prosperity and even capitalism are the causes of war and these need to be contained. A more just world must be created. Socialist state with economic planning is an option. States must surrender a part of its power to an international organization. Idealism is considered to be utopian, unrealistic and impractical. The true value of idealism lies in the goals it sets before us.

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## 7.9: KEY TERMS

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- **Idealistic Vision:** Idealism posits that a better world is possible through the pursuit of shared ideals, such as peace, justice, and cooperation among nations.
- **Human Rights:** Idealism places a high value on the protection and promotion of human rights globally. It argues that respect for human rights should be a fundamental aspect of international relations.
- **Diplomacy:** Idealists believe in the power of diplomatic efforts and negotiations to resolve conflicts peacefully. They see dialogue and understanding as crucial tools in building positive relations between states.
- **Disarmament:** Idealists support efforts to reduce and eliminate weapons of mass destruction, advocating for disarmament as a means to enhance global security and stability.

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## 7.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What is idealism? Discuss the basic assumptions of idealism.
- Discuss the state anarchism, it the light of idealistic theory of international relations.
- Discuss various idealistic model in international relations.

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## **7.10: REFERENCES**

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## **UNIT-8: CLASSICAL REALISM AND NEO-REALISM**

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### **Structure**

- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Introduction
- 8.3 Basic Assumptions of Realism
- 8.4 E.H.Carr and Realism
- 8.5 Morgenthau and Realism
- 8.6 Critical Evaluation
- 8.7 Neo-Realism
- 8.8 Basic Principles of Neo-Realism
- 8.9 Difference between Morgenthau and Waltz Analysis
- 8.10 Neo-Realism and Post-Classical Realism
- 8.11 Critical Evaluation
- 8.12 Summary
- 8.13 Key Terms
- 8.14 Self Assessment Questions
- 8.15 References

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### **8.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The principles of realism
- Basic idea of Morgenthau & E.H.Carr on realism
- The basic idea of neo-realism
- Difference between classical realism and neo realism
- Limitations of the neo-realism

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### **8.2: INTRODUCTION**

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Realism has been the most dominant school of thought in the post-world war international relations and still continues to have relevance in the present international relations scenario. The principal line of thinking of the realist school is in terms of power and its exercise by states. In other words, it is chiefly concerned with real politics. Whereas realism demands that immediate requirements should not be neglected for the sake of the present. Realists argue that even in future the national interest will continue to be the supreme political value and the idealists argue that in

future the main concern of man would be human values. The realists hold that it is useless to spend energy on policies aimed at long-term objectives and utopian ideas which appear impracticable. The realist approach has little in common with the idealist or utopian approach which regards power politics as only an abnormal or passing phase of history.

The realist tradition suffered a setback due to the emergence of the neo-liberal thought; especially the challenge posed by 'pluralism'. State centrism of the traditional realists received a serious jolt as pluralists emphasized the fact that the state may be a significant actor in international relations but it is not the sole actor. In other words, they acknowledged a plurality of actors in international relations as will be discussed just here. The pluralist's challenge to realism was soon met by a new brand of realists, and the forerunner among them was Kenneth Waltz. Waltz in his famous works, *Man, the State and War* (1959) and *Theory of International Politics* (1979) came up with his ideas of world politics which is popularly known as neo-realism (new realism). The realist tradition has furnished an abundant basis for the formation of what is termed a neorealist approach to international- relations theory. It injects greater rigor into realist tradition by defining key concepts more clearly and consistently. Neo-realism has embraced what is termed structural realism identified with the writings of Waltz.

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### **8.3: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF REALISM**

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The basic assumptions of realism are:

1. The international system is anarchic.
2. Sovereign states are the principal actors in the international system.
3. States are rational unitary actors each acting under the consideration of its own national interest.
4. National security and survival are the primary 'national interest' of each state.
5. In pursuit of national security, states strive to increase national power.
6. National power and capabilities determine the relations among states.
7. National interest, defined in terms of national power, guides the actions of the states in international relation.

The seeds of realism, however, could be traced to the writings of political philosophers like Thucydides, an ancient Greek historian who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war and is also cited as an intellectual forerunner of real politics, Chanakya's Arthashastra

Machiavelli's Prince, Thomas Hobbes ' Leviathan, Otto von Bismarck , a Prussian states man who coined the term balance of power and Carl von Clausewitz a nineteenth century Prussian general and military theorist who wrote on war in which he propounded his greatest dictum that war is nothing but a continuation of politics by other means.

Their understanding of real politics deeply influenced the political realists' perspective of looking at world politics especially from the view point of human nature which they relocated in the sphere of reified states. This leads to a discussion on the propositions put forward by some of the political philosophers and how they helped in the "construction of state", construction of masculinity" and construction of warrior mentality" in the discipline of International Relation.

**Chanakya's Arthashastra**, discusses the principles of statecraft at length. The title, Arthashastra, which means "the science of material gain" or "science of polity", does not leave any doubt about its ends. Kautilya suggested that the ruler should use any means to attain his goal and his actions require no moral sanction. The problems and solutions he has suggested to the kings are still having practical significance and relevance.

**Machiavelli's classic work** The Prince is an embodiment of what a prince should actually be and the ways he should wield his power in order to gain and maintain his sway over his state and perpetuate himself in power. To the attainment of this end the prince is advised to resort to all unprincipled and unethical means not sanctioned by any religious or scriptural nuances and still be virtuous. He should combine in himself the attributes of both a lion and a fox to be exercised according to the convenience of the demands of the situation. What redounds to perpetuation of power over the state is morality to the prince not some otherworldly nuances. The instrumentalities of power are the guiding star to the prince not people's established views and beliefs. He gives a masculine character to the statecraft as he described

fortune as female who is always to be trusted and is always attracted by the 'vir', the man of true manliness, a friend of the brave and those who are "less cautious and more spirited." If a virtuous and prudent ruler wishes to master fortune, then Machiavelli's advice is to "strike and beat her and you will see that she allows herself to be more easily vanquished by the rash and the violent than by those who proud more slowly and coldly".

**Hobbes** in his Leviathan portrays a state of nature, which is horrific and undoubtedly anarchic. The root cause of this anarchy lies at the basic characteristics of human nature, which persuades every man to be enemy of every man for three principal causes:

a. Competition

b. Diffidence

c. Glory

Therefore, in such a condition there are “no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”. Force and fraud are the two cardinal virtues. In such an anarchic situation a Hobbesian bargaining took place by which every man entered into a contract with every man to bargain with an authoritarian regime identified with leviathan- a mortal God to provide them security and escape from this war like situation.

Political realists, deriving their basic assumptions from these philosophic expositions, believe that mankind is not inherently benevolent but rather self-centered, egoistic and competitive. Since states are nothing but projections of individuals unto these they propagate that states are also inherently aggressive and obsessed with security and power; and that territorial expansion is only constrained by opposing powers. The international system is the Hobbesian state of nature characterized by absence of any centralized authority. In this state of nature as all individuals were depending on themselves for their own security. They are placed in a **self help** situation as all states in the Hobbesian world are relying on their own resources and strength to meet any challenges to their security. That means, the self help system is always inadequate when it is countered and challenged by similar self help systems. This results in a situation of **security dilemma** in which every individual in Hobbes state of nature and every state in the international system gets trapped quite apprehensive of others’ strength. For this all states are in a state of competitive arms race to avoid the situation of self help and security dilemma situation when all are in a state of apprehensiveness, distrustfulness and deceitfulness of similar other states. The security is a zero-sum game where only relative gains can be made. The chief proponents of political realism were E.H. Carr, N.J. Spykman, Reinhold Niebuhr, George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth W. Thompson. Their principal writings were published between 1939 and 1966.

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#### 8.4: E.H.CARR AND REALISM

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The efforts of the liberals to establish a peaceful order through international organizations, disarmament, open diplomacy, self-determination and other lofty ideals were vehemently criticized by Carr (1939) in his polemical work *The Twenty Years’ Crisis* (1919-1939). It was dangerous, he believed, to base the study of international politics on an imaginary desire of

how we would like the world to be. He was of the opinion that “the technological aspect of the science of international politics has been conspicuous from the outset... the passionate desire to prevent war determined the whole initial course and direction of the study which consequently made it markedly and frankly utopian. International relations in its initial stage was a discipline in which wishing prevails over thinking, generalizations over observations and in which little attempt is made at a critical analysis of existing facts or available means. What were needed according to Carr, was a more rigorous approach which emphasized the realities of power in international politics rather than one which took as its starting point, an image of how the world could be. He believed that realism was “a necessary corrective to the exuberance of utopianism’ which had ignored the central element of power in its consideration of international politics. Carr refutes the liberals’ belief that international concord could be achieved by the widest possible application of their views of peace, harmony of interest, collective security and free trade. These are nothing but the ideologies of the dominant group concerned with maintaining their own predominance by asserting the identity of its own interest with those of the community. Realists on the other hand, believed the pursuit of national power was a natural drive which states neglected at their peril. Nation states which eschewed the pursuit of power on principle simply endangered their own security. For Carr, the pursuit of power by individual states took the form of promoting national interest a term later to be more broadly defined as the foreign policy goals of every nation. For Carr, as for all realists, conflict between states was inevitable in an international system without an overarching authority regulating relations between them. Understood as primarily a critique of liberal internationalism, Carr’s work was not put forward as a meta- theory of international relations. For him ethics was a function of politics and morality was the product of power.

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## 8.5: MORGENTHAU AND REALISM

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Political realism in International Relations reached its zenith and assumed a grotesque stature in the hands of Han. J Morgenthau in his seminal work **Politics among Nations: The struggle For Power and Peace** (1948) which comes closer to being a realist textbook. Morgenthau’s account of world politics is underpinned by the contrast he draws between two schools of modern political thought and their conceptions of the nature of humanity, society and politics. The first which closely resembles liberal utopianism believes that a rational and moral political order derived from universally abstract principles can be achieved by conscious political action. By contrast the



second school, with which Morgenthau identifies and that he calls realism believes the world's imperfections are the result of forces inherent in human nature. His six Principles of political realism summarize his theoretical approach to the study of international relations as outlined below:

1. Politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature which is unchanging. Therefore, it is possible to develop a rational theory of politics and international relations based on these laws that reflects these objectives laws.
2. The key to understanding international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. It sees politics as an autonomous sphere of action. It imposes intellectual discipline, infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics and thus makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible. There is no room for moral or ethical concerns, prejudices, motives, political philosophy, ideology or individual preferences in the determination of foreign policy because actions are constrained by the relative power of the state. The national interest which ought to be sole pursuit of statesmen is always defined in terms of strategic and economic capability.
3. Realism assumes that interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid but not with a meaning that is fixed once and for all. The forms and nature of state power will vary in time, place and context but the concept of interest remains consistent. The political, cultural and strategic environment will largely determine the forms of power a state chooses to exercise.
4. Universal moral principles cannot be applied to state action in their abstraction though the state behavior will certainly have moral and ethical implications. Individuals are influenced by moral codes but states are not moral agents. They must be filtered through concrete circumstances of time and place.
5. Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. It is the concept of interest defined in terms of power that saves us from the moral excess and political folly. Universal moral principles are not a reliable guide to state behavior. Interest is the perennial guide and standard by which political action must be judged and directed.

6. The political realist maintains the autonomy of the political sphere from every other sphere of human concern, whether they be legal, moral or economic. This helps to see the international domain as analytically distinct from other fields of intellectual inquiry with its own standard of thought and criteria for the analysis and evaluation of state behavior.

### **Disciplinary Concerns**

The realist theory's subject areas of disciplinary study are pointed out by A.P.Rana which are outlined below:

- First, maintenance of national security and nation-state survival as a prerequisite for the protection of manifold interests of thousands/millions of the nation-state's citizenry.
- Second, maintenance of a relative degree of possible international order in an international anarchy through the rational pursuit of the national interest.
- Third, maintenance of a relative degree of possible international peace through workman-like manipulations of national diplomacy and balance of power.
- Final, state centric conceptions of justice through the maintenance of national security/survival through the rational pursuit of the national self-interest.

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## **8.6: CRITICAL EVALUATION**

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In spite of its universal acceptability as one of the guiding principles of foreign policy realism has been subject to various criticisms

### **1. Power-not the only motivation**

In emphasizing power as the principal motivation for political behavior realist theory has not produced an acceptable definition of power. Measuring power presents formidable problems. There is no common unit into which the power is converted for measurement in realist writings. Moreover, power is necessarily related to the objective for which it is to be used. The amount and type of power vary with national goals. In addition, realists have been criticized for allegedly having placed too much emphasis on power to the relative exclusion of other important variables. In Stanley Hoffman's view "it is impossible to subsume under one word variables as different as: power as a condition of policy, and power as a criterion of policy; power as a potential and power

in use; power as a sum of resources and power as a set of processes”.

## **2. Flawed view of human nature**

Morgenthau's realism was based on a priori assumptions about human nature which by definition cannot be tested or verified to any meaningful extent. He makes a number of claims about the biological basis of the human drive for power and domination, without explaining other aspects of the human conditions which are not as egoistic.

## **3. Un illuminating concept of national interest**

The national interest concept has been the object of criticism. According to Thomas Cook and Malcolm Moos, “That national interest is a necessary criterion of policy is obvious and un illuminating. No statesman, no publicist, no scholar would seriously argue that foreign policy ought to be conducted in opposition to, or in disregard of the national interest”. Moreover it is difficult to give operational meaning to the concept of national interest. State leaders are constrained by many forces in interpreting the national interest. They are often captive of their predecessors' policies. They interpret national interest as a result of their cultural training, values and the data made available to them as decision makers. According to Michael Joseph Smith, realists having adopted Max Weber's ethic of responsibility have not presented a competent set of criteria for judging responsibility.

## **4. Construction of reality**

Drawing from the Eurocentric system of the past the realist thinkers tried to apply a series of political concepts to the understanding and analysis of a vastly different contemporary global international system. According to Stephano Guzzini realist theory is best understood as an attempt to translate the maxims of nineteenth century European diplomacy into general principles of American social science. Such efforts have shaped academic research agenda and influenced policy makers. Different from what the reality is, such a mind set well entrenched by realist school in the realm of academic and policy making represents a construction of reality that led to policy action and academic analyses.

## **5. Normative in the oretical orientation**

Discovering the in exorable laws in the historical past which guided the nations the realist school holds that it would be the basic objective of the nations at present to fit them into this straitjacket if they are not doing so. If nations obey laws of nature, which the realists have purported to have discovered, why is it necessary to urge them, as realists do to return to the

practices based on such laws? Although history provides many examples of international behavior that substantiate classical realist theory, historical data offer deviant cases. In calling on states to alter their behavior, the realist becomes normative in theoretical orientation and fails to provide an adequate explanation as to why political leaders sometimes do not adhere to realist tenets in foreign policy.

#### **6. Obstructs alternatives**

The central concerns of realism are related to holding that states are the primary actors and basic units of analysis, inter-state behavior takes place in an ungoverned anarchy and the behavior of states can be understood as pursuit of power defined as interest. The present structure and operation of international relations accepts this underlying reality. Realism was an argument from the historical necessity. It offered an account of the reproduction of the state system and in the sense that it contributed to the perpetuation of the international system by providing it with an intellectual rationale, realism obstructed paths to alternative historical developments. It persuasively explained why international politics was never likely to resemble liberal democratic orders.

#### **7. Realism represents class relations**

Marxists have argued from this that realism is primarily concerned with the reinforcement and reproduction of capitalist relations of production at both the domestic and international levels, and that the system of states structurally supports this mode of production. It is sometimes argued that there is a link between realism and ruling class interest in leading industrial societies. Realism may well play a significant role in reproducing a world order which favours dominant classes. Robert Cox criticized realism for its failure to recognize how its contribution to international stability preserves social and economic inequalities within and between societies.

#### **8. Realism identified with conservatism**

If there is an identifiable ideology associated with realism it is the more general idea of conservatism. As Buzan puts it, realism is “the natural home of those disposed towards conservative ideology”. Realism aims at an accurate representation of the reality of global politics as opposed to a way of thinking in which some higher state is imagined or conceived of as course of action. As has been pointed out by McKinlay and R. Little realism seeks to resist change and foreclose alternative political practices. It marginalizes those theories

offering alternative or contradictory accounts of the reality of world politics.

### **9. Autonomous politics a misnomer**

Political sphere cannot be fully autonomous. Man is political, economic, social, religious and moral at the same time. All these fields and aspects are interrelated and integrated. Aristotle had long suggested that the study of politics should integrate all the facets of human nature.

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## **8.7: NEO-REALISM**

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The realist tradition suffered a setback due to the emergence of the neo-liberal thought; especially the challenge posed by 'pluralism'. State centrism of the traditional realists received a serious jolt as pluralists emphasized the fact that the state may be a significant actor in international relations but it is not the sole actor. In other words, they acknowledged a plurality of actors in international relations as will be discussed just here. The pluralist's challenge to realism was soon met by a new brand of realists, and the forerunner among them was Kenneth Waltz. Waltz in his famous works, *Man, the State and War* (1959) and *Theory of International Politics* (1979) came up with his ideas of world politics which is popularly known as neo-realism (new realism). The realist tradition has furnished an abundant basis for the formation of what is termed a neorealist approach to international- relations theory. It injects greater rigor into realist tradition by defining key concepts more clearly and consistently. Neo-realism has embraced what is termed structural realism identified with the writings of Waltz.

### **What is Neo-Realism?**

Waltz argues that the key difference between international and domestic politics lies not in the regularity of war and conflict but in the structure of international system, there is no other way to secure oneself other than self-help which will ultimately lead to security dilemma because security build up of one would result in insecurity of others. The resultant anarchy for the neo-realist is, therefore, due to the presence of a higher power over the sovereign states. Thus, the sources of conflict or causes of war, unlike what the traditional or classical realists argue, do not rest on the human nature but within the basic framework of the anarchic structure of international relations. Thus, in a self-help system, the logic of self interest provides a basis of understanding the problem of coordinating the interests of individual versus the interests of common good and the pay-off between short-term interests and long-term interests.

Neo-realists did not overlook the prospects of cooperation among states also. But the point of contention was that, states, while cooperating with each other, tried to maximize their relative power and preserve their autonomy.

### **Exponents**

In the late seventies and early eighties of twentieth century neo- realism as an influential school of international politics like realism, its antecedent, the state is central. It gives importance to the structuralist mode of analysis to reinforce, reassert and validate realist premises after taking due cognizance of the critique of realism made in the 60s, 70s and in the present times. Neo-realism adds an element of casual analysis not found in traditional realist scholars-Morgenthau, Grotius, Hoffmann. These scholars have not developed an orderly and systematic version of realism. Neo-realism, on the other hand, is systematic as for it the primary explanation for state behavior is the very structure of the nation –state-system. That is why it is also known as systematic theory. Prominent proponents of this school of thought are: Waltz, Gilpin, Axelord , Bull, Keohane, George and Schroeder. Others who have taken neo-realist position are Ranke, Hintze, Cohen, Tucker, Krasner, Andrews, Kratochwil, Herz, Spegell, Nadel, Buckley, Holsti, Zolbery, Gourevitch, Holbraaad and Nye. Main exponent – Kenneth N. Waltz endeavors to put balance of power theory on a disciplined and modern footing by taking recourse to scientific method.

### **Assumptions**

Assumptions of neo-realism are partly similar to traditional realism Grotian as well as Morgenthau's discussed in the previous chapter although reinforced by the demonstration of the lack off easibility of alternative modes of organization of international society, the absence of a minimum universal consensus, the implicit perils and the empirical and moral indefensibility of radical change in the structuralist imperative. A structural theory suggests that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, and that the whole acts autonomously to constrain the parts. It assumes that international relation conform to orderly patterns of wholes and parts: the whole is the international system; the parts are the actors within it.

According to Waltz, there are two types of international relations theories: one reduction is theory starts with the parts and moves to the wholes, systematic theory does the reverse; reductionist explanation the structure among the parts, the structure of the whole.

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## 8.8: BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEO-REALISM

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Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* (1979) set the tone for some of the most controversial methodological and theoretical debates in IR in the 1980's and 1990s. Much of the neorealist-neoliberal debates can be seen as a reaction to this book and a response to those reactions. The arguments, which Waltz began, underscored the importance of third-image explanations. **First image** explanations locate causes of international outcomes say the cause of war, "in the nature and behaviour of men. Wars result from selfishness, from misdirected aggressive impulses, from stupidity"(Waltz Kenneth, 1959: 16). **Second-image** explanations locate causes in the internal structure like capitalism; similarly, international peace results from a particular form of government like democracy (Ibid: 80-164). Alluding to Rousseau's stag hunt and the then prevailing game theory, Waltz stated that the first and second- image explanations were insufficient. In a situation of strategic interdependence such as that of great powers an actor's optimal strategy depends on the other actor's strategic considerations. In order to understand what the actors will do one has to take into account the constraints that define the strategic setting in which the actors interact in addition to looking at the attributes of the actors. The third image locates causes "within the state system" (Ibid: 12). An illustration from microeconomic theory explains the potential importance of third image. The price is higher and the output is lower in a monopolized market than in a competitive one. But first and second image accounts, which Waltz collectively calls reductive explanations in *Theory of International Politics*, do not explain these differences. In both markets, the attributes of the actors, which are firms in this case, are identical: every firm tries to maximize its profits and consequently produces the level of output at which marginal cost equals marginal revenue. What accounts for the variation in price and output between these markets is not variation in the attributes of the units but variation in the environment or market structures in which they act. This is the essence of the third image. The first and second image explanations are basically reductive. Fixing constraints and varying units' attributes comprise the essential conceptual experiment underlying reductive explanations. **The third image** is mainly systemic explanations. Fixing the units' attributes and varying the constraints facing the units comprise the fundamental conceptual experiment underlying systemic explanations. After highlighting the importance of third image or systemic explanations, Waltz sets the second objective in *Theory of International Politics*. He sees structure as a "set of constraining conditions" (Waltz: 73). A second goal for Waltz is to specify a restricted

set of constraints that provide a way of conceiving of a political system and then to demonstrate the power of this formulation by showing that it tells “us a small number of big and important things”(Waltz, Reflection on Theory of International Politics: 73).Waltz defines a political structure in terms of ordering principle of the system, the functional differentiation of units and the distribution of the units’ capabilities. His objective is to explain why the anarchic international system tends to reproduce itself. He believes that international system has a precisely defined these three dimensional structure:

### **1. Ordering principle of the system**

The ordering principle of the system is anarchical not hierarchical. The absence of a central authority leads to a self help system where the quest for survival requires the states to seek security through the accretion of military power. The ordering principle of the system forces the states to perform exactly the same primary function regardless of their capacity to do so.

#### **1. The functional differentiation of units**

In this anarchic system each state is a separate, autonomous and formally equal, and to realize its interests it must count only on its own resources and no one else can be counted on to do so. Then, all the important functions must be performed by each and every state.

#### **2. The distribution of the capabilities of the units of the international system**

States cannot be differentiated by its functions but they differ vastly in their capabilities. This distribution of capabilities, which is unequal and shifting, defines the relative power of the states and predicts internationally system can be distinguished from another by the distribution of capabilities between states. “Structure, properly defined is transposable” (Waltz,“A Response to My Critics” in Keohane, Neorealism and Its Critics: 330).

According to Waltz, balance and bandwagon are the two choices before the states in an anarchic system. The states always prefer balance to bandwagon. The power of others is always a threat not a lure. The weak states have no other alternative than always to form alliances with leading powers.

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## **8.9: DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MORGENTHAU AND WALTZ ANALYSIS**

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Classical realism is primarily based on a pessimistic portrayal of human nature. Self interested, competitive, concerned with self preservation and lust for power behaviour are found embedded in human nature. Since self preservation is the sole motive in aggrandizing power, Morgenthau



argues that each state must act selfishly. Deriving its ontological foundation from Hobbes, Morgenthau argues that such behaviour leads ultimately to conflict. "What the one wants for himself, the other already possesses or wants, too. Struggle and competition ensue.... Man cannot (therefore) hope to be good, but must be content with not being too evil" (Morgenthau, 1946). In short, classical realism assumes that competition and conflict between states are inevitable, and the roots of the struggle for power emanate from the human nature.

Neo-realism or structural realism pursues a different approach to explain the nature of conflict between actors in international relations. The roots of interstate conflict are found embedded in the absence of a central authority that can enforce rules and agreements, and not in the nature of human beings as in the case of classical realism. The absence of a central authority results in an insecure, self help situation in which the actors are impelled to act competitively, regardless of their individual nature or personal preferences. This situation is called anarchy not in the sense of chaos but in the sense of absence of world government, which can enforce rules in international relations. Thus, anarchy originates in an insecure international system bereft of any central government not in human nature and states must act to eliminate or reduce this insecurity through a policy of balancing against others' power capabilities, and band wagoning a coalition that supports an aggressive state, in hopes of turning its aggression elsewhere. In the classical realism desire for power is considered as an end in itself because the behaviour of the states leads to power oriented strategies. In neo realism the need for such strategies arises to compete for security. On the question about the effect of polarity on war and peace both classical and neo realism differs. The key to understand this difference lies in the impact of uncertainty on the decision to go to war. The increase in the number of main actors in the international system increases uncertainty. When the number decreases, uncertainty decreases. For classical realists strategies are rooted in the human desire of power as an end in itself, and then certainty leads to war because certainty simplifies the aggressors' calculations for war, and uncertainty leads to peace because action is deterred by the threat of third party intervention. In the classical realist theory bipolarity gives more certainty and leads to war and multipolarity leads to peace as it is characterized by uncertainty. On the other hand, in the neo-classical realist analysis insecurity is originated in the anarchic condition of international system, which impinges on states to accumulate more power as a systemic requirement to give more security to them. As the number of main actors increases, the system is more anarchic and therefore more insecure. The states are thus compelled to resort to drastic actions to reduce insecurity. In other word sun certainty gives

more opportunities to aggressor to act and certainty leads to peace. In the neorealist analysis bipolarity leads to peace as it gives more certainty than multi polarity.

According to neo-realism an increase in one state's security decreases the security of others. The term "security dilemma" describes the condition in which states, unsure of others' intentions, arm for the sake of security, setting in motion a vicious circle of response and counter response. Security dilemmas result from situations in the view of neo- realism and not from states' desire as in the case of classical realism.

"By concentrating on the nature of the system-level structure, Waltz avoided the need to make assumptions about human nature, morality, power and interest. Neo-realists were thus able to see power in a different way. For the classical realists power was both a means and an end, and rational state behaviour was simply accumulating the most power. Neo realists found that a better guide was provided by assuming that the ultimate state interest was in security, and while gathering power often ensured that, in some cases it merely provoked an arms race. Yet while power was no longer the prime motivator, its distribution was the major factor determining the nature of the structure".

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## **8.10: NEO-REALISM AND POST-CLASSICAL REALISM**

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Recent years have witnessed a split of realism into two competing branches- Waltz's neo-realism and post classical realism. Both are state centric; both view international politics as inherently competitive; both emphasize material factors, rather than nonmaterial factors, such as ideas and institutions; and both assume states are egoistic actors that pursue self help. Notwithstanding these similarities, differences between the two veer round the issue of whether states are conditioned by the mere possibility of conflict or states make decisions on the probability of aggression. According to neo realism the possibility of conflict decides the actions of states, which are seen as always adopting a worst case perspective. On the other hand, post classical realism rejecting the notion of worst case reasoning holds that states are understood as making decisions based on assessment of probabilities regarding security threats (See Wendt, 1992: 404 and Keohane, 1993: 282-83).

The first disagreement concerns the discount rate. It is argued that neo-realism's emphasis on the possibility of conflict is emblematic of the view that actors heavily discount the future favouring short-term military preparedness over longer term objectives when they conflict. To the contrary postclassical realism does not consider the long term objectives as always subordinate to short

term security requirements often requiring states to make inter temporal trade offs (Stephen G. Brooks, 1997).

The second disagreement concerns state preferences. All realists are of the view that military security is state's prime responsibility and it is founded on a state's material substructure. But disagreement brews when these priorities conflict. In the case of conflict between material capacity and military preparedness, neo realism gives primacy to the latter. In postclassical realism's analysis "the rational policy makers may trade off a degree of military preparedness if the potential net gains in economic capacity are substantial relative to the probability of security losses".

### **Explanation**

Martin explains this theory in the light of Waltz's work. Waltz gives explanations at the systematic level it is the anarchic nature of the international system that accounts for sameness. Power is means not an end: the attainment of secure independence is the highest end. Counter weights are set and a balancing mechanism begins function- hence balance of power theory. According to Waltz, states do not seek to minimize power but merely to balance it. According to Waltz, a bipolar system is more likely to produce balance than a multipolar system. The introduction of this idea into traditional balance of power theory accounts for what is called neo-realism.

In sum, neo-realist theory endeavors to provide scientific weight to traditional power-political ideas of hierarchy and balance of power. Neo-realism also sharpens identification and justification of the political realist's moral philosophy.

### **Disciplinary Concerns**

Disciplinary concerns or subject are as of disciplinary study are similar to traditional realists in the forging with more explicit emphasis on

1. Systematic moral primacy of world order and within it the intermediate imperative of an existing international order of its;
2. Peaceful possibilities within the framework of an existing given 'war system' in the absence of any cogent possibilities of moving into a less anarchic international arena of a 'peace system'; Waltz's four P'S poverty, pollution, population and nuclear proliferation.

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## 8.11: CRITICAL EVALUATION

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The first major criticism which can be leveled against realism is that like idealism, realism is also lopsided and stresses solely on power and power struggle, i.e.; power monism'. The traditional realists formulated their views in reaction to the liberal utopians of the 1920s and 1930s. Consequently, they put greater emphasis on "power politics", state sovereignty, balance of power and war.

For the realists, states were the only important actors in international relations. According to Stanley Hoffman, this theory is full of anomalies and ambiguities and ignores the discussion of ends.

Cox (1986) places the neo-realist theory in the category of 'problem solving approach' to international relations when this may be little more than a cover for and rationalization of immoral and unethical behavior. The idea of "national interest" likewise needs to be rendered more "multidimensional and contextually contingent", but not necessarily abandoned. Tickner stresses "I am not denying the validity of Morgenthau's work" but only asking for a negotiation with the 'contentious others'.

Central to Waltz's theory is his assertion that international relations can be divided into system and unit level of analysis, with what he terms structure representing the international system level of analysis. The focus of his theoretical effort lies at the international system level. Therefore, he gives relatively little attention to unit factors because they lie outside his definition of structure. Waltz has neglected both the role of units and the impact of the structure of units themselves on the behavioural pattern their members.

According to neoliberal institutionalist critics, a theory of international politics must include the domestic politics of the units, to the extent that they shape foreign policy. According to such a conclusion, Waltz can be faulted either for drawing too narrowly the conceptual boundary between the system and its units or for having too narrowly defined the term structure and assuming that only the international system level contains structure.

According to Barry Buzan, Charles Jones and Richard Little, Waltz's focus on power and its distribution at the structural level heavily discounts the authority and organizational dimensions of international parties. Instead, it is suggested that, in addition to power, there is general agreement that rules, regimes, and international institutions need to be brought into the definition of international political structure.

As Linklater has pointed out a major problem with unit-structure relationship is that it leaves little

or no room for systemic change induced by the units themselves. States are virtually powerless to change the system in which they are trapped. While this argument allows Waltz to explain the persistence and longevity of the international system, it is by definition hostile to the idea that the system can be fundamentally altered by the states which comprise it.

Waltz also denies that greater levels of economic interdependency amongst pose a threat to the condition of anarchy, despite Rosecrance's claim that trading state is displacing the military state in the contemporary world. Use of force has been counterproductive in the post-second world war period because it threatens the stability of the global trading and finance system. Doyle's argument that liberal democracies have transcended their violent instincts- and the insecurities engendered by anarchy- and have learnt to resolve their differences peacefully is relevant here. The pacification of a core of liberal democracies and the increasing number of states choosing liberal democratic orders poses challenge for neo-realism's contention that the units can do little to alter the structure of the system.

Waltz also discounts the rationalist view that though it is anarchic in structure, the international system is also normatively regulated. The idea of international society with common interest and values, rules and institutions, where conflict is mollified by mutually recognized requirements for co-existence undermines the neo-realist view that states are incapable of altruistic behavior.

The epistemological critiques of neo-realism by Ashley and Cox expose the conservative ideology which underwrites Waltz theoretical approach. Both adopt a critical approach to neo-realism, highlighting the extent to which it naturalizes or refines the international system by treating structures which have a specific and transitory history as if they were permanent, normal or given political fixtures. As Linklater argues, by emphasizing recurrence and repetition in the international system neo-realism cannot envisage a form statecraft which transcends the calculus of power and control. For Cox neo-realism reduces international relations to great power management by legitimating the very political order it is describing-one which favours the powerful and hostile to change.

Moreover, neo-realism is faulted for having presumably reduced politics to those dimensions that are conducive to interpretation by reference to rational behavior under various structural constraints. Because of its focus on structure, neo-realism is said to have ignored the social basis and social limits of power. The state- as- actor world of neo-realism is faulted for having imputed to the state the role of unitary actor, the behavior of which is shaped by the structure of the international system. Neo-realism, it is suggested was statist before it was structuralist.

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## 8.12: SUMMARY

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The realists maintain that their approach is still relevant in the present international relations. The realist theory is pioneer and ranks as the most important attempt thus so far to develop a theory of international relations. In Robert Keohane's words, "Realism provides a good starting point for the analysis of cooperation and discord, since its tautological structure and its pessimistic assumptions about individual and state behavior serve as barriers against wishful thinking. According to R.B.J. Walker, political realism should be viewed "less as a coherent theoretical position in its own right than as the site of a great many contested claims and metaphysical disputes".

Neo- realism provides a convincing account of why the foreign policies of nation-states are so familiar, despite their very diverse internal natures. It also provides a more sophisticated explanation for the persistence of the international system. However, it exaggerates the autonomy states enjoy from their domestic conditions, overstates the importance of structure and underestimates the potential for states to transform the international system.

Finally, although realist disciplinary historians have posited a large impact of contextual, real-world events on ideas within international relations, few have examined instances of reverse causality. The neoliberal neorealist debate has virtually excluded the examination of the impact of ideas on international relations until only recently. Realists are apt to view ideas as the clothing within which states wrap their interest-driven decisions for public consumption. The realists point that the 'idealists' unrealistic nations of world peace led to the tragedy of world war IT, but what tragedies has the realist tradition been party to .Under realism power is an end in itself. Under neo-liberalism power is needed to achieve security. Realism holes multi polarity of balance at power leads peace. Neo-realism holds bi-polarity. Neo-realism recognizes the increase in the security of one leads to insecurity of others. Neo-realism views military preparedness and material capacity is important.

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## 8.13: KEY TERMS

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- **Anarchy:** Realists argue that the international system is anarchic, meaning there is no higher authority or world government to enforce order. States operate in a self-help system where they must rely on their own capabilities for survival.

- **Power Politics:** Realists believe that power is a central determinant of international relations. Power can be measured in military strength, economic capabilities, or geopolitical influence.
- **Security Dilemma:** Realists describe a situation where one state's efforts to increase its security can lead to increased insecurity for other states. This can result in an arms race and heightened tensions.
- **National Interest:** Realists argue that states are motivated by self-interest, and their actions are driven by the pursuit of national interest. This can include security, economic prosperity, and the enhancement of power.

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## 8.14: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What is realism? Discuss the basic features of realism.
- What is the difference between the realism and neo-realism.
- What are the basic assumptions of the realism.
- Discuss the views of Morgenthau and Waltz on classical realism.

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## **UNIT-9: LIBERALISM AND NEO-LIBERALISM**

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### **Structure**

- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 Early History of Liberalism
- 9.4 Basic Ideas of Liberalism
- 9.5 Neo-Liberalism
- 9.6 Early History of Neo-Liberalism
- 9.7 Basic Ideas of Neo-Liberalism
- 9.8 Summary
- 9.9 Key Terms
- 9.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 9.11 References

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### **9.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- What is Liberalism in IR?
- History and Basis Ideas of Liberalism
- What is Neo-Liberalism in IR?
- History and Basic Ideas of Neo-Liberalism

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### **9.2: INTRODUCTION**

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In the 18th and 19th centuries, liberal philosophers and political thinkers debated the difficulties of establishing just, orderly and peaceful relations between peoples. A systematic account of the problems of world peace was given by Immanuel Kant in 1795. His ideas have had a profound impact on the development of liberalism in international relations. In the 19th century, solutions to the problem of war evaded even the most eminent of thinkers. Much of the liberal scholarship became content with diplomatic history until the outbreak of the First World War. The Great War and the destruction that it caused forced the liberal thinkers to find new means to prevent violent conflicts and create conditions in which reason and cooperation would prevail. Basing their premise on the inherent goodness of man, these liberal thinkers focused on negotiations, rule of law and establishing stable international institutions. The widespread anti-war sentiment within



Europe and North America which existed in the 1920s provided the necessary support for the liberal enterprise.

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### 9.3: EARLY HISTORY OF LIBERALISM

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Liberalism originally arose from both deep scholarly and philosophical roots. With the theory's prime principle being international cooperation and peace, early influences are seen in some bigger religious practices sharing the same goal. It was later in the 17th and 18th centuries in which political liberalism began to take a form that challenged nobility and inherited inequality. Followed shortly after was the Enlightenment where liberal ideals began to develop with works by philosophers such as Voltaire, Locke, Smith, and German thinker Immanuel Kant. In part, liberal scholars were influenced by the Thirty Years' War and the Enlightenment. The length and disastrous effects of the Thirty Years' War caused a common disdain for warfare throughout much of Europe. Thinkers, like Locke and Kant, wrote about what they saw in the world around them. They believed that war is fundamentally unpopular and that man is born with certain rights because the end of the Thirty Years' War proved these ideas to them.

John Locke discusses many ideas that are now attributed to Liberalism in *Two Treatises of Government*, published in 1689. In his second treatise, Locke comments on society and outlines the importance of natural rights and laws. Locke believes that people are born as blank slates without any preordained ideas or notions. This state is known as the State of Nature because it shows people in their most barbaric form. As people grow, their experiences begin to shape their thoughts and actions. They are naturally in the State of Nature until they choose not to be, until something changes their barbaric nature. Locke says that, civil government can remedy this anarchy. When it comes to the Law of Nature, people are more likely to act rationally when there is a government in place because there are laws and consequences to abide by. Locke argues that civil government can help people gain the basic human rights of health, liberty and possession. Governments that grant these rights and enforce laws benefit the world. Many of these ideas have influenced leaders such as the Founding Fathers during the American Revolution and French revolutionaries during the French Revolution.

In Kant's *To Perpetual Peace*, the philosopher set the way by forming guidelines to create a peace program to be applied by nations. This program would require cooperation between states as well as the mutual pursuit of secure freedom and shared benefits. One such idea was the Democratic Peace Theory. In *To Perpetual Peace*, Kant put forth the idea that democracies do not fight wars

because leaders were too worried about re-election. Because war was naturally unpopular, Kant thought that leaders would avoid burdening voters with its costs. After seeing success in intertwining states through economic coalition, liberal supporters began to believe that warfare was not always an inevitable part of international relations. Support of liberal political theory continued to grow from there.

Kant's democratic peace theory has since been revised by neoliberals like Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. These theorists have seen that democracies do in fact fight wars. However, democracies do not fight wars with other democracies because of capitalist ties. Democracies are economically dependent and therefore are more likely to resolve issues diplomatically. Furthermore, citizens in democracies are less likely to think of citizens in other democracies as enemies because of shared morals. Kant's original ideas have influenced liberal scholars and have had a large impact on liberal thought.

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## **9.4: BASIC IDEAS OF LIBERALISM**

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Liberalism is a school of thought within international relations theory which revolves around three interrelated principles:

- Rejection of power politics as the only possible outcome of international relations; it questions security/warfare principles of realism
- Mutual benefits and international cooperation
- The role of international organizations and nongovernmental actors in shaping state preferences and policy choices

This school of thought emphasizes three factors that encourage more cooperation and less conflict among states:

- International institutions, such as the United Nations, which provide a forum to resolve disputes in non-violent ways
- International trade because, when countries' economies are interconnected through trade, they are less likely to go to war with each other
- Spread of democracy, as well-established democracies are assumed to not go to war with one another, so if there are more democracies, interstate war will be less frequent

Liberals believe that international institutions play a key role in cooperation among states via interdependence. There are three main components of interdependence. States interact in various

ways, through economic, financial, and cultural means; security tends to not be the primary goal in state-to-state interactions; and military forces are not typically used. Liberals also argue that international diplomacy can be a very effective way to get states to interact with each other honestly and support nonviolent solutions to problems. With the proper institutions and diplomacy, Liberals believe that states can work together to maximize prosperity and minimize conflict.

Liberalism is one of the main schools of international relations theory. Liberalism comes from the Latin *liber* meaning "free", referring originally to the philosophy of freedom. Its roots lie in the broader liberal thought originating in the Enlightenment. The central issues that it seeks to address are the problems of achieving lasting peace and cooperation in international relations, and the various methods that could contribute to their achievement.

Supporters of liberalism often believe in the spreading of democracy through cooperation.

Liberal concepts of trade and economic interdependence are the foundation of these ideologies. Such concepts can be linked to the development of commercial liberalism in the nineteenth century, which was influenced by Richard Cobden (1804-65) and John Bright (1811-89), two so-called "Manchester liberals," as well as David Ricardo's (1770-1823) classical economics. The key theme within commercial liberalism was a belief in the virtues of free trade. Free trade has economic benefits, as it allows each country to specialize in the production of the goods and services that it is best suited to produce, the ones in which they have a 'comparative advantage'. Free trade, however, plays an equally significant role in uniting nations in a web of economic interdependence that makes fighting abroad economically unviable.

Free trade, however, plays an equally significant role in uniting nations in a web of economic interdependence that makes fighting abroad economically unthinkable. Cobden and Bright thought that free trade would unite individuals of various racial backgrounds, religious beliefs, and linguistic groups in what Cobden called "the bonds of eternal peace." Free commerce would not just contribute negatively to maintaining peace but it would also have positive benefits in ensuring that different peoples are united by shared values and a common commercial culture, and so would have a better understanding of one another. In short, aggression and expansionism are best deterred by the 'spirit of commerce'. This commercial liberalism has been further developed by neoliberal thinkers like Keohane and Nye. Both Keohane and Nye called it complex

interdependence.

The concepts of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and the modern American scholar Michael Doyle serve as the foundation for Republican liberalism. It assumes that democratic governments have advantageous traits and refrain from starting wars with one another. The liberal view of international politics uses an "inside-out" method of theorizing, similar to classical realism. Assumptions regarding their fundamental components are used to generate larger conclusions about international and global affairs. Although realists' belief in power politics contrasts dramatically with liberalism's emphasis on peace and international cooperation. Both viewpoints share the idea that states are fundamentally selfish players. As a result, every state is at least potentially dangerous to others. Liberals, on the other hand, disagree with realists and think that a state's political and constitutional structure significantly impacts how it acts on the outside. This can be seen in the Republican liberal tradition that dates back to Woodrow Wilson.

The aggressive character of authoritarian regimes stems from the fact that they are immunized from popular pressure and typically have strong and politically powerful armies. As they are accustomed to the use of force to maintain themselves in power, force becomes the natural mechanism through which they deal with the wider world and resolve disputes with other states. Republican liberalism, therefore, promotes the spread of democracy, one of the core principles of all political beliefs, to bring about peace. It is a theory with a significant normative component in this sense. Therefore, to achieve peace, Republican liberalism encourages the growth of democracy, one of the fundamental tenets of all political ideologies. In this sense, it is a theory with a sizable normative element.

Liberal institutionalism stands for liberal thinking puts faith in human reason and believes that this reason could deliver freedom and justice in international relations. Their emphasis was a transformation of individual consciousness, abolishing war, setting up a world government, promoting free trade and maintaining peace. Liberal internationalists talked about the 'harmony of interests in international relations, which has been vehemently criticized by E.H. Carr in his famous work *The Twenty years' crisis* (1939), Jeremy Bentham, and Immanuel Kant were the leading exponents of liberal internationalism.

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## 9.5: NEO-LIBERALISM

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Neoliberalism, also neo-liberalism, is both a political philosophy and a term used to signify the late-20th-century political reappearance of 19th-century ideas associated with free-market capitalism. The term has multiple, competing definitions, and is often used pejoratively. In scholarly use, the term is frequently undefined or used to characterize a vast variety of phenomena, but is primarily used to describe the transformation of society due to market-based reforms.

As an economic philosophy, neoliberalism emerged among European liberal scholars during the 1930s as they attempted to revive and renew central ideas from classical liberalism as they saw these ideas diminish in popularity, overtaken by a desire to control markets, following the Great Depression and manifested in policies designed with the intention to counter the volatility of free markets. One impetus for the formulation of policies to mitigate capitalist free-market volatility was a desire to avoid repeating the economic failures of the early 1930s, failures sometimes attributed principally to the economic policy of classical liberalism. In policymaking, neoliberalism often refers to what was part of a paradigm shift that followed the failure of the post-war consensus and neo-Keynesian economics to address the stagflation of the 1970s. The collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War also made possible the triumph of neoliberalism in the United States and around the world.

The term neoliberalism has become more prevalent in recent decades. A prominent factor in the rise of conservative and right-libertarian organizations, political parties, and think tanks, and predominantly advocated by them, neoliberalism is often associated with policies of economic liberalization, including privatization, deregulation, consumer choice, globalization, free trade, monetarism, austerity, and reductions in government spending in order to increase the role of the private sector in the economy and society. The neoliberal project is also focused on designing institutions and is political in character rather than only economic.

The term is rarely used by proponents of free-market policies. When the term entered into common academic use during the 1980s in association with Augusto Pinochet's economic reforms in Chile, it quickly acquired negative connotations and was employed principally by critics of market reform and laissez-faire capitalism. Scholars tended to associate it with the theories of economists working with the Mont Pelerin Society, including Friedrich Hayek, Milton

Friedman, Ludwig von Mises and James M. Buchanan, along with politicians and policy-makers such as Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Alan Greenspan. Once the new meaning of neoliberalism became established as a common usage among Spanish-speaking scholars, it diffused into the English-language study of political economy. By 1994, with the passage of NAFTA and with the Zapatistas' reaction to this development in Chiapas, the term entered global circulation. Scholarship on the phenomenon of neoliberalism has grown over the last few decades.

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## **9.6: EARLY HISTORY OF NEO-LIBERALISM**

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The Great Depression in the 1930s, which severely decreased economic output throughout the world and produced high unemployment and widespread poverty, was widely regarded as a failure of economic liberalism. To renew the damaged ideology, a group of 25 liberal intellectuals, including a number of prominent academics and journalists like Walter Lippmann, Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Wilhelm Röpke, Alexander Rüstow, and Louis Rougier, organized the Walter Lippmann Colloquium, named in honor of Lippmann to celebrate the publication of the French translation of Lippmann's pro-market book *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society*. Meeting in Paris in August 1938, they called for a new liberal project, with "neoliberalism" one name floated for the fledgling movement. They further agreed to develop the Colloquium into a permanent think tank based in Paris called the *Centre International d'Études pour la Rénovation du Libéralisme*.

While most agreed that the status quo liberalism promoting laissez-faire economics had failed, deep disagreements arose around the proper role of the state. A group of "true (third way) neoliberals" centered around Rüstow and Lippmann advocated for strong state supervision of the economy while a group of old school liberals centered around Mises and Hayek continued to insist that the only legitimate role for the state was to abolish barriers to market entry. Rüstow wrote that Hayek and Mises were relics of the liberalism that caused the Great Depression while Mises denounced the other faction, complaining that the ordoliberalism they advocated really meant "ordo-interventionism".

Divided in opinion and short on funding, the Colloquium was mostly ineffectual; related attempts to further neoliberal ideas, such as the effort by Colloque-attendee Wilhelm Röpke to establish a journal of neoliberal ideas, mostly floundered. Fatefully, the efforts of the Colloquium would be overwhelmed by the outbreak of World War II and were largely forgotten. Nonetheless, the

Colloquium served as the first meeting of the nascent neoliberal movement and would serve as the precursor to the Mont Pelerin Society, a far more successful effort created after the war by many of those who had been present at the Colloquium.

Neoliberalism began accelerating in importance with the establishment of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947, whose founding members included Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, Karl Popper, George Stigler and Ludwig von Mises. Meeting annually, it became a "kind of international 'who's who' of the classical liberal and neo-liberal intellectuals." While the first conference in 1947 was almost half American, the Europeans dominated by 1951. Europe would remain the epicenter of the community as Europeans dominated the leadership roles.

Established during a time when central planning was in the ascendancy worldwide and there were few avenues for neoliberals to influence policymakers, the society became a "rallying point" for neoliberals, as Milton Friedman phrased it, bringing together isolated advocates of liberalism and capitalism. They were united in their belief that individual freedom in the developed world was under threat from collectivist trends, which they outlined in their statement of aims:

The central values of civilization are in danger. Over large stretches of the Earth's surface the essential conditions of human dignity and freedom have already disappeared. In others, they are under constant menace from the development of current tendencies of policy. The position of the individual and the voluntary group are progressively undermined by extensions of arbitrary power. Even that most precious possession of Western Man, freedom of thought and expression, is threatened by the spread of creeds which, claiming the privilege of tolerance when in the position of a minority, seek only to establish a position of power in which they can suppress and obliterate all views but their own...The group holds that these developments have been fostered by the growth of a view of history which denies all absolute moral standards and by the growth of theories which question the desirability of the rule of law. It holds further that they have been fostered by a decline of belief in private property and the competitive market.[This group's] object is solely, by facilitating the exchange of views among minds inspired by certain ideals and broad conceptions held in common, to contribute to the preservation and improvement of the free society.

The society set out to develop a neoliberal alternative to, on the one hand, the laissez-faire economic consensus that had collapsed with the Great Depression and, on the other, New Deal liberalism and British social democracy, collectivist trends which they believed posed a

threat to individual freedom. They believed that classical liberalism had failed because of crippling conceptual flaws which could only be diagnosed and rectified by withdrawing into an intensive discussion group of similarly minded intellectuals; however, they were determined that the liberal focus on individualism and economic freedom must not be abandoned to collectivism.

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## **9.7: BASIC IDEAS OF NEO-LIBERALISM**

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Liberalism has been revived under the rubric of neoliberal institutionalism since the 1970s. Neoliberalism is a revised version of liberalism. Neoliberalism became the dominant political ideology of the 20th century, and it still affects and is used in many political systems throughout the world today. As you read this piece, you may realize how directly neoliberalism affects the political landscape around you. Neoliberalism is an international relations ideology shaped by many economic and political thinkers such as Hayek and Friedman. Neo-liberalism emerged from a famous quote given by Woodrow Wilson in favour of global institutions which goes as “Institutions will convert the “jungle” of international relations into the zoo”. However, initially, liberal institutionalism, the precursor of neoliberal institutionalism was very broad in its framework which was visible in the establishment of the UNO in 1945. Neo-liberalism is an umbrella term that believes in the role of international institutions in promoting global change, cooperation, peace and prosperity. Neoliberalism acknowledges the realism claims that states are the most important actors, but still stresses the importance of cooperation.

It is a school of thought which holds that international cooperation between states is feasible and sustainable and that such cooperation can reduce conflict and competition. Neoliberalism tries to focus on the task of initiating and maintaining cooperation among states under conditions of anarchy. Neoliberalism is a response to Neo-realism, not denying the anarchic nature of the international system and states as the key actors in international relations but still maintaining that non-state actors and inter-governmental organizations matter. Neoliberals highlight the role of international institutions and regimes in facilitating cooperation between states. The main reason why international organizations facilitate cooperation is that they provide information, which reduces collective action problems among states in providing public goods and enforcing compliance. Robert Keohane's 1984 book *After Hegemony* used insights from the new institutional economics to argue that the international system could remain stable in the absence of a hegemon, thus rebutting hegemonic stability theory. Keohane showed that international



cooperation could be sustained through repeated interactions, transparency, and monitoring.

**Neo-Liberal Institutionalism:** It supports the idea of the economic integration of the world through multilateral institutions like the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund.

**Regional Trade Blocs:** Regional trade blocs like the European Union (EU) and the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) create a new atmosphere of regional cooperation and co-existence.

**Complex Interdependence:** Joseph Nye and Robert O. Keohane have claimed that different countries in the world are now economically interlinked and hence, conflicts are not irreconcilable due to the greater benefits of cooperation.

**Hegemonic Stability Theory:** Thinkers like Robert Gilpin and Charles P. Kindleberger argued that the presence of a global hegemon makes the global flow of goods and services safe and secure, ensures adherence to international laws, and hence, there are fewer conflicts.

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## 9.8: SUMMARY

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Liberalism has strong faith in human reason and rationality. They also focus on state-society linkages and argue that there is close connection between domestic institutions and politics on one hand and international politics on the other hand. Liberalism also contradicts the realist claim that states are the only actors in international politics. They champion free trade to increase interdependence among states to avoid war. In its new version, neo-liberal approach differs from liberalism. The liberal approach did not address the question of anarchy in international politics. Liberals and neo-liberals also differ on the causes of conflict among states. As a theory, neo-liberalism is a construct of the developed world and the perspectives from Global South have not found a considerable mention in this approach.

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## 9.9: KEY TERMS

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- **Interdependence:** The mutual reliance between states, particularly in economic terms, which can reduce the likelihood of conflict.
- **Collective Security:** The concept that states can enhance their security by forming alliances and collective agreements to deter aggression.

- **Rule of Law:** The principle that international relations should be governed by law and legal agreements rather than power politics.
- **Human Rights:** The emphasis on protecting individual rights and freedoms as a core principle of international relations.
- **Free Trade:** The promotion of open markets and trade liberalization as a means to foster economic interdependence and peace.
- **Multilateralism:** The practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states to address common challenges.
- **Soft Power:** The ability of a state to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction, rather than coercion or force.

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## 9.10: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What is Liberalism in International Relations?
- What are the basic principles of liberalism?
- What is Neo-Liberalism?
- What are the principles of Neo-Liberalism.

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## **UNIT-10: MARXIST APPROACHES AND FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES**

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### **Structure**

- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Introduction
- 10.3 Marxist Approach to Study International Relations
- 10.4 Feminist Perspectives to Study International Relations
- 10.5 Summary
- 10.6 Key Terms
- 10.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 10.8 References

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### **10.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The Marxist Approach to Study IR
- The Feminist Perspective to study IR

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### **10.2: INTRODUCTION**

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In the 19th century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote that the main source of instability in the international system would be capitalist globalization, more specifically the conflict between two classes: the national bourgeoisie and the cosmopolitan proletariat. Historical materialism was going to be Marxism's guideline in understanding the processes both in domestic and international affairs. Thus, for Marx human history has been a struggle to satisfy material needs and to resist class domination and exploitation. Despite ideological criticism, Marxism has strong empirical advantages on its side. Firstly, by emphasizing injustice and inequality it is very relevant to every period of time as these two failures of the human society have never been absent. Marxism is a structural theory just like neorealism, but it focuses on the economic sector instead of the military-political one. Its analysis reflects the relation between the base (the modes of production) and the superstructure (political institutions). The source of structural effects is not anarchy, but the capitalist mode of production which defines unjust political institutions and state relations.

This economic reductionism is considered also to be a central flaw. As a solution, the neo-Gramscian school proposed a further development. By combining global capitalism, state

structure and political-economic institutions, they managed to create a theory of global hegemony (ideological domination). According to this theory, hegemony is maintained through close cooperation between powerful elites inside and outside the core regions of the world system. Global governance is constituted by political and economic institutions that put pressure on the less developed and unstable peripheral countries.

From an epistemological point of view, Marxism created the foundations for critical theory and it is superior in this sense to the dominant approaches of Anglo-American international relations that are problem-solving theories. As any other critical theory, Marxism has a normative interest in identifying possibilities for social transformation and how theory is instrumental to power. This is why Marx wrote about capitalism with an interest in the social forces that would bring about its downfall hoping that humanity would be free from domination and exploitation. Realists in particular see this to be politically motivated and not objective and neutral. The normative disadvantage of Marxism is that it can be seen as Eurocentric by promoting the Enlightenment ideal of cosmopolitanism.

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### **10.3: MARXIST APPROACH TO STUDY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Marxist Theory had a significant contribution in comprehending International Relations as it helped in understanding the correlation between politics, economy, social forces and structures of order. The writings of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels constituted the core ideas of this theory. Further, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Mao Tse Tung and other scholars developed this theory. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx argued that capitalism divided people on the basis of control over the means of production. Hence, a clash was inevitable between the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) and workers (the proletariat); from that class struggle would emerge a new social order which, in turn, would bring about substantial changes in the structure of states resulting into an altogether different world order. According to Marxists, the hierarchical structure of the world system was the result of an expansion of world capitalism which benefitted only a few states and organizations and relegated many others to the background. Conventional Marxists like Lenin and Bukharin adhered to this view only and perceived imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. In this stage, new mercantilist states would emerge who would use coercive forces to achieve their economic and political ends, they believed. Further, it would bring acute disappointment in the proletariat class. These factors would jeopardize the ideal of peace and cooperation among

states. Thus, the Marxist theory challenged the liberal theory of state promoting capitalism and protectionism. However, Marxism suffered a setback after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It paved the way for the emergence of neo-Marxists. This new school included all dissident theories that did not rigidly follow the conventional Marxist theory. Neo-Marxists called for a revision of some of the elements of Marxism while retaining the core of it: class struggle as the motor behind history. Georg Lukacs, Karl Korsch, Antonio Gramsci, Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno emerged as prominent neo-Marxists. One of the leading neo-Marxists, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) underscored the concept of hegemony for dominance.

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#### **10.4: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE TO STUDY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Feminism is a broad term given to works of those scholars who have sought to bring gender concerns into the academic study of international politics and who have used feminist theory and sometimes queer theory to better understand global politics and international relations as a whole.

In terms of international relations (IR) theory, a feminist approach is grouped in the broad category of theoretical approaches known as reflectivism, representing a divergence from approaches adhering to a rationalist outlook based on the premises of rational choice theory; reflectivist approaches, which also include constructivism, post-structuralism, and postcolonialism, regard state identities and interests as continuously in flux so that norms and identity play as much a role in shaping policy as material interests.

One of the most influential works in feminist IR is Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* (Pandora Press 1990). This text sought to chart the many different roles that women play in international politics – as plantation sector workers, diplomatic wives, sex workers on military bases, etc. The important point of this work was to emphasize how, when looking at international politics from the perspective of women, one is forced to reconsider their assumptions regarding what international politics is 'all about'.

However, it would be a mistake to think that feminist IR was solely a matter of identifying how many groups of women are positioned in the international political system. From its inception, feminist IR has always shown a strong concern with thinking about men and, in particular, masculinities. Indeed, many IR feminists argue that the discipline is inherently masculine. For

example, in her article "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" *Signs* (1988), Carol Cohn claimed that a highly masculinized culture within the defense establishment contributed to the divorcing of war from human emotion.

Feminist IR theory involves looking at how international politics affects and is affected by both men and women and also at how the core concepts that are employed within the discipline of IR (e.g. war, security, etc.) are themselves gendered. Feminist IR has not only concerned itself with the traditional focus of IR on states, wars, diplomacy, and security, but feminist IR scholars have also emphasized the importance of looking at how gender shapes the current global political economy. In this sense, there is no clear-cut division between feminists working in IR and those working in the area of International Political Economy (IPE).

Feminist IR emerged largely from the late 1980s onwards. The end of the Cold War and the re-evaluation of traditional IR theory during the 1990s opened up a space for gendering International Relations. Because feminist IR is linked broadly to the critical project in IR, by and large, most feminist scholarship has sought to problematize the politics of knowledge construction within the discipline - often by adopting methodologies of deconstructivism associated with postmodernism/poststructuralism. However, the growing influence of feminist and women-centric approaches within the international policy communities (for example, at the World Bank and the United Nations) is more reflective of the liberal feminist emphasis on equality of opportunity for women.

In regards to feminism in International Relations, some of the founding feminist IR scholars refer to using a "feminist consciousness" when looking at gender issues in politics. In Cynthia Enloe's article "Gender is not enough: the need for a feminist consciousness", Enloe explains how International Relations needs to include masculinity in the discussion on war, while also giving attention to the issues surrounding women and girls. In order to do so, Enloe urges International Relations scholars to look at issues with a 'feminist consciousness', which will ultimately include a perspective sensitive to masculinities and femininities. In this way, the feminist consciousness, together with a gendered lens, allows for IR academics to discuss International Politics with a deeper appreciation and understanding of issues pertaining to gender around the world.

Enloe argues how the IR discipline continues to lack serious analysis of the experiences, actions, and ideas of girls and women in the international arena and how this ultimately excludes them from the discussion in IR. For instance, Enloe explains Carol Cohn's experience using a feminist

consciousness while participating in the drafting of a document that outlines the actions taken in negotiating ceasefires, peace agreements, and new constitutions. During this event, those involved came up with the word “combatant” to describe those in need during these usually high-strung negotiations. The use of ‘combatant’ in this context is particularly problematic as Carol points out because it implies one type of militarized people, generally men carrying guns, and excludes the women and girls deployed as porters, cooks, and forced ‘wives’ of male combatants. This term effectively renders the needs of these women invisible and excludes them from the particularly critical IR conversation regarding who needs what in war and peace. This discussion is crucial for the analysis of how various masculinities are at play in International Politics and how those masculinities affect women and girls during wartime and peace and initially eliminates them from the discussion.

Conversely, feminist IR scholar Charlotte Hooper effectively applies a feminist consciousness when considering how “IR disciplines men as much as men shape IR”. So, instead of focusing on what and whom IR excludes from the conversation, Hooper focuses on how masculine identities are perpetuated and ultimately are the products of the practice of IR. In this way, it is ineffective to use a gendered lens and feminist consciousness to analyze the exclusion of a discussion in gender in IR. Hooper suggests that a deeper examination of the ontological and epistemological ways in which IR has been inherently a masculine discipline is needed. The innate masculinity of IR is because men compose the vast majority of modern IR scholars, and their masculine identities have been socially constructed over time through various political progressions. For instance, Hooper gives examples of the historical and political developments of masculinities that are still prevalent in IR and society at large; the Greek citizen/warrior model, the Judeo Christian model, and the Protestant bourgeois rationalist model. These track the masculine identities throughout history, where manliness is measured in militarism and citizenship, ownership and authority of the fathers, and finally, competitive individualism and reason. These masculinities in turn ask one to not only use the feminist consciousness to analyze the exclusions of femininities from IR, but additionally, Hooper illuminates how one can locate the inherent inclusions of masculinities in the field of IR with a feminist consciousness.

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## **10.5: SUMMARY**

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Feminism has brought about different ways of thinking about the central issues and processes of international politics like war and peace. It argues that the state is not the only significant actor

and opens an entire range of non-state actors right down to how individual men and women are important. Its critique of the realist theory of international politics rests on exposing the underlying gendered assumptions of power and security in realist thought. Feminism hence shares its grounds with other theories of international politics in its critique of the realist paradigm. The notion of security has been reconceptualized to include the elimination of all forms of violence at both international and inter-personal levels. This includes economic empowerment and freedom from all forms of physical and emotional harassment which women have been particularly subjected to. The international feminist movement has brought to the forefront the importance of gender mainstreaming, which is a strategy to evaluate all policies and organizational set-ups in a manner that promotes gender equality at all stages. Feminist scholars have opened several issues in the theory and practice of international politics. They have highlighted how the discipline has been blind to the issues of women from its inception. Feminist scholars have focused on how ideas of masculinity and femininity have influenced the functioning of international relations. In the process, they have considerably broadened and deepened the scope of the theory and practice of international politics.

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## 10.6: KEY TERMS

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- **Community:** A group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common.
- **Sectarianism:** Excessive attachment to a particular sect or party, especially in religion.
- **Identity Politics:** Political positions based on the interests and perspectives of social groups with which people identify.
- **Religious Fundamentalism:** A form of religion that upholds belief in the strict, literal interpretation of scripture.
- **Social Cohesion:** The bonds that bring society together; it involves building shared values and communities.
- **Casteism:** Discrimination or prejudice against people based on their caste.

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## 10.7: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- Write a note on Marxist theory in International Relations.
- Discuss about the Feminist perspectives on International Relations.



- Find out the difference between Marxist theory and Feminist theory of IR.

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## **UNIT-11: EURO CENTRISM, PERSPECTIVE FROM GLOBAL SOUTH**

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### **Structure**

- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 Introduction
- 11.3 History of Euro Centrism
- 11.4 International Relation Theory and Euro Centrism
- 11.5 International Relations from Global South
- 11.6 Limitations and Problems
- 11.7 Summary
- 11.8 Key Terms
- 11.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 11.10 References

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### **11.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The Concept of Euro Centrism
- The International Relations theory and Euro Centrism
- International Relations from Global South

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### **11.2: INTRODUCTION**

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Eurocentrism refers to viewing the West as the center of world events or superior to all other cultures. The exact scope of Eurocentrism varies from the entire Western world to just the continent of Europe or even more narrowly, to Western Europe (especially during the Cold War). When the term is applied historically, it may be used in reference to the presentation of the European perspective on history as objective or absolute, or to an apologetic stance toward European colonialism and other forms of imperialism.

The term "Eurocentrism" dates back to the late 1970s but it did not become prevalent until the 1990s, when it was frequently applied in the context of decolonization and development and humanitarian aid that industrialised countries offered to developing countries. The term has since been used to critique Western narratives of progress, Western scholars who have downplayed and ignored non-Western contributions, and to contrast Western epistemologies

with Indigenous ways of knowing. The adjective Eurocentric, or Europe-centric, has been in use in various contexts since at least the 1920s. The term was popularised (in French as *européocentrique*) in the context of decolonization and internationalism in the mid-20th century. English usage of Eurocentric as an ideological term in identity politics was current by the mid-1980s.

The abstract noun Eurocentrism (French *eurocentrisme*, earlier *europocentrisme*) as the term for an ideology was coined in the 1970s by the Egyptian Marxian economist Samir Amin, then director of the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Amin used the term in the context of a global, core–periphery or dependency model of capitalist development. English usage of Eurocentrism is recorded by 1979. The coinage of Western-centrism is younger, attested in the late 1990s, and specific to English.

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### **11.3: HISTORY OF EURO CENTRISM**

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According to historian Enrique Dussel, Eurocentrism has its roots in Hellenocentrism. Art historian and critic Christopher Allen points out that since antiquity, the outward-looking spirit of Western civilization has been more curious about other peoples and more open about learning about them than any other: Herodotus and Strabo travelled through Ancient Egypt and wrote about it in detail; Western explorers mapped the whole surface of the globe; Western scholars carried out fundamental research into all the languages of the world and established the sciences of archaeology and anthropology.

#### **European exceptionalism**

Further information: Great Divergence, The European Miracle, Middle Ages, Age of Discovery, Colonialism, Progressivism, and Western world

During the European colonial era, encyclopaedias often sought to give a rationale for the predominance of European rule during the colonial period by referring to a special position taken by Europe compared to the other continents.

Thus Johann Heinrich Zedler, in 1741, wrote that "even though Europe is the smallest of the world's four continents, it has for various reasons a position that places it before all others.... Its inhabitants have excellent customs, they are courteous and erudite in both sciences and crafts".

The Brockhaus Enzyklopädie (Conversations-Lexicon) of 1847 still expressed an ostensibly Eurocentric approach and claimed about Europe that "its geographical situation and its cultural and political significance is clearly the most important of the five continents, over which it has gained a most influential government both in material and even more so in cultural aspects".

European exceptionalism thus grew out of the Great Divergence of the Early Modern period, due to the combined effects of the Scientific Revolution, the Commercial Revolution, and the rise of colonial empires, the Industrial Revolution and a Second European colonization wave.

The assumption of European exceptionalism is widely reflected in popular genres of literature, especially in literature for young adults (for example, Rudyard Kipling's 1901 novel *Kim*) and in adventure-literature in general. Portrayal of European colonialism in such literature has been analysed in terms of Eurocentrism in retrospect, such as presenting idealised and often exaggeratedly masculine Western heroes, who conquered "savage" peoples in the remaining "dark spaces" of the globe.

The European miracle, a term coined by Eric Jones in 1981, refers to the surprising rise of Europe during the Early Modern period. During the 15th to 18th centuries, a great divergence took place, comprising the European Renaissance, the European Age of Discovery, the formation of European colonial empires, the Age of Reason, and the associated leap forward in technology and the development of capitalism and early industrialization. As a result, by the 19th century European powers dominated world trade and world politics.

In *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, published in 1837, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel saw world history as starting in Asia but shifting to Greece and Italy, and then north of the Alps to France, Germany and England. Hegel interpreted India and China as stationary countries, lacking inner momentum. Hegel's China replaced the real historical development with a fixed, stable scenario, which made it the outsider of world history. Both India and China were waiting and anticipating a combination of certain factors from outside until they could acquire real progress in human civilization. Hegel's ideas had a profound impact on western historiography and attitudes. Some scholars disagree with his ideas that the Oriental countries were outside of world history.

Max Weber (1864-1920) suggested that capitalism is the speciality of Europe, because Oriental countries such as India and China do not contain the factors which would enable them to develop

capitalism in a sufficient manner.<sup>[25][need quotation to verify]</sup> Weber wrote and published many treatises in which he emphasized the distinctiveness of Europe. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905), he wrote that the "rational" capitalism, manifested by its enterprises and mechanisms, only appeared in the Protestant western countries, and a series of generalised and universal cultural phenomena only appear in the west.

Even the state, with a written constitution and a government organised by trained administrators and constrained by rational law, only appears in the West, even though other regimes can also comprise states. ("Rationality" is a multi-layered term whose connotations are developed and escalated as with the social progress. Weber regarded rationality as a proprietary article for western capitalist society.)

### **Recent usage**

Arab journalists detected Eurocentrism in western media coverage of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, when the depth and scope of coverage and concern contrasted with that devoted to longer-running contemporary wars outside Europe such as those in Syria and in Yemen.

### **Anticolonialism**

Even in the 19th century, anticolonial movements had developed claims about national traditions and values that were set against those of Europe in Africa and India. In some cases, as China, where local ideology was even more exclusionist than the Eurocentric one, Westernization did not overwhelm longstanding Chinese attitudes to its own cultural centrality.

Orientalism developed in the late 18th century as a disproportionate Western interest in and idealization of Eastern (i.e. Asian) cultures.

By the early 20th century, some historians, such as Arnold J. Toynbee, were attempting to construct multifocal models of world civilizations. Toynbee also drew attention in Europe to non-European historians, such as the medieval Tunisian scholar Ibn Khaldun. He also established links with Asian thinkers, such as through his dialogues with Daisaku Ikeda of Soka Gakkai International.

The term 'Eurocentrism' was coined by decolonialist author Samir Amin in the 20th century.

According to Amin, Eurocentrism dates back to the Renaissance, and did not flourish until the 19th century.

### **Debate since 1990s**

Eurocentrism has been a particularly important concept in development studies. Brohman (1995) argued that Eurocentrism "perpetuated intellectual dependence on a restricted group of prestigious Western academic institutions that determine the subject matter and methods of research".

In treatises on historical or contemporary Eurocentrism that appeared since the 1990s, Eurocentrism is mostly cast in terms of dualisms such as civilised/barbaric or advanced/backward, developed/undeveloped, core/periphery, implying "evolutionary schemas through which societies inevitably progress", with a remnant of an "underlying presumption of a superior white Western self as referent of analysis." Eurocentrism and the dualistic properties that it labels on non-European countries, cultures and persons have often been criticised in the political discourse of the 1990s and 2000s, particularly in the greater context of political correctness, race in the United States and affirmative action.

In the 1990s, there was a trend of criticising various geographic terms current in the English language as Eurocentric, such as the traditional division of Eurasia into Europe and Asia or the term Middle East.

Eric Sheppard, in 2005, argued that contemporary Marxism itself has Eurocentric traits (in spite of "Eurocentrism" originating in the vocabulary of Marxian economics), because it supposes that the third world must go through a stage of capitalism before "progressive social formations can be envisioned".

Andre Gunder Frank harshly criticised Eurocentrism. He believed that most scholars were the disciples of the social sciences and history guided by Eurocentrism. He criticised some Western scholars for their ideas that non-Western areas lack outstanding contributions in history, economy, ideology, politics and culture compared with the West. These scholars believed that the same contribution made by the West gives Westerners an advantage of endo-genetic momentum which is pushed towards the rest of the world, but Frank believed that the Oriental countries also contributed to the human civilization in their own perspectives.

Arnold Toynbee in his *A Study of History*, gave a critical remark on Eurocentrism. He believed

that although western capitalism shrouded the world and achieved a political unity based on its economy, the Western countries cannot "westernize" other countries. Toynbee concluded that Eurocentrism is characteristic of three misconceptions manifested by self-centerment, the fixed development of Oriental countries and linear progress.

There has been some debate on whether historical Eurocentrism qualifies as "just another ethnocentrism", as it is found in most of the world's cultures, especially in cultures with imperial aspirations, as in the Sinocentrism in China; in the Empire of Japan (c. 1868–1945), or during the American Century. James M. Blaut (2000) argued that Eurocentrism indeed went beyond other ethnocentrisms, as the scale of European colonial expansion was historically unprecedented and resulted in the formation of a "colonizer's model of the world".

Indigenous philosophies have been noted to greatly contrast with Eurocentric thought. Indigenous scholar James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson states that Eurocentricism contrasts greatly with Indigenous worldviews: "the discord between Aboriginal and Eurocentric worldviews is dramatic. It is a conflict between natural and artificial contexts." Indigenous scholars Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Linco state that "in some ways, the epistemological critique initiated by Indigenous knowledge is more radical than other sociopolitical critiques of the West, for the Indigenous critique questions the very foundations of Western ways of knowing and being."

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#### **11.4: INTERNATIONAL RELATION THEORY AND EURO CENTTRISM**

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International Relations Theory is dominated by the West because most of the traditional IRT is derived from Western philosophy, political theory and history. History as a subject is also deeply Europeancentred. Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan study neo-realism and classical realism, the two dominant theories that predict the rest of world history. Their works are based on the European history of international anarchy and balance of power politics as a global, permanent structural state. IRT is deeply European because it comes from a history that goes back to the West. It ignores large swaths of history, including the West and non-Western, where empires such as the Han, Persian, Incas and Aztecs ruled their known world. Its main historical story is a modern one in which the Western powers fight each other and take control of the rest of the world. It is considered that the evolving categories are imposed on non-Western. These types are Western and therefore European. Acharya and Buzan write more about how IR theories like

Liberalism and ideas of individualism, markets, and democracy and their application will benefit all mankind.

IRT seems to homogenize its ideas and standards around the world. One sees this in the theory of Marxism manifesting itself as universal and as a model that can be done in all regions of the world. IRT as a European principle is seen as recreating the world in its image as sovereign states, diplomacy and international law. How do Acharya and Buzan refer to these things carried out by English schools in international relations and their goals for international society? In this way, they emphasize cultural cohesion European cosmopolitan society on a global scale lacks a common culture to strengthen it. Moreover, the English school doesn't seem to recognize the presence of other international companies established outside Europe. The goal is to see how Europe has remade the world. Even the critical theories in international relations are of European origin. They are affected by Western political and social practices. These theories have universal assumptions, but in many cases, try to understand each situation in its way. Even the outlook for southern countries is considered to be strongly influenced by Western theory.

IRT is special, local and European, and claims to be common to assert its claim. IRT is studied and researched all over the world context is a study of Westphalian nation-state interactions, a structure that appeared especially in Europe. This understanding imposes itself on those who do not Western or global South, naturalize and make it the global norm. In addition, all Non-Western countries have adopted the model of the Westphalian state system; this automatically makes them actors in the entire global interaction of States. However, this does not mean that they are equal players. IRT seems to say for the West and in the interest of maintaining its power, prosperity and influence. They don't speak for others, whether it's the global West or the South. It appears as constitutive of the reality with which it is addressed.

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## **11.5: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM GLOBAL SOUTH**

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How Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan write about the contributions of non-Western countries in IRT, does not seem to meet the criteria of hard theory. They are placed in lighter designs, focusing on classical ideas and beliefs of contemporary periods. According to them, they can be divided into four job types, as follows;

The first is similar to Western international theory focusing on important figures such as Thomas Hobbes, Machiavelli, Kant, etc., where there are classical Asian traditions and classical religion, politics and military figures such as Sun Tzu, Confucius and Kautilya, on which some are a



secondary document of the type "Political Theory". They claim, that certain efforts to get an understanding of these thinkers are present but very rare. An example of this might be Confucian thought and the idea of socialism. It was often cited as an example of an "Asian perspective", and has been as an alternative to Western libertarian values. It is also presented as an alternative concept of the East Asian international order; this may raise questions about the hegemonic ambitions of the northern states. In addition, Acharya and Buzan write about how in India, Vedic ideas about strategy and politics have been invoked to justify India's acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Even the work of Kautilya's Arthashastra can be a good example of understanding the presence of strong IRTs from the Southern Hemisphere. He developed the means by whereby a kingdom can defend its sovereignty, called Rajamandala, he describes the different ways in which a country can interact with neighbouring countries to increase their power and authority. The Arthashastra is a text that can be described as India's contribution to strategy Think. Thus, Kautilya's Arthashastra is an important example of the presence of non-western international relations thought in the category of classical realism.

The second type of work according to Acharya and Buzan concerns the thinking and foreign policy approach of Asian and non-Western leaders such as Nehru, Mao, Aung San from Myanmar, Jose Rizal from the Philippines and Sukarno from Indonesia. However, it should be emphasized that their thoughts may come from practising Western or practising Western literature at home. Yet they came with ideas and approaches independent of the Western intellectual tradition. One example of this is the idea of non-alignment, developed by Nehru and his colleagues Asian and African leaders in the 1950s, partially adapted from concepts of neutralism in the West, but in many ways an independent concept.

Nehru also promoted the idea of non-exclusive regionalism, as opposed to a military bloc based on the classical European balance of power model. Aung Sang's ideas offer something that could be considered liberal internationalist international relations, emphasizing independence and multilateralism rather than that isolationism has characterized Myanmar's foreign policy under the military regime. He rejected discriminatory regional blocks, such as economic blocks and hobbies. In the 1960s, Sukarno developed and bred certain ideas about the international order, such as "formed old forces" and "emerging forces", based on a nationalist past as well as its international leadership duties. There are also the Mao Zedong Three Realms theories and ideas about war and strategy. We must respect the theoretical significance of these ideas, especially

Asian nationalistic leaders.

On this point, Acharya and Buzan attach special importance to Nehru, as he is recognized both in India and around the world as a thinker in his own right, rather than just a political strategist. His opinion shaped the beliefs and initial foreign policy approaches of some Asian countries. In his writings, Nehru is seen as a critic of Western realist approaches to power politics. The first Prime Minister of Independent India Sees the Western conception of realism as a "continuation of the old tradition" of Europe power politics. He believes that the current situation has the presence of the southern countries is not taken seriously. For Nehru, some "realists" solutions to the world's problems have ignored the new forces sweeping the world to understand the economic and military decline of the West after World War II War, as well as the rise of nationalism and demands for freedom in the old world. He writes how realism is detached from the reality of the greatest things. IRT seems to ignore Nehru's thoughts and contributions to world politics. People feel an ethnographic understanding of international relations.

The third form of employment in non-Western IRTs is used by non-Westerners Western theories in local context analysis. However, Acharya and Buzan write that taking into account their work in the development of non-Western IRT could problem. The problem is that most scholars have received their training in the West and have spent most of their professional lives in Western institutions. Thus, they cannot be considered as true "local" scholars and does their work contribute "indigenous" to non-Western IRT? The answer to this question has generated a lot of debate and has not yet given a clear answer.

The fourth form of work on IRT involves non-Western countries and more specifically Asian research, events and experiences and develop concepts that can be used as tools to analyze more general patterns in international relations, locate the Global South within the broader international system and compare it with the rest of the world. Below, Acharya and Buzan quote the works of Benedict Anderson's "Imagination Community" and "Everyday Forms of "resistance", have inspired experts in comparative politics as well as international relationships. Another example they give is that of Edmund Leac, the political system of the Central Highlands of Burma (1954) is used to analyze fluid concepts of national identity in Southeast Asia and beyond. These scholarly articles are considered to look at events and processes from a non-Western perspective. He captures the distinctive patterns and experiences of countries in the Southern Hemisphere, bringing a lot of autonomy and agency needed for these voices. But it is mentioned by Acharya and Buzan that non-Western IRT is quite limited as in most cases, non-Western researchers are

considered to be testing Western IRT in an Asian or regional context. So, they insist on the need to "discover" how "local knowledge" can be turned into definitive frameworks for analysis progress. However, these forms of academic endeavour are seen as a means by which the West is seen as cooperating with non-Westerners.

A form of theory indigenous to the Southern Hemisphere that plays an important role in contributing role to IRT is "small studies". Works of Homi Bhaba, Medjune and Arjun Appadurai's research on globalization seem rebellious against Eastern and Western domination. Postcolonialism is seen as an attempt to dismantle relativity and the binary distinction as they appear as central and periphery, First World – Third World and NorthSouth. However, as Aijaz Ahmad writes, post-colonialism is seen as not generating new knowledge about the third world, it instead restructures existing blocks of knowledge in the Post structural model. Then it occupied the places of cultural production outside of the Eurasian regions by globalizing concerns and orientations stemming from central places of European-American cultural production. So non-westerners' efforts are considered heavily influenced by the West. This is because no Western efforts are essentially part of a cultural discourse rooted in the West.

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## **11.6: LIMITATIONS AND PROBLEMS**

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A number of limitations and problems are seen in the creation and analysis of IRT from the Global South. Siba Grovogui writes that one of the main problems with IRT from the Global South is that it does not have a central structure, no central command and no appointed spokesperson. It has multiple custodians, all of them self-selected, which is also a result of a lack of a coherent historical identity and conjoined agendas. As mentioned earlier, the IRT from the Global South in many cases is seen to be taking ideas and discourses from the West in their understanding of reality. Also, much of the countries in the Global South are nation-states, having adopted the Western models of governance and statebuilding. Hence, they are seen to be functioning on the same lines as states in the West. Mainstream IRT emerging from Western societies largely seek rational explanations for states' interactions. On similar lines, interactions between states in the Global South are studied from a relational perspective. Benabdallah and others have provided the example of China and its interactions with various African states. Presently, China is the largest trading partner of Africa and both countries' economies are mutually interdependent. However, this relationship is one of imbalance where African states are seen to be importing more from China than they export to China. China's development model (the

Beijing Consensus) differs from the neoliberal model of development advocated by the IMF and other Western organisations (the Washington Consensus). The Washington Consensus' emphasis on liberalisation and minimising the role of the state in the market has been denounced by many African leaders as neocolonial and exploitative. By contrast, the Beijing consensus, with its principle of noninterference has presented an attractive alternative to some African countries.

Furthermore, they write that China is seen to be benefiting from its developmental role in African states, enhancing cultural dialogue and cultivating networks through people to people exchanges. Through the Confucian Institutes across Africa showcasing Chinese language and culture, the Chinese government is seen to be sponsoring thousands for training in various fields. It is part of constructing a shared identity based on future aspirations and trajectories that will lift citizens out of poverty. However, this model adopted by China in Africa and in some Latin American countries is a topic of much debate. The debates have become stronger with the imposition of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which is seen as China's response to Western globalization. The main argument is how much of these initiatives from the Global South are different from the Global North. Whether these new spaces of thinking in the Global South are completely new, pathbreaking and can be understood as non-Western IRT is an issue up for debate and discussion. Still, in recent years a lot has been done to highlight the important contributions that actors from the Global South make, and have always made, to IRT. International Relations has come a long way in incorporating aspects, actors and concepts that represent the world more widely. This has emerged with the dynamics of the international system also changing with the rise of new economic powers such as India, China, Brazil, Turkey, South Africa and others. Hence, IRT has to take into consideration the perspectives of these new powers in the Global South.

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## **11.7: SUMMARY**

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In conclusion it can be said that International Relation Theory as a discipline has a strong European character, due to its emergence from the experience of Western countries. However, it assumes a universal position and imposes itself in the non-Western world. It is therefore a profound act of hegemony that leads to a process where Western values and standards are practiced in nonWestern countries. This experiencing colonialism and cultural imperialism, whereas the ideas of the West are rational, scientific and modern. Non-Western ideas are nicknamed traditional, religious and non-scientific. The different interactions between the states are identified along the lines of interactions that have occurred in Europe and between European

countries. Europeanism makes the West the centre of modernity and power. International organizations such as IMF, World Bank and the World Trade Organization are seen as imposition as West sanctions and policies against non-Western countries. The model of state building in the West has the form of a Westphalia nation-state, originating in Europe. There have been exports of the same model around the world, with ideas for state interaction such as realism, liberalism or Marxism emerging from knowledge tradition in the West. Even criticism against Western IRT is coming from Western political and social theories. To answer these questions, here we focus on the so-called Global South Perspective, which is still scattered and somewhat inconsistent. However, in conclusion, we may say that there is a steady increase in the voice of the Southern Hemisphere and this is important because it is necessary to bring the concept of fairness and equity in IRT.

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## 11.8: KEY TERMS

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- **Centrism:** The tendency to center one's perspective around a particular place or culture, often leading to a skewed view of global history and cultures.
- **Ethnocentrism:** The belief that one's own culture or ethnic group is superior to others. Eurocentrism is a form of ethnocentrism where European culture is considered superior.
- **Colonialism:** The historical period during which European powers established and maintained control over large parts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, often imposing European values and systems.
- **Imperialism:** The policy or ideology of extending a nation's power and influence through diplomacy or military force, often associated with European powers expanding their influence globally.
- **Postcolonialism:** A field of study that examines the cultural, political, and economic impacts of colonialism and the legacy of Eurocentrism in formerly colonized societies.
- **Globalization:** The process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale, which can perpetuate Eurocentric views if not approached critically.
- **Decolonization:** The process of deconstructing colonial ideologies and practices, often aiming to re-center non-European perspectives and histories.
- **Westernization:** The adoption or influence of Western (particularly European) culture, values, and norms in other parts of the world, often at the expense of local cultures.

- **Historical Revisionism:** The reinterpretation of historical records and narratives, sometimes used to challenge or reinforce Eurocentric perspectives.

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## 11.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What is Euro Centrism?
- Discuss history of Euro Centrism.
- Discuss about international relations from global south.
- What are the limitations of Euro Centrism.

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## **UNIT-12: RELEVANCE OF IDEOLOGY**

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### **Structure**

- 12.1 Objectives
- 12.2 Introduction
- 12.3 Features of Ideology
- 12.4 Types of Ideology in IR
- 12.5 Relevance of Ideology in IR
- 12.6 Summary
- 12.7 Key Terms
- 12.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 12.9 References

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### **12.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- What is Ideology
- The relevance of ideology in international relations

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### **12.2: INTRODUCTION**

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It has always been a serious problem in international politics to determine the precise nature of relationship between national interest and ideology. With the growth of communism and the emergence of the concern for peace in the twentieth century, this problem has become even more serious. In order to understand the relationship between ideology and national interest, it is necessary to be as precise as possible about the meaning of national interest and ideology. The concept of national interest is closely related to the concept of ideology. But in order to be able to understand this relationship, it is necessary to be clear about the meaning of ideology. There are two different senses in which the term ideology is used. In the first sense, ideology is defined as a self-contained and self-justifying belief system based on a definite world view; it claims to provide a basis for explaining the whole of reality. Thus the present definition of ideology does not have anything to do with world ideologies as communism, fascism, and democracy. The sense in which the term ideology is used here is borrowed from Karl Mannheim's concept of particular ideology. Mannheim believes that whenever we are sceptical

of the ideas and their interpretations advanced by our opponents, we take those ideas as a set of particular ideology. Ideologies in the context of power are thus a cover to hide real nature of the objectives of a foreign policy. But ideologies are not the accidental outgrowth of the hypocrisy of certain individuals. It is a matter of continuous development of a nation's interests, practices, and capabilities.

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### **12.3: FEATURES OF IDEOLOGY**

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The features of ideology in international relations encompass a range of characteristics that highlight the role of beliefs, values, and ideas in shaping the behavior of states on the global stage. Here are key features of ideology in international relations:

#### **Belief System:**

Ideology involves a set of beliefs and values that guide a state's perception of the world, its role in the international system, and the principles it seeks to promote.

#### **Comprehensive Framework:**

Ideology provides a comprehensive framework for understanding and interpreting international events. It shapes a state's worldview, influencing its approach to various issues such as security, diplomacy, and cooperation.

#### **Normative Principles:**

Ideology often includes normative principles that express what a state considers morally right or just. These principles can influence foreign policy decisions and the evaluation of other states' actions.

#### **Long-Term Orientation:**

Ideology tends to have a long-term orientation, providing a consistent basis for a state's foreign policy over time. It may endure through changes in leadership but can also evolve in response to external and internal dynamics.

#### **Identity Formation:**



Ideology contributes to the formation of national identity by defining what a state stands for and how it distinguishes itself from others. It shapes the narrative of a state's history and its place in the international community.

### **Influence on Decision-Making:**

Ideology plays a significant role in influencing decision-making processes at both the individual and institutional levels. Leaders and policymakers often reference ideological principles when formulating foreign policy.

### **Justification for Actions:**

States may use their ideology to justify their actions on the international stage. Whether engaging in military interventions, forming alliances, or participating in international institutions, states often frame their behavior in line with their ideological beliefs.

### **Role in Alliances and Coalitions:**

Ideological affinities can shape the formation of alliances and coalitions. States with similar ideologies may be more inclined to collaborate, while ideological differences can lead to tensions or even conflicts.

### **Impact on International Institutions:**

Ideology influences a state's approach to international institutions. States may support or critique these institutions based on how well they align with their ideological principles.

### **Relevance in Conflict Resolution:**

Ideology plays a role in shaping a state's approach to conflict resolution. The principles and values embedded in an ideology may guide a state's preferences for diplomatic negotiations, peacebuilding, or military interventions.

### **Cultural Diplomacy:**

Ideology contributes to cultural diplomacy by influencing a state's cultural exchanges, public diplomacy efforts, and promotion of its cultural values on the global stage.

### **Adaptation and Evolution:**

While ideology provides a stable framework, it is not static. States may adapt and evolve their ideologies over time in response to changing geopolitical circumstances, shifts in global norms, or domestic developments.

Understanding these features helps analyze the complex interplay between ideology and international relations, recognizing that states often navigate a dynamic landscape where pragmatic considerations may also influence their actions alongside ideological principles.

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## **12.4: TYPES OF IDEOLOGY IN IR**

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Ideology in international relations refers to the set of beliefs, values, and ideas that guide a state's behavior and foreign policy on the global stage. Ideology plays a significant role in shaping a country's approach to international relations, influencing its alliances, conflicts, and interactions with other states. Different ideologies can lead to varying perspectives on issues such as sovereignty, diplomacy, security, and economic cooperation. Here are some key points regarding ideology in international relations:

### **Realism:**

Realism is a dominant ideology in international relations that emphasizes the pursuit of national interest, power, and security.

States are viewed as rational actors seeking to maximize their own interests in a competitive international system.

Realists often downplay the role of morality and emphasize the importance of military strength and strategic alliances.

### **Liberalism:**

Liberalism emphasizes cooperation, international institutions, and the promotion of democracy and human rights.

Liberal states may prioritize economic interdependence and diplomacy over military force, and they often support international organizations as mechanisms for resolving conflicts.

**Constructivism:**

Constructivism focuses on the role of ideas, identities, and social norms in shaping international behavior.

States' actions are seen as influenced by their beliefs and perceptions, and the international system is viewed as socially constructed rather than inherently anarchic.

**Marxism:**

Marxist perspectives in international relations emphasize economic factors, class struggle, and the role of capitalism in shaping global power dynamics.

Marxist theories often highlight issues related to imperialism, economic inequality, and exploitation in the international system.

**Nationalism:**

Nationalist ideologies prioritize the interests of the nation-state and often emphasize the preservation of national identity, culture, and sovereignty.

Nationalist sentiments can influence foreign policy decisions, trade relations, and alliances.

**Feminism:**

Feminist perspectives in international relations focus on the gendered nature of power dynamics, emphasizing the roles of women in conflict, peacebuilding, and international institutions.

Feminist scholars critique traditional theories for overlooking gender-based inequalities and advocate for a more inclusive and gender-sensitive approach to international relations.

**Environmentalism:**

Environmental ideologies are increasingly relevant in international relations, with a focus on addressing global challenges such as climate change, resource depletion, and sustainable development.

States may collaborate or compete based on their commitment to environmental conservation and climate action.

It's important to note that states may not strictly adhere to a single ideology, and their foreign policy decisions often reflect a combination of various ideological elements based on pragmatic considerations and the specific context of international relations at any given time. Additionally, individual leaders, public opinion, and historical experiences can also shape a country's ideological stance in global affairs.

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## **12.5: RELEVANCE OF IDEOLOGY IN IR**

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The relevance of ideology in international relations is significant, as it shapes the beliefs, values, and principles that guide the behavior of states on the global stage. Here are several reasons highlighting the importance of ideology in international relations:

### **Guiding Foreign Policy:**

Ideology serves as a guiding framework for a state's foreign policy. It influences how a country prioritizes its national interests, engages with other nations, and addresses global challenges.

### **Determination of Alliances and Enemies:**

Ideology plays a crucial role in the formation of alliances and the identification of potential adversaries. States with similar ideological orientations may form alliances based on shared values, while ideological differences can lead to tensions and conflicts.

### **Shaping National Identity:**

Ideology contributes to the formation of a nation's identity and self-perception. It influences how a state views itself in the international system and its role in promoting certain values or principles.

### **Influencing International Institutions:**

Ideological perspectives can impact a state's approach to international institutions. For example, liberal states may be more inclined to support and participate in multilateral organizations, while realist states may be more skeptical and prioritize unilateral actions.

**Economic Cooperation and Trade Policies:**

Ideology can influence a state's economic policies and approach to international trade. Liberal states may emphasize free trade and economic interdependence, while protectionist ideologies may lead to more closed economic systems.

**Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding:**

Different ideologies provide distinct frameworks for approaching conflict resolution and peacebuilding. For example, liberal states may focus on diplomatic negotiations and international cooperation, while realist states may prioritize military strength and strategic interests.

**Human Rights and International Law:**

Ideological beliefs influence a state's stance on human rights issues and adherence to international law. Liberal states may emphasize the promotion of human rights and support for international legal mechanisms, while other ideologies may prioritize state sovereignty over external norms.

**Global Governance and Environmental Issues:**

Ideological perspectives shape attitudes towards global governance and cooperation on transnational issues, such as climate change. States with environmentalist ideologies may be more inclined to collaborate on sustainable development and environmental conservation.

**Public Opinion and Domestic Politics:**

Ideological considerations often play a role in shaping public opinion and domestic political discourse. Leaders may align their foreign policy decisions with prevailing ideological sentiments to gain domestic support.

**Cultural and Social Exchanges:**

Ideology influences cultural and social interactions between states. Shared ideological values can facilitate cultural exchanges, while ideological differences may lead to cultural

misunderstandings and tensions.

While ideology is a crucial factor in international relations, it is important to recognize that states often pursue a mix of pragmatic and realpolitik considerations alongside ideological principles. Additionally, the influence of ideology can vary over time and may be subject to change based on leadership transitions, shifts in public opinion, or evolving global circumstances.

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## 12.6: SUMMARY

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The study of ideology in international relations involves examining the set of ideas, beliefs, and values that shape the behavior of states, actors, and institutions in the global political arena. Ideology serves as a lens through which individuals and governments interpret the world, make decisions, and engage in international affairs. Ideology in international relations serves as a foundational factor shaping states' behavior, foreign policy choices, and interactions on the global stage. However, it operates in conjunction with other factors such as power, national interest, and pragmatic considerations, leading to a complex and dynamic landscape in international affairs.

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## 12.7: KEY TERMS

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- **Realism:** A school of thought that emphasizes the role of power, national interest, and the struggle for survival in shaping international relations. Realists believe that states are primarily motivated by self-interest and seek to maximize their power.
- **Liberalism:** This ideology emphasizes the importance of international institutions, cooperation, and the rule of law in shaping global relations. Liberals believe in the potential for peaceful conflict resolution and mutual benefit through diplomacy.
- **Constructivism:** Focuses on the role of ideas, beliefs, and norms in shaping international behavior. Constructivists argue that state behavior is not solely determined by material interests but also by shared understandings and social norms.
- **Marxism:** Derived from Marxist theory, it emphasizes economic factors and class struggle as key drivers of international relations. Marxist perspectives often critique the capitalist system and its impact on global inequality.

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## **12.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS**

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- What is an ideology? Discuss its basic features.
- Discuss the relevance of ideology in international relations.
- Discuss various types of ideology working in international relations.

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## **BLOCK-3: AN OVERVIEW OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY IR-HISTORY-I**

Unit-13: World War I: Causes and Consequences

Unit-14: Bolshevik Revolution: Significance and Its  
Impact

Unit-15: Rise of Fascism/Nazism

Unit-16: World War II: Causes and Consequences

Unit-17: Theories of Deterrence



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## **UNIT-13: WORLD WAR I: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**

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### **Structure**

- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 Introduction
- 13.3 Causes of World War-I
- 13.4 Consequences of World War-I
- 13.5 Summary
- 13.6 Key Terms
- 13.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 13.8 References

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### **13.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- Causes of World War-I
- Consequences of World War-I

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### **13.2: INTRODUCTION**

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The identification of the causes of World War I remains a debated issue. World War I began in the Balkans on July 28, 1914, and hostilities ended on November 11, 1918, leaving 17 million dead and 25 million wounded. Moreover, the Russian Civil War can in many ways be considered a continuation of World War I, as can various other conflicts in the direct aftermath of 1918.

Scholars looking at the long term seek to explain why two rival sets of powers (the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire against the Russian Empire, France, and the British Empire) came into conflict by the start of 1914. They look at such factors as political, territorial and economic competition; militarism, a complex web of alliances and alignments; imperialism, the growth of nationalism; and the power vacuum created by the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Other important long-term or structural factors that are often studied include unresolved territorial disputes, the perceived breakdown of the European balance of power, convoluted and fragmented governance, arms races and security dilemmas,<sup>[3][4]</sup> a cult of the offensive, and military planning.

Scholars seeking short-term analysis focus on the summer of 1914 and ask whether the conflict

could have been stopped, or instead whether deeper causes made it inevitable. Among the immediate causes were the decisions made by statesmen and generals during the July Crisis, which was triggered by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by the Bosnian Serb nationalist Gavrilo Princip, who had been supported by a nationalist organization in Serbia. The crisis escalated as the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia was joined by their allies Russia, Germany, France, and ultimately Belgium and the United Kingdom. Other factors that came into play during the diplomatic crisis leading up to the war included misperceptions of intent (such as the German belief that Britain would remain neutral), the fatalistic belief that war was inevitable, and the speed with which the crisis escalated, partly due to delays and misunderstandings in diplomatic communications. The crisis followed a series of diplomatic clashes among the Great Powers (Italy, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary and Russia) over European and colonial issues in the decades before 1914 that had left tensions high. And the cause of the public clashes can be traced to changes in the balance of power in Europe that had been taking place since 1867.

Consensus on the origins of the war remains elusive, since historians disagree on key factors and place differing emphasis on a variety of factors. That is compounded by historical arguments changing over time, particularly as classified historical archives become available, and as perspectives and ideologies of historians have changed. The deepest division among historians is between those who see Germany and Austria-Hungary as having driven events and those who focus on power dynamics among a wider set of actors and circumstances. Secondary fault lines exist between those who believe that Germany deliberately planned a European war, those who believe that the war was largely unplanned but was still caused principally by Germany and Austria-Hungary taking risks, and those who believe that some or all of the other powers (Russia, France, Serbia, United Kingdom) played a more significant role in causing the war than has been traditionally suggested.

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### **13.3: CAUSES OF WORLD WAR-I**

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The First World War began in the summer of 1914, shortly after the assassination of Austria's Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, and lasted more than four years, ending in 1918. The Great War left more than 20 million soldiers dead and 21 million more wounded, which can be attributed to trench warfare and the number of countries involved in the war. For aspiring historians, understanding the causes of World War I are equally as important as understanding the conflict's

devastating effects. Though the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand was the direct precipitating event leading to the declaration of war, there were many other factors that also played a role in leading up to World War I.

### **European Expansionism**

In the 1900s, several European nations had empires across the globe, where they had control over vast swaths of lands. Prior to World War I, the British and French Empires were the world's most powerful, colonizing regions like India, modern-day Vietnam and West and North Africa. The expansion of European nations as empires (also known as imperialism) can be seen as a key cause of World War I, because as countries like Britain and France expanded their empires, it resulted in increased tensions among European countries. The tensions were a result of many colonies often being acquired through coercion. Then, once a nation had been conquered, it was governed by the imperial nation: many of these colonial nations were exploited by their mother countries, and dissatisfaction and resentment was commonplace. As British and French expansionism continued, tensions rose between opposing empires, including Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, leading to the creation of the Allied Powers (Britain and France) and Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire) during World War I.

### **Serbian Nationalism**

Nationalism was one of many political forces at play in the time leading up to World War I, with Serbian nationalism in particular, playing a key role. Serbian nationalism can be dated to the mid- and late-1800s, though two precipitating nationalism events are directly linked to the start of WWI. In the Balkans, Slavic Serbs sought independence from Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, and in 1878, they tried to gain control of Bosnia and Herzegovina to form a unified Serbian state. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Serbian nationalism continued to rise, culminating in the assassination of the Archduke of Austria in 1914 by a Bosnian Serb and officially triggering the start of the Great War.

### **The Assassination of Franz Ferdinand**

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip. Ferdinand was chosen as a target because he was to be the heir of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On the day of his assassination, the Archduke traveled to Sarajevo to inspect imperial armed

forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, former Ottoman territories acquired by Austria-Hungary in 1908. While Ferdinand was traveling in an open car in Sarajevo, Princip fired into the car, shooting Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. Following the assassination, Austria-Hungary issued an ultimatum to Serbia, which was rejected and led Austria-Hungary to declare war against Serbia, with German support. Russia then came to Serbia's defense, therefore initiating the First World War.

### **Conflicts over Alliances**

In the age of imperialism prior to World War I, countries throughout Europe had created alliances. The alliances promised that each country would support the other if war ever broke out between an ally and another Great Power. Prior to WWI, the alliances of Russia and Serbia; France and Russia; Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary; Britain, France and Belgium; France, Britain and Russia; and Japan and Britain were firmly in place. The alliance, between France, Britain and Russia, formed in 1907 and called the Triple Entente, caused the most friction among nations. Germany felt that this alliance surrounding them was a threat to their power and existence. As tensions continued to rise over alliances, the preexisting alliances fed into other countries declaring war against one another in the face of conflict. These conflicts over alliances — which forced nations to come to the defense of one another — led to the formation of the two sides of World War I, the Allied and Central Powers. By the start of the war, Italy and the United States entered on the side of the Allied Powers, which consisted of Russia, France and Great Britain. The Central Powers, alternately, consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.

### **The Blank Check Assurance: Conspired Plans of Germany and Austria-Hungary**

The alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary at the start of World War I is also commonly known as the “blank check assurance.” In July 1914, during a meeting between members of the Austrian Foreign Ministry, the Ambassador to Berlin, the German Emperor and the German Chancellor, Germany offered Austria-Hungary unconditional support in the wake of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. This “blank check,” via unconditional support, sought military and political triumph in securing the Balkans. It also gave Austro-Hungarian leaders the confidence needed to embark on war against Serbia. Today, historians regard it as one of the most controversial decisions in the history of modern warfare, particularly because Germany failed to

withdraw the unconditional support when given the opportunity. It is also widely recognized as one of the main reasons Germany is seen as responsible for the escalation and continuation of World War I.

### **Germany Millenarianism – Spirit of 1914**

Millenarianism is a belief held by a religious, political or social group or movement that a coming major transformation will occur, after which all things will be changed. For Germany, leading into World War I, historians report that the Spirit of 1914 was high, with support from the German population for participation in the war. The German government believed that the onset of war and its support of Austria-Hungary was a way to secure its place as a leading power, which was supported by public nationalism and further united it behind the monarchy. The success Germans saw in the opening battles of WWI provided a platform for the German government to position itself as able to accomplish more when unified and nationalistic. However, this millenarianism was short-lived, as Germany was unprepared to fight the long war, which took a dramatic and demoralizing toll on its people and later set the stage for the rise of the Third Reich, less than two decades later.

### **Imperialism**

Imperialism is when a country increases their power and wealth by bringing additional territories under their control. Before World War I, Africa and parts of Asia were points of contention among the European countries. This was especially true because of the raw materials these areas could provide. The increasing competition and desire for greater empires led to an increase in confrontation that helped push the world into WW I.

### **Militarism**

As the world entered the 20th century, an arms race had begun. By 1914, Germany had the greatest increase in military buildup. Great Britain and Germany both greatly increased their navies in this time period. Further, in Germany and Russia particularly, the military establishment began to have a greater influence on public policy. This increase in militarism helped push the countries involved into war.

### **Nationalism**

Much of the origin of the war was based on the desire of the Slavic peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina to no longer be part of Austria Hungary but instead be part of Serbia. In this way,

nationalism led directly to the War. But in a more general way, the nationalism of the various countries throughout Europe contributed not only to the beginning but the extension of the war in Europe. Each country tried to prove their dominance and power

The causes of World War I and how the war played out are interesting to see because it shows how complex things can become when countries argue. In the end, two empires fell, while four new countries were established throughout Europe and Asia. There was so much chaos in Europe after the war and the tragedies that people became even more aware of their feelings for one another. In this war, the Allies defeated the Central Powers during four years of armed conflict resulting in Germany's defeat and the end of World War I and the German Empire. The Great War, in a sense, opened the doors for World War II.

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### **13.4: CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR-I**

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The aftermath of World War I saw far-reaching and wide-ranging cultural, economic, and social change across Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in areas outside those that were directly involved. Four empires collapsed due to the war, old countries were abolished, new ones were formed, boundaries were redrawn, international organizations were established, and many new and old ideologies took a firm hold in people's minds. Additionally, culture in the nations involved was greatly changed. World War I also had the effect of bringing political transformation to most of the principal parties involved in the conflict, transforming them into electoral democracies by bringing near-universal suffrage for the first time in history, as in Germany (1919 German federal election), Great Britain (1918 United Kingdom general election), and Turkey (1923 Turkish general election).

Through the period from the Armistice of 11 November 1918 until the signing of the Treaty of Versailles with the Weimar Republic on 28 June 1919, the Allies maintained the naval blockade of Germany that had begun during the war. As the German economy was dependent on imports, it is estimated that around half a million civilians had died. N. P. Howard, of the University of Sheffield, estimates that a quarter of a million excess deaths occurred in eight-month period following the conclusion of the conflict, 40% of which took place in November 1918, making for 474,085 excess deaths for the entire 1914–1919 period. The continuation of the blockade after the fighting ended, as author Robert Leckie wrote in *Delivered from Evil*, did much to "torment the

Germans ... driving them with the fury of despair into the arms of the devil." The terms of the Armistice did allow food to be shipped into Germany, but the Allies required that Germany provide the means (the shipping) to do so. The German government was required to use its gold reserves, being unable to secure a loan from the United States.

Historian Sally Marks claims that while "Allied warships remained in place against a possible resumption of hostilities, the Allies offered food and medicine after the armistice, but Germany refused to allow its ships to carry supplies". Further, Marks states that despite the problems facing the Allies, from the German government, "Allied food shipments arrived in Allied ships before the charge made at Versailles". This position is also supported by Elisabeth Gläser who notes that an Allied task force, to help feed the German population, was established in early 1919 and that by May 1919 Germany "became the chief recipient of American and Allied food shipments". Gläser further claims that during the early months of 1919, while the main relief effort was being planned, France provided food shipments to Bavaria and the Rhineland. She further claims that the German government delayed the relief effort by refusing to surrender their merchant fleet to the Allies. Finally, she concludes that "the very success of the relief effort had in effect deprived the [Allies] of a credible threat to induce Germany to sign the Treaty of Versailles. However, it is also the case that for eight months following the end of hostilities, some form of blockade was continually in place, with some contemporary estimates that a further 100,000 casualties among German civilians due to starvation were caused, on top of the hundreds of thousands which already had occurred. Food shipments, furthermore, had been entirely dependent on Allied goodwill, causing at least in part the post-hostilities irregularity.

### **Paris Peace Conference**

After the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919, between Germany on the one side and France, Italy, Britain and other minor allied powers on the other, officially ended war between those countries. Other treaties ended the relationships of the United States and the other Central Powers. Included in the 440 articles of the Treaty of Versailles were the demands that Germany officially accept responsibility "for causing all the loss and damage" of the war and pay economic reparations. The treaty drastically limited the German military machine: German troops were reduced to 100,000 and the country was prevented from possessing major military armaments such as tanks, warships, armored vehicles and submarines.

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### 13.5: SUMMARY

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The First World War began in 1914 and continued in the last quarter of 1918. The First World War was considered "the war to end all wars". However, the peace accords did not guarantee this. On the contrary, the Treaty of Versailles contained certain provisions that were extremely harsh to the defeated countries and thus sowed the seeds of new conflicts. Similarly, some victorious nations felt cheated because not all their wishes were granted. Imperialism was not destroyed by war. The victorious powers expanded their possessions. Europe fragmented and weakened as a great power. The Ottoman Empire was dissolved: Turkey was modernized and declared a republic; other parts of the Ottoman Empire were ceded to the Allies under the "mandate system" of the League of Nations. The factors that caused the rivalry and conflict between the imperialist countries that led to the war were still there. Therefore, there is still a risk that more wars will be fought due to another "division" of the world. The emergence of the Soviet Union was seen in many countries as a threat to the existing social and economic system. The desire to destroy it influenced the politics of these countries. These factors, along with certain developments over the next twenty years, created the conditions for another world war.

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### 13.6: KEY TERMS

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- **Allies (Allied Powers):** The coalition of countries that opposed the Central Powers, primarily including France, the United Kingdom, Russia, Italy, Japan, and later the United States.
- **Central Powers:** The alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria during World War I.
- **Trench Warfare:** A type of combat in which opposing troops fight from trenches facing each other, leading to a prolonged and grueling stalemate.
- **Western Front:** The main theatre of war during World War I, stretching from the North Sea to the Swiss border, where much of the fighting in France and Belgium took place.
- **Eastern Front:** The theatre of operations that included the borders between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, characterized by more fluid and mobile warfare compared to the Western Front.



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### **13.7: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS**

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- Discuss the causes of the World War-I.
- Discuss the consequences of the World War-I.

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### **13.8: REFERENCES**

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## **UNIT-14: BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION: SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS IMPACT**

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### **Structure**

- 14.1 Objectives
- 14.2 Introduction
- 14.3 Background of the Revolution
- 14.4 Significance of the Revolution
- 14.5 Impact of the Revolution
- 14.6 Summary
- 14.7 Key Terms
- 14.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 14.9 References

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### **14.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The Historical Background of the Bolshevik Revolution
- The Significance of the Bolshevik Revolution
- Impact of the Bolshevik Revolution

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### **14.2: INTRODUCTION**

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The Russian Revolution of 1917 was one of the most explosive political events of the 20th century. The violent revolution marked the end of the Romanov dynasty and centuries of Russian Imperial rule. Economic hardship, food shortages and government corruption all contributed to disillusionment with Czar Nicholas II. During the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks, led by leftist revolutionary Vladimir Lenin, seized power and destroyed the tradition of czarist rule. The Bolsheviks would later become the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Revolution was a period of political and social change in Russia, starting in 1917. This period saw Russia abolish its monarchy and adopt a socialist form of government following two successive revolutions and a bloody civil war. The Russian Revolution can also be seen as the precursor for the other European revolutions that occurred during or in the aftermath of World War I, such as the German Revolution of 1918–1919. The Russian Revolution was inaugurated with the February Revolution in early 1917, in the midst of World War I. With the German

Empire dealing major defeats on the war front, and increasing logistical problems in the rear causing shortages of bread and grain, the Russian Army was steadily losing morale, with large scale mutiny looming. High officials were convinced that if Tsar Nicholas II abdicated, the unrest would subside. Nicholas agreed and stepped down, ushering in a new provisional government led by the Russian Duma (the parliament). During the civil unrest, soviet councils were formed by the locals in Petrograd that initially did not oppose the new Provisional Government; however, the Soviets did insist on their influence in the government and control over various militias. By March, Russia had two rival governments. The Provisional Government held state power in military and international affairs, whereas the network of Soviets held more power concerning domestic affairs. Critically, the Soviets held the allegiance of the working class, as well as the growing urban middle class. During this chaotic period, there were frequent mutinies, protests and strikes. Many socialist and other leftist political organizations were struggling for influence within the Provisional Government and the Soviets. Notable factions included the Social-Democrats or Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and Anarchists, as well as the Bolsheviks, a far-left party led by Vladimir Lenin.

Initially the Bolsheviks were a marginal faction; however, they won popularity with their program promising peace, land, and bread: cease war with Germany, give land to the peasantry, and end the wartime famine. Despite the virtually universal hatred of the war, the Provisional Government chose to continue fighting to support its allies, giving the Bolsheviks and other socialist factions a justification to advance the revolution further. The Bolsheviks merged various workers' militias loyal to them into the Red Guards, which would be strong enough to seize power. The volatile situation reached its climax with the October Revolution, a Bolshevik armed insurrection by workers and soldiers in Petrograd that overthrew the Provisional Government, transferring all its authority to the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks, acting in the framework of the soviet councils, established their own government and later proclaimed the establishment of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Under pressure from German military offensives, the Bolsheviks soon relocated the national capital to Moscow. The RSFSR began the process of reorganizing the former empire into the world's first socialist state, to practice soviet democracy on a national and international scale. Their promise to end Russia's participation in the First World War was fulfilled when the Bolshevik leaders signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in March 1918. To secure the new state, the Bolsheviks established the Cheka, a secret police and revolutionary security service working to uncover, punish, and eliminate those

considered to be "enemies of the people" in campaigns called the Red Terror, consciously modeled on those of the French Revolution. Although the Bolsheviks held large support in urban areas, they had many foreign and domestic enemies that refused to recognize their government. Russia erupted into a bloody civil war, which pitted the Reds (Bolsheviks), against their enemies, collectively referred to as the White Army. The White Army comprised independence movements, monarchists, liberals, and anti-Bolshevik socialist parties. In response, the Bolshevik commissar Leon Trotsky began organizing workers' militias loyal to the Bolsheviks into the Red Army. While key events occurred in Moscow and Petrograd, every city in the empire was convulsed, including the provinces of national minorities, and in the rural areas peasants took over and redistributed land. As the war progressed, the RSFSR began to establish Soviet power in the newly independent republics that seceded from the Russian Empire. The RSFSR initially focused its efforts on the newly independent republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, and Ukraine. Wartime cohesion and intervention from foreign powers prompted the RSFSR to begin unifying these nations under one flag and created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Historians generally consider the end of the revolutionary period to be in 1923 when the Russian Civil War concluded with the defeat of the White Army and all rival socialist factions, leading to mass emigration from Russia. The victorious Bolshevik Party reconstituted itself into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and would remain in power for the next 68 years.

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### **14.3: BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLUTION**

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The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a major factor contributing to the cause of the Revolutions of 1917. The events of Bloody Sunday triggered nationwide protests and soldier mutinies. A council of workers called the St. Petersburg Soviet was created in this chaos. While the 1905 Revolution was ultimately crushed, and the leaders of the St. Petersburg Soviet were arrested, this laid the groundwork for the later Petrograd Soviet and other revolutionary movements during the buildup to 1917. The 1905 Revolution also led to the creation of a Duma (parliament) that would later form the Provisional Government following February 1917. Russia's poor performance in 1914–1915 prompted growing complaints directed at Tsar Nicholas II and the Romanov family. A short wave of patriotic nationalism ended in the face of defeats and poor conditions on the Eastern Front of World War I. The Tsar made the situation worse by taking personal control of the Imperial Russian Army in 1915, a challenge far beyond his skills. He was now held personally responsible for Russia's continuing defeats and losses. In addition, Tsarina Alexandra,

left to rule while the Tsar commanded at the front, was German born, leading to suspicion of collusion, only to be exacerbated by rumors relating to her relationship with the controversial mystic Grigori Rasputin. Rasputin's influence led to disastrous ministerial appointments and corruption, resulting in a worsening of conditions within Russia. After the entry of the Ottoman Empire on the side of the Central Powers in October 1914, Russia was deprived of a major trade route to the Mediterranean Sea, which worsened the economic crisis and the munitions shortages. Meanwhile, Germany was able to produce great amounts of munitions whilst constantly fighting on two major battlefronts.

The conditions during the war resulted in a devastating loss of morale within the Russian army and the general population of Russia itself. This was particularly apparent in the cities, owing to a lack of food in response to the disruption of agriculture. Food scarcity had become a considerable problem in Russia, but the cause of this did not lie in any failure of the harvests, which had not been significantly altered during wartime. The indirect reason was that the government, in order to finance the war, printed millions of rouble notes, and by 1917, inflation had made prices increase up to four times what they had been in 1914. Farmers were consequently faced with a higher cost of living, but with little increase in income. As a result, they tended to hoard their grain and to revert to subsistence farming. Thus the cities were constantly short of food. At the same time, rising prices led to demands for higher wages in the factories, and in January and February 1916, revolutionary propaganda, in part aided by German funds, led to widespread strikes. This resulted in growing criticism of the government, including an increased participation of workers in revolutionary parties. Liberal parties too had an increased platform to voice their complaints, as the initial fervor of the war resulted in the Tsarist government creating a variety of political organizations. In July 1915, a Central War Industries Committee was established under the chairmanship of a prominent Octobrist, Alexander Guchkov (1862–1936), including ten workers' representatives. The Petrograd Mensheviks agreed to join despite the objections of their leaders abroad. All this activity gave renewed encouragement to political ambitions, and in September 1915, a combination of Octobrists and Kadets in the Duma demanded the forming of a responsible government, which the Tsar rejected. All these factors had given rise to a sharp loss of confidence in the regime, even within the ruling class, growing throughout the war. Early in 1916, Guchkov discussed with senior army officers and members of the Central War Industries Committee about a possible coup to force the abdication of the Tsar. In December, a small group of nobles assassinated Rasputin, and in January 1917 the Tsar's cousin, Grand Duke Nicholas,

was asked indirectly by Prince Lvov whether he would be prepared to take over the throne from his nephew, Tsar Nicholas II. None of these incidents were in themselves the immediate cause of the February Revolution, but they do help to explain why the monarchy survived only a few days after it had broken out.

Meanwhile, Socialist Revolutionary leaders in exile, many of them living in Switzerland, had been the glum spectators of the collapse of international socialist solidarity. French and German Social Democrats had voted in favour of their respective governments' war efforts. Georgi Plekhanov in Paris had adopted a violently anti-German stand, while Alexander Parvus supported the German war effort as the best means of ensuring a revolution in Russia. The Mensheviks largely maintained that Russia had the right to defend herself against Germany, although Julius Martov (a prominent Menshevik), now on the left of his group, demanded an end to the war and a settlement on the basis of national self-determination, with no annexations or indemnities. It was these views of Martov that predominated in a manifesto drawn up by Leon Trotsky (at the time a Menshevik) at a conference in Zimmerwald, attended by 35 Socialist leaders in September 1915. Inevitably, Vladimir Lenin supported by Zinoviev and Radek, strongly contested them. Their attitudes became known as the Zimmerwald Left. Lenin rejected both the defence of Russia and the cry for peace. Since the autumn of 1914, he had insisted that "from the standpoint of the working class and of the labouring masses the lesser evil would be the defeat of the Tsarist Monarchy"; the war must be turned into a civil war of the proletarian soldiers against their own governments, and if a proletarian victory should emerge from this in Russia, then their duty would be to wage a revolutionary war for the liberation of the masses throughout Europe.

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#### **14.4: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REVOLUTION**

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At the beginning of February, Petrograd workers began several strikes and demonstrations. On 7 March, Putilov, Petrograd's largest industrial plant was closed by a workers' strike. The next day, a series of meetings and rallies were held for International Women's Day, which gradually turned into economic and political gatherings. Demonstrations were organised to demand bread, and these were supported by the industrial working force who considered them a reason for continuing the strikes. The women workers marched to nearby factories bringing out over 50,000 workers on strike. By 10 March [O.S. 25 February], virtually every industrial enterprise in Petrograd had been shut down, together with many commercial and service enterprises. Students, white-collar workers, and teachers joined the workers in the streets and at public meetings. To

quell the riots, the Tsar looked to the army. At least 180,000 troops were available in the capital, but most were either untrained or injured. Historian Ian Beckett suggests around 12,000 could be regarded as reliable, but even these proved reluctant to move in on the crowd, since it included so many women. It was for this reason that on 11 March [O.S. 26 February], when the Tsar ordered the army to suppress the rioting by force, troops began to revolt. Although few actively joined the rioting, many officers were either shot or went into hiding; the ability of the garrison to hold back the protests was all but nullified, symbols of the Tsarist regime were rapidly torn down around the city, and governmental authority in the capital collapsed – not helped by the fact that Nicholas had prorogued the Duma that morning, leaving it with no legal authority to act. The response of the Duma, urged on by the liberal bloc, was to establish a Temporary Committee to restore law and order; meanwhile, the socialist parties established the Petrograd Soviet to represent workers and soldiers. The remaining loyal units switched allegiance the next day. The Tsar directed the royal train back towards Petrograd, which was stopped on 14 March by a group of revolutionaries at Malaya Vishera. When the Tsar finally arrived at Pskov, the Army Chief Nikolai Ruzsky, and the Duma deputies Alexander Guchkov and Vasily Shulgin suggested in unison that he abdicate the throne. He did so on 15 March [O.S. 2 March], on behalf of himself, and then, having taken advice on behalf of his son, the Tsarevich. Nicholas nominated his brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, to succeed him. But the Grand Duke realised that he would have little support as ruler, so he declined the crown on 16 March [O.S. 3 March], stating that he would take it only if that was the consensus of democratic action. Six days later, Nicholas, no longer Tsar and addressed with contempt by the sentries as "Nicholas Romanov", was reunited with his family at the Alexander Palace at Tsarskoye Selo. He was placed under house arrest with his family by the Provisional Government.

The immediate effect of the February Revolution was a widespread atmosphere of elation and excitement in Petrograd. On 16 March [O.S. 3 March], a provisional government was announced. The center-left was well represented, and the government was initially chaired by a liberal aristocrat, Prince Georgy Yevgenievich Lvov, a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party (KD). The socialists had formed their rival body, the Petrograd Soviet (or workers' council) four days earlier. The Petrograd Soviet and the Provisional Government competed for power over Russia.

The October Revolution, which unfolded on Wednesday 7 November 1917 according to the Gregorian calendar and on Wednesday 25 October according to the Julian calendar in use

under tsarist Russia, was organized by the Bolshevik party. Lenin did not have any direct role in the revolution and he was hiding for his personal safety. The Revolutionary Military Committee established by the Bolshevik party was organizing the insurrection and Leon Trotsky was the chairman. 50,000 workers had passed a resolution in favour of Bolshevik demand for transfer of power to the soviets. However, Lenin played a crucial role in the debate in the leadership of the Bolshevik party for a revolutionary insurrection as the party in the autumn of 1917 received a majority in the soviets. An ally in the left fraction of the Revolutionary-Socialist Party, with huge support among the peasants who opposed Russia's participation in the war, supported the slogan 'All power to the Soviets'. The initial stage of the October Revolution which involved the assault on Petrograd occurred largely without any human casualties. Liberal and monarchist forces, loosely organized into the White Army, immediately went to war against the Bolsheviks' Red Army, in a series of battles that would become known as the Russian Civil War. This did not happen in 1917. The Civil War began in early 1918 with domestic anti-Bolshevik forces confronting the nascent Red Army. In autumn of 1918 Allied countries needed to block German access to Russian supplies. They sent troops to support the "Whites" with supplies of weapons, ammunition and logistic equipment being sent from the main Western countries but this was not at all coordinated. Germany did not participate in the civil war as it surrendered to the Allied.

The provisional government with its second and third coalition was led by a right wing fraction of the Socialist-Revolutionary party, SR. This non-elected provisional government faced the revolutionary situation and the growing mood against the war by avoiding elections to the state Duma. However, the October revolution forced the political parties behind the newly dissolved provisional government to move and move fast for immediate elections. All happened so fast that the left SR fraction did not have time to reach out and be represented in ballots of the SR party which was part of the coalition in the provisional government. This non-elected government supported continuation of the war on the side of the allied forces. The elections to the State Duma 25 November 1917 therefore did not mirror the true political situation among peasants even if we don't know how the outcome would be if the anti-war left SR fraction had a fair chance to challenge the party leaders. In the elections, the Bolshevik party received 25% of the votes and the Socialist-Revolutionaries as much as 58%. It is possible the left SR had a good chance to reach more than 25% of the votes and thereby legitimate the October revolution but we can only guess.

Lenin did not believe that a socialist revolution necessarily presupposed a fully developed



capitalist economy. A semi-capitalist country would suffice and Russia had a working class base of 5% of the population. Though Lenin was the leader of the Bolshevik Party, it has been argued that since Lenin was not present during the actual takeover of the Winter Palace, it was really Trotsky's organization and direction that led the revolution, merely spurred by the motivation Lenin instigated within his party. Bolshevik figures such as Anatoly Lunacharsky, Moisei Uritsky and Dmitry Manuilsky agreed that Lenin's influence on the Bolshevik party was decisive but the October insurrection was carried out according to Trotsky's, not to Lenin's plan. Critics on the Right have long argued that the financial and logistical assistance of German intelligence via their key agent, Alexander Parvus was a key component as well, though historians are divided, since there is little evidence supporting that claim. Soviet membership was initially freely elected, but many members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, anarchists, and other leftists created opposition to the Bolsheviks through the Soviets themselves. The elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly took place 25 November 1917. The Bolsheviks gained 25% of the vote. When it became clear that the Bolsheviks had little support outside of the industrialized areas of Saint Petersburg and Moscow, they simply barred non-Bolsheviks from membership in the Soviets. The Bolsheviks dissolved the Constituent Assembly in January 1918. The Russian Civil War, which broke out in 1918 shortly after the October Revolution, resulted in the deaths and suffering of millions of people regardless of their political orientation. The war was fought mainly between the Red Army ("Reds"), consisting of the uprising majority led by the Bolshevik minority, and the "Whites" – army officers and cossacks, the "bourgeoisie", and political groups ranging from the far Right, to the Socialist Revolutionaries who opposed the drastic restructuring championed by the Bolsheviks following the collapse of the Provisional Government, to the Soviets (under clear Bolshevik dominance). The Whites had backing from other countries such as the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Japan, while the Reds possessed internal support, proving to be much more effective. Though the Allied nations, using external interference, provided substantial military aid to the loosely knit anti-Bolshevik forces, they were ultimately defeated. The Bolsheviks firstly assumed power in Petrograd, expanding their rule outwards. They eventually reached the Easterly Siberian Russian coast in Vladivostok, four years after the war began, an occupation that is believed to have ended all significant military campaigns in the nation. Less than one year later, the last area controlled by the White Army, the Ayano-Maysky District, directly to the north of the Krai containing Vladivostok, was given up when General Anatoly Pepelyayev capitulated in 1923. Several revolts were initiated against the

Bolsheviks and their army near the end of the war, notably the Kronstadt Rebellion. This was a naval mutiny engineered by Soviet Baltic sailors, former Red Army soldiers, and the people of Kronstadt. This armed uprising was fought against the antagonizing Bolshevik economic policies that farmers were subjected to, including seizures of grain crops by the Communists. This all amounted to large-scale discontent. When delegates representing the Kronstadt sailors arrived at Petrograd for negotiations, they raised 15 demands primarily pertaining to the Russian right to freedom. The Government firmly denounced the rebellions and labelled the requests as a reminder of the Social Revolutionaries, a political party that was popular among Soviets before Lenin, but refused to cooperate with the Bolshevik Army. The Government then responded with an armed suppression of these revolts and suffered ten thousand casualties before entering the city of Kronstadt. This ended the rebellions fairly quickly, causing many of the rebels to flee seeking political exile. During the Civil War, Nestor Makhno led a Ukrainian anarchist movement. Makhno's Insurgent Army allied to the Bolsheviks thrice, with one of the powers ending the alliance each time. However, a Bolshevik force under Mikhail Frunze destroyed the Makhnovshchina, when the Makhnovists refused to merge into the Red Army. In addition, the so-called "Green Army" (peasants defending their property against the opposing forces) played a secondary role in the war, mainly in Ukraine.

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## 14.5: IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION

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The Bolshevik Revolution, also known as the October Revolution of 1917, had profound and far-reaching impacts on Russia and the world. Here are some key impacts:

### 1. Political Changes

- **End of the Tsarist Regime:** The revolution led to the overthrow of the Romanov dynasty and the end of centuries of autocratic rule in Russia.
- **Establishment of Soviet Rule:** The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, established a communist government, leading to the creation of the Soviet Union in 1922.

### 2. Economic Transformation

- **Nationalization:** Major industries, banks, and lands were nationalized, moving the economy from a capitalist to a socialist model.
- **War Communism and NEP:** The initial period of War Communism (1918-1921) was characterized by the requisitioning of surplus grain from peasants and the centralization of

production. This was followed by the New Economic Policy (NEP) which reintroduced limited market mechanisms to revive the economy.

### 3. Social and Cultural Impact

- **Class Structure:** The revolution sought to eliminate class distinctions, leading to significant changes in social structure and the redistribution of land.
- **Education and Literacy:** There was a major push to improve literacy and education, with the state providing free and compulsory education.
- **Role of Women:** Women gained legal equality, and efforts were made to incorporate them into the workforce and public life.

### 4. Global Influence

- **Spread of Communism:** The success of the Bolsheviks inspired communist movements worldwide, leading to the formation of communist parties in various countries.
- **Cold War:** The ideological divide between the communist Soviet Union and the capitalist West led to the Cold War, a period of geopolitical tension lasting until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

### 5. Repression and Human Rights

- **Red Terror:** The Bolsheviks used harsh measures to suppress opposition, including the Red Terror campaign during the Russian Civil War (1918-1922).
- **Gulags and Purges:** Under Stalin, political repression intensified, with widespread purges, forced labor camps (Gulags), and show trials targeting perceived enemies of the state.

### 6. Military and Geopolitical Changes

- **Civil War:** The revolution led to the Russian Civil War between the Red Army (Bolsheviks) and the White Army (anti-Bolsheviks), resulting in millions of deaths and extensive destruction.
- **WWII and Beyond:** The Soviet Union emerged as one of the two superpowers after World War II, significantly shaping the global order in the 20th century.

### 7. Long-term Economic Consequences

- **Industrialization and Collectivization:** Under Stalin, rapid industrialization and collectivization of agriculture were implemented, leading to significant economic changes but also causing widespread famine and suffering.

- **Economic Stagnation:** In later decades, the Soviet economy faced stagnation, contributing to the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik Revolution fundamentally altered the course of Russian and world history, establishing a communist state that would play a central role in 20th-century global affairs.

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## 14.6: SUMMARY

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The October Revolution not only had a great impact on the liberation movements in colonialism, but it also paved the way for the birth and growth of communists and workers moving to the East. A Communist International (also known as the Third International of Comintern) was established in Moscow in 1919 with the goals of bringing together various communist groups, parties, and movements, popularizing Marxist-Leninist theory, and debating the strategies and tactics of joining with other nationalist noncommunist forces against imperialism. The unity of the working class in the industrialized West and the oppressed peoples of the colonies in their shared struggle against imperialism was the ideal that was embodied in the creation of the Communist International. The Communist International developed into the global hub for organizing revolutionaries. A key focus of the Comintern's theoretical and practical work on the national and colonial question was the issue of a unified anti-imperialist front. The concept of the unification of all anti-imperialist forces, or more specifically, the unification of socialist and national liberation movement forces, crystallized at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920.

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## 14.7: KEY TERMS

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- **Bolsheviks:** A faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) led by Lenin, advocating for a socialist revolution.
- **Mensheviks:** The other faction of the RSDLP, which was more moderate and favored a democratic socialist approach.
- **Provisional Government:** The temporary government established after the February Revolution, which the Bolsheviks overthrew in October 1917.
- **Soviets:** Councils of workers' and soldiers' deputies that played a crucial role in the revolution.
- **October Revolution:** The second phase of the Russian Revolution in 1917 when the Bolsheviks seized power.

- **February Revolution:** The first phase of the Russian Revolution in 1917, which led to the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and the establishment of the Provisional Government.
- **Russian Civil War:** The conflict from 1918 to 1922 between the Red Army (Bolsheviks) and the White Army (anti-Bolsheviks).
- **Red Terror:** A campaign of political repression and mass killings carried out by the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War.
- **War Communism:** The economic and political system implemented by the Bolsheviks during the Civil War, involving the nationalization of industry and the requisition of surplus grain.

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## 14.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- Discuss the causes of Bolshevik revolution.
- Discuss the consequences of the Bolshevik revolution.
- Discuss various phases of the Bolshevik revolution.

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## 14.9: REFERENCES

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## **UNIT-15: RISE OF FASCISM**

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### **Structure**

- 15.1 Objectives
- 15.2 Introduction
- 15.3 Background of Fascism
- 15.4 Basic Tenets of Fascism
- 15.5 Mussolini and Fascism
- 15.6 Criticism
- 15.7 Summary
- 15.8 Key Terms
- 15.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 15.10 References

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### **15.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- What is Fascism?
- Basic Tenets of Fascism
- Mussolini and Fascism

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### **15.2: INTRODUCTION**

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Fascism, political ideology and mass movement that dominated many parts of central, southern, and eastern Europe between 1919 and 1945 and that also had adherents in western Europe, the United States, South Africa, Japan, Latin America, and the Middle East. Europe's first fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, took the name of his party from the Latin word *fascēs*, which referred to a bundle of elm or birch rods (usually containing an ax) used as a symbol of penal authority in ancient Rome. Although fascist parties and movements differed significantly from one another, they had many characteristics in common, including extreme militaristic nationalism, contempt for electoral democracy and political and cultural liberalism, a belief in natural social hierarchy and the rule of elites, and the desire to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (German: "people's community"), in which individual interests would be subordinated to the good of the nation. At the end of World War II, the major European fascist parties were broken up, and in some countries (such as Italy and West Germany) they were

officially banned. Beginning in the late 1940s, however, many fascist-oriented parties and movements were founded in Europe as well as in Latin America and South Africa. Although some European “neofascist” groups attracted large followings, especially in Italy and France, none were as influential as the major fascist parties of the interwar period.

Fascism rejects assertions that violence is inherently negative or pointless, instead viewing imperialism, political violence, and war as means to national rejuvenation. Fascists often advocate for the establishment of a totalitarian one-party state, and for a dirigiste economy (a market economy in which the state plays a strong directive role through economic interventionist policies), with the principal goal of achieving autarky (national economic self-sufficiency). Fascism's extreme authoritarianism and nationalism often manifest as a belief in racial purity or a master race, usually blended with some variant of racism or discrimination against a demonized "Other", such as Jews, homosexuals, transgender people, ethnic minorities, or immigrants. These ideas have motivated fascist regimes to commit massacres, forced sterilizations, deportations, and genocides. During World War II, the actions of the fascist Axis powers, with their genocidal and imperialist ambitions, caused the death of millions of people. Since the end of World War II in 1945, fascism as an ideology has been largely disgraced, and few parties have openly described themselves as fascist; the term is often used pejoratively by political opponents. The descriptions of neo-fascist or *post-fascist* are sometimes employed to describe contemporary parties with ideologies similar to, or rooted in 20th-century fascist movements. Some opposition groups have adopted the label anti-fascist to signify their stance.

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### **15.3: BACKGROUND OF FASCISM**

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Early influences that shaped the ideology of fascism have been dated back to Ancient Greece. The political culture of ancient Greece and specifically the ancient Greek city state of Sparta under Lycurgus, with its emphasis on militarism and racial purity, were admired by the Nazis. Nazi *Führer* Adolf Hitler emphasized that Germany should adhere to Hellenic values and culture – particularly that of ancient Sparta.

Georges Valois, founder of the first non-Italian fascist party *Faisceau*, claimed the roots of fascism stemmed from the late 18th century Jacobin movement, seeing in its totalitarian nature a foreshadowing of the fascist state. Historian George Mosse similarly analyzed fascism as an inheritor of the mass ideology and civil religion of the French Revolution, as well as a result of

the brutalization of societies in 1914–1918.

Historians such as Irene Collins and Howard C Payne see Napoleon III, who ran a 'police state' and suppressed the media, as a forerunner of fascism. According to David Thomson, the Italian Risorgimento of 1871 led to the 'nemesis of fascism'. William L Shirer sees a continuity from the views of Fichte and Hegel, through Bismarck, to Hitler; Robert Gerwarth speaks of a 'direct line' from Bismarck to Hitler. Julian Dierkes sees fascism as a 'particularly violent form of imperialism'.

Marcus Garvey, founder and leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, insisted that he and his organisation "were the first fascists". In 1938, C.L.R. James wrote "all the things that Hitler was to do so well later, Marcus Garvey was doing in 1920 and 1921".

The historian Zeev Sternhell has traced the ideological roots of fascism back to the 1880s and in particular to the *fin de siècle* theme of that time. The theme was based on a revolt against materialism, rationalism, positivism, bourgeois society, and democracy. The *fin-de-siècle* generation supported emotionalism, irrationalism, subjectivism, and vitalism. They regarded civilization as being in crisis, requiring a massive and total solution. Their intellectual school considered the individual as only one part of the larger collectivity, which should not be viewed as a numerical sum of atomized individuals. They condemned the rationalistic, liberal individualism of society and the dissolution of social links in bourgeois society.

The *fin-de-siècle* outlook was influenced by various intellectual developments, including Darwinian biology, *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Arthur de Gobineau's racialism, Gustave Le Bon's psychology, and the philosophies of Friedrich Nietzsche, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and Henri Bergson. Social Darwinism, which gained widespread acceptance, made no distinction between physical and social life, and viewed the human condition as being an unceasing struggle to achieve the survival of the fittest. It challenged positivism's claim of deliberate and rational choice as the determining behaviour of humans, with social Darwinism focusing on heredity, race, and environment. Its emphasis on biogroup identity and the role of organic relations within societies fostered the legitimacy and appeal of nationalism. New theories of social and political psychology also rejected the notion of human behaviour being governed by rational choice and instead claimed that emotion was more influential in political issues than reason. Nietzsche's argument that "God is dead" coincided with his attack on the "herd mentality" of Christianity, democracy, and modern collectivism, his concept of the *Übermensch*, and his advocacy of the will to power as a primordial instinct, were major influences upon many of



the *fin-de-siècle* generation. Bergson's claim of the existence of an *élan vital*, or vital instinct, centred upon free choice and rejected the processes of materialism and determinism; this challenged Marxism.

In his work *The Ruling Class* (1896), Gaetano Mosca developed the theory that claims that in all societies an "organized minority" would dominate and rule over an "disorganized majority", stating that there are only two classes in society, "the governing" (the organized minority) and "the governed" (the disorganized majority). He claims that the organized nature of the organized minority makes it irresistible to any individual of the disorganized majority.

French nationalist and reactionary monarchist Charles Maurras influenced fascism. Maurras promoted what he called integral nationalism, which called for the organic unity of a nation, and insisted that a powerful monarch was an ideal leader of a nation. Maurras distrusted what he considered the democratic mystification of the popular will that created an impersonal collective subject. He claimed that a powerful monarch was a personified sovereign who could exercise authority to unite a nation's people. Maurras' integral nationalism was idealized by fascists, but modified into a modernized revolutionary form that was devoid of Maurras' monarchism.

At the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, the Italian political left became severely split over its position on the war. The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) opposed the war but a number of Italian revolutionary syndicalists supported war against Germany and Austria-Hungary on the grounds that their reactionary regimes had to be defeated to ensure the success of socialism. Angelo Oliviero Olivetti formed a pro-interventionist *fascio* called the Revolutionary Fasces of International Action in October 1914. Benito Mussolini upon being expelled from his position as chief editor of the PSI's newspaper *Avanti!* for his anti-German stance, joined the interventionist cause in a separate *fascio*. The term "fascism" was first used in 1915 by members of Mussolini's movement, the Fasces of Revolutionary Action.

The first meeting of the Fasces of Revolutionary Action was held on 24 January 1915 when Mussolini declared that it was necessary for Europe to resolve its national problems—including national borders—of Italy and elsewhere "for the ideals of justice and liberty for which oppressed peoples must acquire the right to belong to those national communities from which they descended." Attempts to hold mass meetings were ineffective and the organization was regularly harassed by government authorities and socialists.

Similar political ideas arose in Germany after the outbreak of the war. German sociologist Johann Plenge spoke of the rise of a "National Socialism" in Germany within what he termed the "ideas

of 1914" that were a declaration of war against the "ideas of 1789" (the French Revolution). According to Plenge, the "ideas of 1789"—such as the rights of man, democracy, individualism and liberalism—were being rejected in favor of "the ideas of 1914" that included "German values" of duty, discipline, law and order. Plenge believed that racial solidarity (*Volksgemeinschaft*) would replace class division and that "racial comrades" would unite to create a socialist society in the struggle of "proletarian" Germany against "capitalist" Britain. He believed that the Spirit of 1914 manifested itself in the concept of the People's League of National Socialism. This National Socialism was a form of state socialism that rejected the "idea of boundless freedom" and promoted an economy that would serve the whole of Germany under the leadership of the state. This National Socialism was opposed to capitalism because of the components that were against "the national interest" of Germany but insisted that National Socialism would strive for greater efficiency in the economy. Plenge advocated an authoritarian rational ruling elite to develop National Socialism through a hierarchical technocratic state.

Fascists viewed World War I as bringing revolutionary changes in the nature of war, society, the state and technology, as the advent of total war and mass mobilization had broken down the distinction between civilian and combatant, as civilians had become a critical part in economic production for the war effort and thus arose a "military citizenship" in which all citizens were involved to the military in some manner during the war. World War I had resulted in the rise of a powerful state capable of mobilizing millions of people to serve on the front lines or provide economic production and logistics to support those on the front lines, as well as having unprecedented authority to intervene in the lives of citizens. Fascists viewed technological developments of weaponry and the state's total mobilization of its population in the war as symbolizing the beginning of a new era fusing state power with mass politics, technology and particularly the mobilizing myth that they contended had triumphed over the myth of progress and the era of liberalism.

Historian Stanley G. Payne says: "[Fascism in Italy was a] primarily political dictatorship. ... The Fascist Party itself had become almost completely bureaucratized and subservient to, not dominant over, the state itself. Big business, industry, and finance retained extensive autonomy, particularly in the early years. The armed forces also enjoyed considerable autonomy. ... The Fascist militia was placed under military control. ... The judicial system was left largely intact and relatively autonomous as well. The police continued to be directed by state officials and were not taken over by party leaders ... nor was a major new police elite created. ... There was never any

question of bringing the Church under overall subservience. ... Sizable sectors of Italian cultural life retained extensive autonomy, and no major state propaganda-and-culture ministry existed. ... The Mussolini regime was neither especially sanguinary nor particularly repressive.

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## **15.4: BASIC TENETS OF FASCISM**

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Robert O. Paxton finds that even though fascism "maintained the existing regime of property and social hierarchy", it cannot be considered "simply a more muscular form of conservatism" because "fascism in power did carry out some changes profound enough to be called 'revolutionary.'" These transformations "often set fascists into conflict with conservatives rooted in families, churches, social rank, and property." Paxton argues that "fascism redrew the frontiers between private and public, sharply diminishing what had once been untouchably private. It changed the practice of citizenship from the enjoyment of constitutional rights and duties to participation in mass ceremonies of affirmation and conformity. It reconfigured relations between the individual and the collectivity, so that an individual had no rights outside community interest. It expanded the powers of the executive—party and state—in a bid for total control. Finally, it unleashed aggressive emotions hitherto known in Europe only during war or social revolution."

### **Nationalism with or without expansionism**

Ultrnationalism, combined with the myth of national rebirth, is a key foundation of fascism. Robert Paxton argues that "a passionate nationalism" is the basis of fascism, combined with "a conspiratorial and Manichean view of history" which holds that "the chosen people have been weakened by political parties, social classes, unassimilable minorities, spoiled rentiers, and rationalist thinkers." Roger Griffin identifies the core of fascism as being palingenetic ultrnationalism.

The fascist view of a nation is of a single organic entity that binds people together by their ancestry and is a natural unifying force of people. Fascism seeks to solve economic, political and social problems by achieving a millenarian national rebirth, exalting the nation or race above all else and promoting cults of unity, strength and purity. European fascist movements typically espouse a racist conception of non-Europeans being inferior to Europeans. Beyond this, fascists in Europe have not held a unified set of racial views. Historically, most fascists promoted imperialism, although there have been several fascist movements that were uninterested in the pursuit of new imperial ambitions. For example, Nazism and Italian Fascism

were expansionist and irredentist. Falangism in Spain envisioned the worldwide unification of Spanish-speaking peoples (*Hispanidad*). British Fascism was non-interventionist, though it did embrace the British Empire.

### **Totalitarianism**

Fascism promotes the establishment of a totalitarian state. It opposes liberal democracy, rejects multi-party systems, and may support a one-party state so that it may synthesize with the nation. Mussolini's *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932), partly ghostwritten by philosopher Giovanni Gentile, who Mussolini described as "the philosopher of Fascism", states: "The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people." In *The Legal Basis of the Total State*, Nazi political theorist Carl Schmitt described the Nazi intention to form a "strong state which guarantees a totality of political unity transcending all diversity" in order to avoid a "disastrous pluralism tearing the German people apart."

Fascist states pursued policies of social indoctrination through propaganda in education and the media, and regulation of the production of educational and media materials. Education was designed to glorify the fascist movement and inform students of its historical and political importance to the nation. It attempted to purge ideas that were not consistent with the beliefs of the fascist movement and to teach students to be obedient to the state.

### **Direct action**

Fascism emphasizes direct action, including supporting the legitimacy of political violence, as a core part of its politics. Fascism views violent action as a necessity in politics that fascism identifies as being an "endless struggle"; this emphasis on the use of political violence means that most fascist parties have also created their own private militias (e.g. the Nazi Party's Brown shirts and Fascist Italy's Blackshirts). The basis of fascism's support of violent action in politics is connected to social Darwinism. Fascist movements have commonly held social Darwinist views of nations, races and societies. They say that nations and races must purge themselves of socially and biologically weak or degenerate people, while simultaneously promoting the creation of strong people, in order to survive in a world defined by perpetual national and racial conflict.

### **Age and gender roles**

Fascism emphasizes youth both in a physical sense of age and in a spiritual sense as related to virility and commitment to action. The Italian Fascists' political anthem was

called *Giovinezza* ("The Youth"). Fascism identifies the physical age period of youth as a critical time for the moral development of people who will affect society. Walter Laqueur argues that "[t]he corollaries of the cult of war and physical danger were the cult of brutality, strength, and sexuality ... [fascism is] a true counter-civilization: rejecting the sophisticated rationalist humanism of Old Europe, fascism sets up as its ideal the primitive instincts and primal emotions of the barbarian."

Italian Fascism pursued what it called "moral hygiene" of youth, particularly regarding sexuality. Fascist Italy promoted what it considered normal sexual behaviour in youth while denouncing what it considered deviant sexual behaviour. It condemned pornography, most forms of birth control and contraceptive devices (with the exception of the condom), homosexuality and prostitution as deviant sexual behaviour, although enforcement of laws opposed to such practices was erratic and authorities often turned a blind eye. Fascist Italy regarded the promotion of male sexual excitation before puberty as the cause of criminality amongst male youth, declared homosexuality a social disease and pursued an aggressive campaign to reduce prostitution of young women.

Mussolini perceived women's primary role as primarily child bearers, while that of men as warriors, once saying: "War is to man what maternity is to the woman." In an effort to increase birthrates, the Italian Fascist government gave financial incentives to women who raised large families and initiated policies intended to reduce the number of women employed. Italian Fascism called for women to be honoured as "reproducers of the nation" and the Italian Fascist government held ritual ceremonies to honour women's role within the Italian nation. In 1934, Mussolini declared that employment of women was a "major aspect of the thorny problem of unemployment" and that for women, working was "incompatible with childbearing"; Mussolini went on to say that the solution to unemployment for men was the "exodus of women from the work force."

The German Nazi government strongly encouraged women to stay at home to bear children and keep house. This policy was reinforced by bestowing the Cross of Honor of the German Mother on women bearing four or more children. The unemployment rate was cut substantially, mostly through arms production and sending women home so that men could take their jobs. Nazi propaganda sometimes promoted premarital and extramarital sexual relations, unwed motherhood and divorce, but at other times the Nazis opposed such behaviour.

The Nazis decriminalized abortion in cases where fetuses had hereditary defects or were of a race

the government disapproved of, while the abortion of healthy pure German, Aryan fetuses remained strictly forbidden. For non-Aryans, abortion was often compulsory. Their eugenics program also stemmed from the "progressive biomedical model" of Weimar Germany. In 1935, Nazi Germany expanded the legality of abortion by amending its eugenics law, to promote abortion for women with hereditary disorders. The law allowed abortion if a woman gave her permission and the fetus was not yet viable and for purposes of so-called racial hygiene.

The Nazis said that homosexuality was degenerate, effeminate, perverted and undermined masculinity because it did not produce children. They considered homosexuality curable through therapy, citing modern scientism and the study of sexology. Open homosexuals were interned in Nazi concentration camps.

### **Palingenesis and modernism**

Fascism emphasizes both palingenesis (national rebirth or re-creation) and modernism. In particular, fascism's nationalism has been identified as having a palingenetic character. Fascism promotes the regeneration of the nation and purging it of decadence. Fascism accepts forms of modernism that it deems promotes national regeneration while rejecting forms of modernism that are regarded as antithetical to national regeneration. Fascism aestheticized modern technology and its association with speed, power and violence. Fascism admired advances in the economy in the early 20th century, particularly Fordism and scientific management. Fascist modernism has been recognized as inspired or developed by various figures—such as Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Ernst Jünger, Gottfried Benn, Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Knut Hamsun, Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis.

In Italy, such modernist influence was exemplified by Marinetti who advocated a palingenetic modernist society that condemned liberal-bourgeois values of tradition and psychology, while promoting a technological-martial religion of national renewal that emphasized militant nationalism. In Germany, it was exemplified by Jünger who was influenced by his observation of the technological warfare during World War I and claimed that a new social class had been created that he described as the "warrior-worker"; Like Marinetti, Jünger emphasized the revolutionary capacities of technology. He emphasized an "organic construction" between human and machine as a liberating and regenerative force that challenged liberal democracy, conceptions of individual autonomy, bourgeois nihilism and decadence. He conceived of a society based on a totalitarian concept of "total mobilization" of such disciplined warrior-workers.

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## **15.5: MUSSOLINI AND FASCISM**

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Benito Mussolini was brought into the world in 1893. He was at first affected by his dad's Communist perspectives. He went to Austria and Switzerland later. However, he was compelled to leave these nations due to his radical activities. Mussolini continued to promote socialism for some time after returning from Austria. At the point when war broke out in 1914, Mussolini upheld impartiality of his country. He abandoned his socialist ideas by 1915 and began advocating for Italy's entry into the war. Mussolini turned into major areas of strength for the Ceasefires. He assembled a conference of his Companions and ex-servicemen and every one of the people who had during 1914-15 argued for Italian Mediation in the conflict. He presently coordinated them in the Fascist party and gave a call for getting equity for Italy and disposing of communists, socialists, and the powerless Government.

Most of the Fascists came from rich propertied class young sons of businessmen unemployed ex-soldiers and discontented professionals and a large number of students: became ardent supporters and followers of Mussolini. Fascists were totally opposed to communists. They were financed mostly by capitalists. During 1920-21 almost civil war conditions prevailed in the country. The government was a silent spectator as Mussolini led the masses to believe that their future lay secure only with him and his party. Premier Giolitti was forced to resign in July 1921. He was replaced by Luigi Facta, who was as weak as his predecessor was.

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## **15.6: CRITICISM**

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Fascist parties were closely contested by anti-fascist movements from the political centre and left wing throughout the Interwar period. The defeat of the Axis powers in World War II and subsequent revelation of the crimes against humanity committed during the Holocaust by Germany have led to an almost universal condemnation of both past and present forms of fascism in the modern era. "Fascism" is today used across the political spectrum as a pejorative or byword for perceived authoritarianism and other forms of political evil.

Some critics of Italian fascism have said that much of the ideology was merely a by-product of unprincipled opportunism by Mussolini and that he changed his political stances merely to bolster his personal ambitions while he disguised them as being purposeful to the public. Richard Washburn Child, the American ambassador to Italy who worked with Mussolini and became his friend and admirer, defended Mussolini's opportunistic behaviour by writing: "Opportunist is a

term of reproach used to brand men who fit themselves to conditions for the reasons of self-interest. Mussolini, as I have learned to know him, is an opportunist in the sense that he believed that mankind itself must be fitted to changing conditions rather than to fixed theories, no matter how many hopes and prayers have been expended on theories and programmes.". Child quoted Mussolini as saying: "The sanctity of an ism is not in the ism; it has no sanctity beyond its power to do, to work, to succeed in practice. It may have succeeded yesterday and fail to-morrow. Failed yesterday and succeed to-morrow. The machine, first of all, must run!"

Some have criticized Mussolini's actions during the outbreak of World War I as opportunistic for seeming to suddenly abandon Marxist egalitarian internationalism for non-egalitarian nationalism and note, to that effect, that upon Mussolini endorsing Italy's intervention in the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, he and the new fascist movement received financial support from Italian and foreign sources, such as Ansaldo (an armaments firm) and other companies as well as the British Security Service MI5. Some, including Mussolini's socialist opponents at the time, have noted that regardless of the financial support he accepted for his pro-interventionist stance, Mussolini was free to write whatever he wished in his newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia* without prior sanctioning from his financial backers. Furthermore, the major source of financial support that Mussolini and the fascist movement received in World War I was from France and is widely believed to have been French socialists who supported the French government's war against Germany and who sent support to Italian socialists who wanted Italian intervention on France's side.

Mussolini's transformation away from Marxism into what eventually became fascism began prior to World War I, as Mussolini had grown increasingly pessimistic about Marxism and egalitarianism while becoming increasingly supportive of figures who opposed egalitarianism, such as Friedrich Nietzsche. By 1902, Mussolini was studying Georges Sorel, Nietzsche and Vilfredo Pareto. Sorel's emphasis on the need for overthrowing decadent liberal democracy and capitalism by the use of violence, direct action, general strikes and neo-Machiavellian appeals to emotion impressed Mussolini deeply. Mussolini's use of Nietzsche made him a highly unorthodox socialist, due to Nietzsche's promotion of elitism and anti-egalitarian views. Prior to World War I, Mussolini's writings over time indicated that he had abandoned the Marxism and egalitarianism that he had previously supported in favour of Nietzsche's *übermensch* concept and anti-egalitarianism. In 1908, Mussolini wrote a short essay called "Philosophy of Strength" based on his Nietzschean influence, in which Mussolini openly spoke fondly of the ramifications of an



impending war in Europe in challenging both religion and nihilism: "New kind of free spirit will come, strengthened by the war, ... a spirit equipped with a kind of sublime perversity, ... a new free spirit will triumph over God and over Nothing."

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## 15.7: SUMMARY

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Fascism as distinct from conservative right wing movements, as a radical attempt to restructure society and its institutions. We also traced the political antecedents of fascism. It is not correct to see the fascist movement as a kind of catastrophe which erupted suddenly with the Great Depression. Although the Depression provided ideal conditions for growth of fascism, its roots lay in the 19th century Europe and the World War. You also studied the specific variations in fascist movements using examples of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, etc. The emergence of fascist regime in Italy and Germany was analyzed in greater detail and the nature of State was specifically dealt with. Under Hitler Germany represented the ugly face of fascist regime in terms of suppression and annihilation.

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## 15.8: KEY TERMS

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- **Authoritarianism:** A system of government characterized by strong central power and limited political freedoms.
- **Nationalism:** Intense loyalty and devotion to one's nation, often accompanied by the belief that one's nation is superior to others.
- **Totalitarianism:** A political system where the state recognizes no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life.
- **Corporatism:** The organization of society by corporate groups such as agricultural, labor, military, or scientific affiliations, typically under state control.
- **Anti-Communism:** Opposition to communist ideologies and movements, often a key element in fascist propaganda and policy.
- **Militarism:** The belief in maintaining a strong military capability and being prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests.
- **Racism and Xenophobia:** Discriminatory beliefs and policies based on race and fear or hatred of foreigners or those perceived as different.

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## **15.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS**

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- What is a Fascism?
- Discuss the background of the development of Fascism.
- Discuss the basic tenets of Fascism.
- Critically discuss fascism as anti-democratic.

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## **15.10: REFERENCES**

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## **UNIT-16: WORLD WAR-II: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**

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### **Structure**

- 16.1 Objectives
- 16.2 Introduction
- 16.3 Causes of the World War-II
- 16.4 Consequences of World War-II
- 16.5 Summary
- 16.6 Key Terms
- 16.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 16.8 References

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### **16.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The Causes of the World War-II
- The Consequences of the World War-II

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### **16.2: INTRODUCTION**

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World War II or the Second World War (1 September 1939 – 2 September 1945) was a global conflict between two alliances: the Allies and the Axis powers. Nearly all of the world's countries—including all the great powers—participated, with many investing all available economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities in pursuit of total war, blurring the distinction between military and civilian resources. Tanks and aircraft played major roles, with the latter enabling the strategic bombing of population centres and delivery of the only two nuclear weapons ever used in war. World War II was the deadliest conflict in history, resulting in 70 to 85 million fatalities, more than half of which were civilians. Millions died in genocides, including the Holocaust of European Jews, and by massacres, starvation, and disease. Following the Allied powers' victory, Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea were occupied, and war crimes tribunals were conducted against German and Japanese leaders.

The causes of World War II included unresolved tensions in the aftermath of World War I and the rises of fascism in Europe and militarism in Japan, and it was preceded by events including the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Spanish Civil War, outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, and German annexations of Austria and the Sudetenland. World War II is generally considered to have begun on 1 September 1939, when Nazi Germany, under Adolf

Hitler, invaded Poland. The United Kingdom and France declared war on Germany on 3 September. Under their Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, Germany and the Soviet Union had partitioned Poland and marked out "spheres of influence" across Eastern Europe; in 1940, the Soviets annexed the Baltic states and parts of Finland and Romania. After the fall of France in June 1940, the war continued primarily between Germany and the British Empire, with campaigns in North and East Africa and the Balkans, the aerial Battle of Britain and the Blitz of the UK, and the naval Battle of the Atlantic. By mid-1941, through a series of campaigns and treaties, Germany occupied or controlled much of continental Europe and had formed the Axis alliance with Italy, Japan, and other countries. In June 1941, Germany led the European Axis in an invasion of the Soviet Union, opening the Eastern Front.

Japan aimed to dominate East Asia and the Asia-Pacific, and by 1937 was at war with the Republic of China. In December 1941, Japan attacked American and British territories in Southeast Asia and the Central Pacific, including an attack on Pearl Harbor, which resulted in the United States and the United Kingdom declaring war against Japan. The European Axis powers declared war on the US in solidarity. Japan soon conquered much of the western Pacific, but its advances were halted in 1942 after its defeat in the naval Battle of Midway; Germany and Italy were defeated in North Africa and at Stalingrad in the Soviet Union. Key setbacks in 1943—including German defeats on the Eastern Front, the Allied invasions of Sicily and the Italian mainland, and Allied offensives in the Pacific—cost the Axis powers their initiative and forced them into strategic retreat on all fronts. In 1944, the Western Allies invaded German-occupied France at Normandy, while the Soviet Union regained its territorial losses and pushed Germany and its allies westward. In 1944 and 1945, Japan suffered reversals in mainland Asia, while the Allies crippled the Japanese Navy and captured key western Pacific islands. The war in Europe concluded with the liberation of German-occupied territories; the invasion of Germany by the Western Allies and the Soviet Union, culminating in the fall of Berlin to Soviet troops; Hitler's suicide; and the German unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945. Following the refusal of Japan to surrender on the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, the US dropped the first atomic bombs on Hiroshima on 6 August and Nagasaki on 9 August. Faced with imminent invasion of the Japanese archipelago, the possibility of more atomic bombings, and the Soviet declaration of war against Japan and its invasion of Manchuria, Japan announced its unconditional surrender on 15 August and signed a surrender document on 2 September 1945, marking the end of the conflict.

World War II changed the political alignment and social structure of the world, and it set the foundation for the international order for the rest of the 20th century and into the 21st century. The United Nations was established to foster international cooperation and prevent conflicts, with the victorious great powers—China, France, the Soviet Union, the UK, and the US—becoming the permanent members of its security council. The Soviet Union and the United States emerged as rival superpowers, setting the stage for the Cold War. In the wake of European devastation, the influence of its great powers waned, triggering the decolonisation of Africa and Asia. Most countries whose industries had been damaged moved towards economic recovery and expansion.

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### **16.3: CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR-II**

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#### **Legacies of World War I**

By the end of World War I in late 1918, the world's social and geopolitical circumstances had fundamentally and irrevocably changed. The Allies had been victorious, but many of Europe's economies and infrastructures had been devastated, including those of the victors. France, along with the other victors, was in a desperate situation regarding its economy, security and morale and understood that its position in 1918 was "artificial and transitory". Thus, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau worked to gain French security via the Treaty of Versailles, and French security demands, such as reparations, coal payments, and a demilitarised Rhineland, took precedence at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919–1920, which designed the treaty. The war "must be someone's fault – and that's a very natural human reaction", analysed the historian Margaret MacMillan. Germany was charged with the sole responsibility of starting World War I, and the War Guilt Clause was the first step to satisfying revenge for the victor countries, especially France, against Germany. Roy H. Ginsberg argued, "France was greatly weakened and, in its weakness and fear of a resurgent Germany, sought to isolate and punish Germany... French revenge would come back to haunt France during the Nazi invasion and occupation twenty years later".

The two main provisions of the French security agenda were war reparations from Germany in the form of money and coal and a detached German Rhineland. The German (Weimar Republic) government printed excess currency, which created inflation, to compensate for the lack of funds, and it borrowed money from the United States. Reparations from Germany were needed to stabilise the French economy. France also demanded for Germany to give France its coal supply

from the Ruhr to compensate for the destruction of French coal mines during the war. The French demanded an amount of coal that was a "technical impossibility" for the Germans to pay. France also insisted on the demilitarisation of the German Rhineland in the hope of hindering any possibility of a future German attack and giving France a physical security barrier between itself and Germany. The inordinate amount of reparations, coal payments and the principle of a demilitarised Rhineland were largely viewed by the Germans as insulting and unreasonable.

The resulting Treaty of Versailles brought a formal end to the war but was judged by governments on all sides of the conflict. It was neither lenient enough to appease Germany nor harsh enough to prevent it from becoming a dominant continental power again. The German people largely viewed the treaty as placing the blame, or "war guilt", on Germany and Austria-Hungary and as punishing them for their "responsibility", rather than working out an agreement that would assure long-term peace. The treaty imposed harsh monetary reparations and requirements for demilitarisation and territorial dismemberment, caused mass ethnic resettlement and separated millions of ethnic Germans into neighbouring countries.

In the effort to pay war reparations to Britain and France, the Weimar Republic printed trillions of marks, which caused hyperinflation. Robert O. Paxton stated, "No postwar German government believed it could accept such a burden on future generations and survive...". Paying reparations to the victorious side had been a traditional punishment with a long history of use, but it was the "extreme immoderation" that caused German resentment. Germany did not make its last World War I reparation payment until 3 October 2010, 92 years after the end of the war. Germany also fell behind its coal payments because of a passive resistance movement against France. In response, the French invaded the Ruhr and occupied it. By then, most Germans had become enraged with the French and placed the blame for their humiliation on the Weimar Republic. Adolf Hitler, a leader of the Nazi Party, attempted a coup d'état in 1923 in what became known as the Beer Hall Putsch, and he intended to establish a Greater Germanic Reich. Although he failed, Hitler gained recognition as a national hero by the German population.

### **Failure of the League of Nations**

The League of Nations was an international peacekeeping organization founded in 1919 with the explicit goal of preventing future wars. The League's methods included disarmament, collective security, the settlement of disputes between countries by negotiations and diplomacy and the

improvement of global welfare. The diplomatic philosophy behind the League represented a fundamental shift in thought from the preceding century. The old philosophy of "concert of nations", which grew out of the Congress of Vienna (1815), saw Europe as a shifting map of alliances among nation-states, which created a balance of power that was maintained by strong armies and secret agreements. Under the new philosophy, the League would act as a government of governments, with the role of settling disputes between individual nations in an open and legalist forum. Despite Wilson's advocacy, the United States never joined the League of Nations. The League lacked an armed force of its own and so depended on member nations to enforce its resolutions, uphold economic sanctions that the League ordered or provide an army when needed for the League to use. However, individual governments were often very reluctant to do so. After numerous notable successes and some early failures in the 1920s, the League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the Axis Powers in the 1930s. The reliance upon unanimous decisions, the lack of an independent body of armed forces and the continued self-interest of its leading members meant that the failure was arguably inevitable.

### **Expansionism and militarism**

Expansionism is the doctrine of expanding the territorial base or economic influence of a country, usually by means of military aggression. Militarism is the principle or policy of maintaining a strong military capability to use aggressively to expand national interests and/or values, with the view that military efficiency is the supreme ideal of a state.

The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations had sought to stifle expansionist and militarist policies by all actors, but the conditions imposed by their creators imposed on the world's new geopolitical situation and the technological circumstances of the era only emboldened the re-emergence of those ideologies during the Interwar Period. By the early 1930s, militaristic and aggressive national ideologies prevailed in Germany, Japan and Italy. The attitude fuelled advancements in military technology, subversive propaganda and ultimately territorial expansion. It has been observed that the leaders of countries that have been suddenly militarised often feel a need to prove that their armies are formidable, which was often a contributing factor in the start of conflicts such as the Second Italo-Ethiopian War and the Second Sino-Japanese War.

In Italy, Benito Mussolini sought to create a New Roman Empire, based around the Mediterranean. Italy invaded Ethiopia as early as 1935, Albania in early 1938, and later Greece. The invasion of Ethiopia provoked angry words and a failed oil embargo from the League of Nations. *Spazio vitale* ("living space") was the territorial expansionist concept

of Italian Fascism. It was analogous to Nazi Germany's concept of *Lebensraum* and the United States' concept of "Manifest Destiny". Fascist ideologist Giuseppe Bottai likened this historic mission to the deeds of the ancient Romans.

Under the Nazi regime, Germany began its own program of expansion that sought to restore its "rightful" boundaries. As a prelude toward its goals, the Rhineland was remilitarised in March 1936. Also of importance was the idea of a Greater Germany, supporters of which hoped to unite the German people under one nation-state to include all territories inhabited by Germans, even if they happened to be a minority in a particular territory. After the Treaty of Versailles, a unification between Germany and the newly formed German-Austria, a rump state of Austria-Hungary, was blocked by the Allies, despite the large majority of Austrians supporting the idea.

During the Weimar Republic (1919–1933), the Kapp Putsch, an attempted coup d'état against the republican government, was launched by disaffected members of the armed forces. Later, some of the more radical militarists and nationalists were submerged in grief and despair into the Nazi Party, and more moderate elements of militarism declined. The result was an influx of militarily-inclined men into the Nazi Party. Combined with its racial theories, that fuelled irredentist sentiments and put Germany on a collision course for war with its immediate neighbours.

### **Japan's seizure of resources and markets**

Other than a few coal and iron deposits and a small oil field on Sakhalin Island, Japan lacked strategic mineral resources. In the early 20th century, in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan had succeeded in pushing back the East Asian expansion of the Russian Empire in competition for Korea and Manchuria.

Japan's goal after 1931 was economic dominance of most of East Asia, often expressed in the Pan-Asian terms of "Asia for the Asians". Japan was determined to dominate the China market, which the US and other European powers had been dominating. On October 19, 1939, US Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew, in a formal address to the America-Japan Society, stated that

the new order in East Asia has appeared to include, among other things, depriving Americans of their long established rights in China, and to this the American people are opposed.... American rights and interests in China are being impaired or destroyed by the policies and actions of the Japanese authorities in China.



In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria and China proper. Under the guise of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, with slogans such as "Asia for the Asians!", Japan sought to remove the Western powers' influence in China and replace it with Japanese domination.

The ongoing conflict in China led to a deepening conflict with the US in which public opinion was alarmed by events such as the Nanking Massacre and growing Japanese power. Lengthy talks were held between the US and Japan. The Japanese invasion of the south of French Indochina made President Franklin Roosevelt freeze all Japanese assets in the US. The intended consequence was to halt oil shipments from the US to Japan, which supplied 80 percent of Japanese oil imports. The Netherlands and Britain followed suit.

With oil reserves that would last only a year and a half during peacetime and much less during wartime, the ABCD line left Japan two choices: comply with the US-led demand to pull out of China or seize the oilfields in the East Indies from the Netherlands. The Japanese government deemed it unacceptable to retreat from China.

### **Nazi dictatorship**

Hitler and his Nazis took full control of Germany in 1933–34 (*Machtergreifung*), turning it into a dictatorship with a highly hostile outlook toward the Treaty of Versailles and Jews. It solved its unemployment crisis by heavy military spending

Hitler's diplomatic tactics were to make seemingly-reasonable demands and to threaten war if they were not met. After concessions were made, he accepted them and moved onto a new demand. When opponents tried to appease him, he accepted the gains that were offered and went to the next target. That aggressive strategy worked as Germany pulled out of the League of Nations (1933), rejected the Versailles Treaty, began to rearm with the Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935), won back the Saar (1935), re-militarized the Rhineland (1936), formed an alliance ("axis") with Mussolini's Italy (1936), sent massive military aid to Franco in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), seized Austria (1938), took over Czechoslovakia after the British and French appeasement of the Munich Agreement of 1938, formed a peace pact with Stalin's Russia in August 1939 and finally invaded Poland in September 1939.

### **Remilitarization of the Rhineland**

In violation of the Treaty of Versailles and the spirit of the Locarno Pact and the Stresa Front, Germany remilitarized the Rhineland on March 7, 1936, by moving German troops into the part

of western Germany in which according to the Versailles Treaty, they were not allowed. Neither France nor Britain was prepared to fight a preventive war to stop the violation and so there were no consequences.

### **Failure of the League of Nations –**

To keep world peace, in the year 1919 an international organization was set up named the League of Nations. The League of Nations was done on the purpose that all countries should be members here and if any turmoil occurs between the countries then that could be solved by negotiation rather than by force leading to war or any other equivalent. As not all the countries joined the League, the League of Nations was a failure though it was a good idea. Also, there was no army in the League to prevent military aggression like Japan's invasion of Manchuria in China or Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in Africa.

### **Failure of Appeasement –**

The word 'appeasement' means to accept the demands made by another country or nation to avoid war, conflict, or any other problems. Throughout the 1930s, the French and British politicians started to believe that the Treaty of Versailles was not fair to Germany and Hitler publicly condemned the Treaty of Versailles and started building up Germany's weapons and army secretly, the policy of appeasement was this belief adopted by Britain. The Munich Agreement of September 1938 is an example of appeasement. Where the German-speakers lived, Britain and France allowed Germany to take over areas in Czechoslovakia, mentioned in the agreement. But Germany did not agree to occupy the rest of Czechoslovakia or any other country, later in March 1939 Germany broke the promise and occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. At that time neither France nor Britain was ready or prepared to take any kind of military action. In the next year of September 1, 1939, Poland was invaded or occupied by German troops, after France and Britain immediately announced war on Germany. As a result of this World War II began in Europe.

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## **16.4: CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR-II**

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### **Immediate effects of World War II**

At the end of the war, millions of people were dead and millions more homeless, the European economies had collapsed, and much of Europe's industrial infrastructure had been destroyed. The

German people as a whole, but its youth in particular, ended up being deeply scorched psychologically by the ordeal which they went through during the previous decade, from the time when the Nazis took power promising them a thousand years of world dominance, until their major cities were destroyed, turned to rubble by the Allied bombardments. The trauma caused to them was multifaceted as it permeated all levels of society, by means of the systematic Nazification of the country with the strategic creation of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda which took over the media and all institutions, and put in place the systematic indoctrination of the very young via the creation of the Hitler Youth, the Deutsches Jungvolk, the League of German Girls and the Jungmädelsbund. Then by the end of the war, once their major cities were devastated, ensued a widespread famine, which was followed by the wave of denazification which swept throughout their humiliated country, ending with the pervasive shame of their parents who believed in the illusive promises of their defeated fuhrer.

The Soviet Union, too, had been heavily affected. In response, in 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall devised the "European Recovery Program", which became known as the Marshall Plan. Under the plan, during 1948–1952 the United States government allocated US\$13 billion (US\$177 billion in 2023 dollars) for the reconstruction of the affected countries of Western Europe.

### **Demise of the League of Nations and the founding of the United Nations**

As a general consequence of the war and in an effort to maintain international peace, the Allies formed the United Nations (UN), which officially came into existence on 24 October 1945. The UN replaced the defunct League of Nations (LN) as an intergovernmental organization. The LN was formally dissolved on 20 April 1946 but had in practice ceased to function in 1939, being unable to stop the outbreak of World War II. The UN inherited some of the bodies of the LN, such as the International Labour Organization.

League of Nations mandate, mostly territories that had changed hands in World War I, became United Nations trust territories. South West Africa, an exception, was still governed under terms of the original mandate. As the successor body to the League, the UN still assumed a supervisory role over the territory. The Free City of Danzig, a semi-autonomous City-state that was partly overseen by the League, became part of Poland.

The UN adopted The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." The Soviet Union abstained from voting on adoption

of the declaration. The US did not ratify the social and economic rights sections.

The five major Allied powers were given permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council. The permanent members can veto any United Nations Security Council resolution, the only UN decisions that are binding according to international law. The five powers at the time of founding were: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and the Republic of China. The Republic of China lost the Chinese Civil War and retreated to the island of Taiwan by 1950 but continued to be a permanent member of the Council even though the *de facto* state in control of mainland China was the People's Republic of China (PRC). This was changed in 1971 when the PRC was given the permanent membership previously held by the Republic of China. Russia inherited the permanent membership of the Soviet Union in 1991 after the dissolution of that state.

### **Economic aftermath**

By the end of the war, the European economy had collapsed with some 70% of its industrial infrastructure destroyed. The property damage in the Soviet Union consisted of complete or partial destruction of 1,710 cities and towns, 70,000 villages/hamlets, and 31,850 industrial establishments. The strength of the economic recovery following the war varied throughout the world, though in general, it was quite robust, particularly in the United States.

In Europe, West Germany, after having continued to decline economically during the first years of the Allied occupation, later experienced a remarkable recovery, and had by the end of the 1950s doubled production from its pre-war levels. Italy came out of the war in poor economic condition, but by the 1950s, the Italian economy was marked by stability and high growth. France rebounded quickly and enjoyed rapid economic growth and modernisation under the Monnet Plan. The UK, by contrast, was in a state of economic ruin after the war and continued to experience relative economic decline for decades to follow.

The Soviet Union also experienced a rapid increase in production in the immediate post-war era. Japan experienced rapid economic growth, becoming one of the most powerful economies in the world by the 1980s. China, following the conclusion of its civil war, was essentially bankrupt. By 1953, economic restoration seemed fairly successful as production had resumed pre-war levels. This growth rate mostly persisted, though it was interrupted by economic experiments during the disastrous Great Leap Forward.

At the end of the war, the United States produced roughly half of the world's industrial output.

The US, of course, had been spared industrial and civilian devastation. Further, much of its pre-war industry had been converted to wartime usage. As a result, with its industrial and civilian base in much better shape than most of the world, the US embarked on an economic expansion unseen in human history. US gross domestic product increased from \$228 billion in 1945 to just under \$1.7 trillion in 1975.

## **Environment**

When World War II ended scientists did not have procedures for safe disposal of chemical arsenals. At the direction of the UK, US and Russia, chemical weapons were loaded onto ships by the metric ton and dumped into the sea. The exact locations of the dumping are not known due to poor record keeping, but it is estimated that 1 million metric tons of chemical weapons remain on the ocean floor where they are rusting and pose the risk of leaks. Sulfur mustard exposure has been reported in some parts of coastal Italy and sulfur mustard bombs have been found as far as Delaware, likely brought in with the shellfish cargo.

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## **16.5: SUMMARY**

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The Second World War broke out when Nazi Germany attacked Poland on first September, 1939. Multi day, after the fact, Britain and France pronounced battle on Germany. Prior two curve opponents, Germany and Soviet Association had closed a Peace Settlement. It was criticized as a deal to divide Poland between the two nations. Significant reasons for the Second Universal Conflict were the Arrangement of Versailles which finished WWI, embarrassed Germany and was viewed by Germans as a 'diktat', and uncalled for; disappointment of demilitarization which was believed to be certain assurance of staying away from war; the world financial emergency which energized military and forceful activities in nations like Japan; the formation of the Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo Axis, a coalition of three fascist powers eager to overthrow the existing world order; issue of disappointment of minorities; the appeasement strategy that Britain and France used to win over Nazi and Fascist dictators; lastly German assault on Poland that turned into the prompt reason for the conflict.

The Soviet Union joined Britain right away. In the meantime, Italy had joined the war in June 1940 by joining Germany and declaring war on France. The Hub experienced their most memorable mishap when Italy was gone after in 1943. Mussolini was excused by the ruler and later Italy gave up genuinely, despite the fact that for at some point Rome was involved by

Germans. In order to free Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union fought Germany. Following a subsequent front was opened by UK what's more, USA, Germany lost France as well as had to give up in May 1.945. Japan kept on battling in the Pacific till two nuclear bombs were come around American in August 1945 driving Japan to give up. Hence the Conflict finished with the rout of the three extremist powers; also, triumph of the Partners.

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## 16.6: KEY TERMS

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- **Adolf Hitler:** Leader of Nazi Germany, whose aggressive policies and invasions led to the outbreak of the war.
- **Winston Churchill:** Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during much of the war, known for his leadership and stirring speeches.
- **Franklin D. Roosevelt:** President of the United States during most of the war, who led the country through the Great Depression and WWII.
- **Joseph Stalin:** Leader of the Soviet Union, whose Red Army played a crucial role in the defeat of Nazi Germany.
- **Benito Mussolini:** Fascist leader of Italy, who allied with Nazi Germany.
- **Allies:** The coalition of nations that fought against the Axis powers, including the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China, and France.
- **Axis Powers:** The coalition led by Germany, Italy, and Japan, which sought to expand their territories and influence through military conquest.

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## 16.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- Discuss the causes of the World War-II.
- Discuss the consequences of the Second World War.
- Write a note on Benito Mussolini.

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## **UNIT-17: THEORIES OF DETERRENCE**

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### **Structure**

- 17.1 Objectives
- 17.2 Introduction
- 17.3 Meaning and Definition of Deterrence
- 17.4 Elements of Deterrence
- 17.5 Phases of Deterrence
- 17.6 Causes of Deterrence
- 17.7 Impact of Deterrence
- 17.8 Rethinking Deterrence after Cold War
- 17.9 Summary
- 17.10 Key Terms
- 17.11 Self Assessment Questions
- 17.12 References

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### **17.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- Meaning of deterrence
- Various phases of deterrence
- Impact of deterrence upon international relations
- Role of deterrence after cold war

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### **17.2: INTRODUCTION**

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No single concept dominated international strategic theory during the four decades of the cold war so much as that of nuclear deterrence, from late sixties, there is a general shift in east-west relations from the tensions of the cold war to the compulsions and imperatives of détente, especially in the matter of military strategy and security. Though the word détente had appeared on the horizon of international relations in (1961-62) and engaged the attention of political observers yet it did not bring the cold war to a complete end. The period between (1962-69) can be characterized as thaw in cold war, as during all this period the cold war went on limping. As we show subsequently, those who use statistical or comparative case study methods to test hypothesis about deterrence success and failure must rely on the history of conventional deterrence cases.



Success and failure must rely on the history of conventional deterrence cases.

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### **17.3: MEANING OF DETERRENCE**

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The concept of deterrence can be defined as the use of threats by one party to convince another party to refrain from initiating some course of action. A threat serves as a deterrent to the extent that it convinces its target not to carry out the intended action because of the costs and losses the target would incur. In IR scholarship, a policy of deterrence generally refers to threats of military retaliation directed by the leaders of one country to the leaders of another in an attempt to prevent the other country from resorting to the threat or use of military force in pursuit of its foreign policy goals. It should be clear, however, that policies of deterrence in international politics can include both military and non-military threats that are intended to prevent both military and non-military courses of action by other states. My analysis of the scholarly literature is restricted in its scope to those works that focus on the use of military threats by states to prevent other countries from resorting to the threat or use of military force.

Deterrence means two things:- A. as a policy, it is a calculated attempt to induce an enemy to do something or refrain from doing something by treating a penalty for non-compliance.

B. as a situation, deterrence refers to a position where conflicts are contained within a boundary of threats which are neither executed nor tasted.

Henry Kissinger, the architect of détente on the American side, qualified it as “a long step away from the post-war period.”

Thus, in the words of Baral, “as opposed to the cold war which sought to keep the tension in the central balance at a high pitch, the détente is a conscious and deliberate attempts to reduce this tension significantly”.

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### **17.4: ELEMENTS OF DETERRENCE**

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The main elements of the deterrence discussed below:

#### **Deterrence**

By mutual consent the two sides may agree of effect mutual reduction of forces and armaments. Nixon observes, peace is the by- product of “mutual respect for each other’s strength.” So, détente does not exclude maintaining adequate capability by each side. He further says: “our policy must combine deterrence with détente. Détente without deterrence leads to appeasement and deterrence without détente leads to unnecessary confrontation and saps the will of western peoples to support

the arms budgets deterrence requires.”

### **Peaceful Co-Existence**

Another element of détente in the seventies was peaceful co-existence. Kissinger has rightly observed: “the US and the soviet- union are ideology rivals. Détente cannot change that. The nuclear age compels us to coexist. Rhetorical crusades cannot change that either”.

### **Elements of Conflict**

The advent of détente does not imply disappearance of conflict and hostility altogether. The period from 1979 to 1985 was marked by new cold war and détente reached its lowest. Thus, for along détente combined elements of conflict, competition and cooperation.

### **Negative and Positive Elements**

Détente has both negative and positive elements. A negative element signifies substantial reduction of tensions between the two power blocs in general and between the two superpowers in mutual trust and understanding between them and the brightening of prospect for world peace.

### **Mutual Trust Out of Mutual Fear**

The creation of mutual trust between the US and the Soviet Union was one of the chief objectives of détente. But, it is worth mentioning that there was little trust between them when they realized the need of détente. To a great extent détente was grown out of mutual fear and not out of mutual trust.

### **Multiple Levels of Détente**

Originally, the term détente was used to signify the apparent relaxation in the otherwise tense relations between the two super powers the USA and the USSR. But it will be too parochial to associate détente with the gradual improving of relationship between these two powers. In a broad and loose sense this process found favor with Moscow and Peking in 1972, albeit it was not attended with a spectacular success.

### **Kinds of Détente**

There are three kinds of détente e.g military, economic, scientific and cultural. Though détente revolves mainly around military aspects yet its other aspects are not insignificant partial test ban treaty(1963), NPT(1968),SALT-I(1972),SALT-II(1979), INF treaty(1987), START(1991)

etc. are part of military détente.

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## 17.5: PHASES OF DETERRENCE

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The theory of deterrence has evolved over time, shaped by changing geopolitical dynamics, technological advancements, and a deeper understanding of human behavior. The evolution of deterrence theory can be traced through several key phases:

1. **Classical Deterrence Theory (Pre-20th Century):** The roots of deterrence theory can be found in ancient and medieval times, where states sought to prevent aggression through the threat of retaliation. However, it was during the Cold War that deterrence theory gained prominence, especially with the advent of nuclear weapons.
2. **Nuclear Deterrence (Cold War Era):** The Cold War marked a significant shift in deterrence theory with the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons. The concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) emerged, positing that the possession of a secure second-strike capability would dissuade adversaries from initiating a nuclear conflict. The idea was that the potential for catastrophic consequences for both sides would deter any rational actor from launching a nuclear attack.
3. **Extended Deterrence (Post-Cold War):** With the end of the Cold War, the focus of deterrence expanded beyond nuclear threats. Extended deterrence, particularly within the context of alliances like NATO, emphasized the protection of allied nations through the credible threat of a collective response. This involved the commitment of powerful states to come to the defense of weaker allies.
4. **Deterrence in the Information Age (Late 20th Century - Present):** The evolution of technology, especially in the realm of information and cyber capabilities, has led to the integration of these elements into deterrence theory. The ability to disrupt or damage an adversary's information systems and infrastructure became an additional dimension of deterrence.
5. **Multi-Dimensional Deterrence (21st Century):** Modern deterrence theory recognizes that deterrence is not solely reliant on military capabilities but involves a combination of diplomatic, economic, and technological tools. This approach emphasizes a comprehensive strategy to dissuade potential adversaries from unwanted actions.
6. **Dynamic Deterrence (Ongoing):** Deterrence theory continues to evolve in response to emerging threats, including non-state actors, hybrid warfare, and gray-zone conflicts. The

concept of dynamic deterrence recognizes the need for flexibility and adaptability in response to evolving challenges.

7. **Behavioral Insights (Ongoing):** Contemporary deterrence theory increasingly incorporates insights from behavioral psychology, recognizing that decision-makers may not always act rationally and that perceptions of threats and responses can vary. This has led to a deeper understanding of how to communicate and signal deterrence effectively.

In summary, the evolution of deterrence theory reflects changes in the international system, technological advancements, and a growing understanding of the complexities of human behavior. The modern approach to deterrence encompasses a multi-dimensional, dynamic, and adaptive framework that goes beyond traditional military considerations.

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## 17.6: CAUSES OF DETERRENCE

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Deterrence, as a concept, arises from a combination of factors related to human psychology, international relations, and strategic thinking. The causes of deterrence can be multifaceted and depend on the context in which it is applied. Here are some key causes of deterrence:

1. **Security Concerns:**

**National Security:** The primary cause of deterrence is the desire to maintain and enhance national security. States seek to deter potential adversaries from taking actions that could threaten their sovereignty, territorial integrity, or strategic interests.

2. **Risk Aversion:**

**Costs and Risks:** Deterrence aims to make the costs and risks associated with a particular action or behavior outweigh the perceived benefits. States or entities are deterred when they believe that the consequences of their actions could be severe or lead to undesirable outcomes.

3. **Nuclear Deterrence:**

**Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD):** In the context of nuclear deterrence, the threat of mutually assured destruction is a significant cause. The fear of catastrophic consequences for both parties involved in a nuclear conflict acts as a powerful deterrent.

4. **Alliance Commitments:**

**Extended Deterrence:** Deterrence can be motivated by the desire to protect allies. States may seek to deter potential aggressors by signaling a commitment to come to the defense of their allies, creating a collective security arrangement.

## 5. Historical Precedents:

**Learned Behavior:** States may be influenced by historical events where certain actions led to undesirable outcomes. The memory of past conflicts and their consequences can deter nations from repeating similar actions.

## 6. Military Posture and Capabilities:

**Visible Strength:** The demonstration of military strength and capabilities, through deployments, exercises, or technological advancements, can serve as a deterrent by convincing potential adversaries that aggression would be met with a formidable response.

## 7. Economic Leverage:

**Economic Consequences:** Deterrence can be exerted through economic means, such as sanctions or trade restrictions. The threat of economic repercussions can discourage certain behaviors.

## 8. Political and Diplomatic Tools:

**Diplomatic Isolation:** States may use diplomatic means to isolate potential adversaries or garner international support against a particular action. The threat of diplomatic isolation can be a deterrent.

## 9. Technological Advancements:

**Cyber Deterrence:** In the modern era, technological capabilities, especially in the realm of cyber security, play a role in deterrence. The ability to disrupt or damage an adversary's critical infrastructure can be a deterrent.

## 10. Psychological Factors:

**Perception and Belief:** Deterrence relies on the perception and belief of potential adversaries. The credibility of threats, the perceived resolve of the deterring party, and the assessment of potential consequences all contribute to the effectiveness of deterrence.

Understanding the causes of deterrence involves recognizing the interplay of military, economic, diplomatic, and psychological factors that shape decision-making at the national and international levels.

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## 17.7: IMPACT OF DETERRENCE

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The impact of deterrence is broad and can be observed in various fields, including international relations, military strategy, law enforcement, and criminal justice. The effectiveness of deterrence depends on the credibility of threats, the perceived severity of potential consequences, and the

rational calculations made by potential adversaries. Here are some key impacts of deterrence:

**1. Prevention of Aggression:**

**International Relations:** Deterrence aims to prevent states from engaging in aggressive actions or behaviors that could threaten the security and interests of other nations. The fear of retaliation or undesirable consequences can dissuade potential aggressors.

**2. Maintaining Stability:**

**Strategic Stability:** In the context of nuclear deterrence, the concept of mutually assured destruction (MAD) contributes to strategic stability by discouraging states from initiating a nuclear conflict, thus reducing the likelihood of large-scale warfare.

**3. Alliance Security:**

**Extended Deterrence:** Deterrence helps provide security to allied nations by signaling a commitment to their defense. This fosters stability within alliances and prevents potential adversaries from exploiting vulnerabilities within the alliance structure.

**4. Reducing Crime:**

**Criminal Deterrence:** In criminal justice, deterrence is used to prevent criminal behavior. The threat of punishment, whether through fines, imprisonment, or other legal consequences, is intended to dissuade individuals from committing crimes.

**5. Behavior Modification:**

**Psychological Impact:** Deterrence seeks to modify the behavior of individuals, states, or entities by influencing their decision-making processes. The fear of negative consequences can lead to a modification of behavior to avoid those consequences.

**6. Promoting Rule of Law:**

**Legal Deterrence:** Deterrence is a fundamental principle in the rule of law. By establishing and enforcing laws with clear consequences for violations, societies aim to deter individuals from engaging in unlawful activities, contributing to the maintenance of order.

**7. Economic Impact:**

**Economic Deterrence:** Deterrence can have economic implications, especially when used in the form of economic sanctions or trade restrictions. The threat of economic consequences can influence the behavior of states or entities engaged in undesirable actions.

**8. Conflict Prevention:**

**Crisis Management:** Deterrence plays a role in crisis management by discouraging escalations and promoting diplomatic solutions to conflicts. The presence of credible deterrent capabilities can contribute to a more stable international environment.

#### 9. Peaceful Coexistence:

**Diplomatic Deterrence:** Diplomatic deterrence can contribute to peaceful coexistence by discouraging states from engaging in actions that could lead to diplomatic isolation. This can foster cooperation and adherence to international norms.

#### 10. Technological Restraint:

**Arms Control:** The concept of deterrence is often linked to arms control agreements. Nations may limit the development or deployment of certain weapons systems as a form of deterrence to maintain strategic stability.

While deterrence has proven to be a valuable tool in preventing unwanted actions and behaviors, its effectiveness is not guaranteed, and the impact may vary depending on the specific circumstances, the credibility of the deterrent, and the motivations of potential adversaries.

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### 17.8: RETHINKING DETERRENCE AFTER COLD WAR

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Nuclear and conventional deterrence in the post-cold war period has some general elements in common with, but in many respects differs considerably from, the earlier model of the U.S.-Soviet-NATO-Warsaw pact confrontation. According to Keith Payne, several important assumptions guided the cold war superpower deterrence setting, contributing to stability. Their absence following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the potential for proliferation in a multinuclear world enhances the need to rethink deterrence requirements for this new era. In summary form, the cold war assumption included the following:

1. Rational leaderships, in the case of the United States and the Soviet Union, are capable of making decision on the basis of cost-benefit, or risk-versus-gain, calculations and in control of the decision-making process and able to execute their decisions;
2. The ability of each side to communicate a threatened sanction effectively to an opponent is clearly understood and is regarded as decisive and in developing cost-benefit calculations;
3. Both parties share a level of mutual understanding and communication about behavioral expectations and about the responses that actions taken by one side will elicit from the other;

4. The threatened retaliatory action has a level of plausibility sufficient to influence in a desired fashion the behavior of the adversary.

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## 17.9: SUMMARY

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During most of the cold war and since its demise Western policy makers and academic theorists have come to believe as an article of faith that nuclear war is unthinkable and that deterrence backed by a nuclear threat cannot fail. Yet all theorists agree that deterrence presupposes a rational decision process. Infact, opponents of the past were certain that someday it would break down as a result of irrational behavior under conditions of stress, miscalculation, misinterpretation of intelligence data, technical malfunction of command, control, and communication systems, and so on. It is better understood that from the above analysis of deterrence on various points that deterrence refers to the ability to deter aggression by matching by power of opponent through the possession of matching weapons and armament system. Deterrence is a psychological relationship between two or more actors in which an attempt is made by one or more actors so to structure the environment of other actor through the manipulation of threats actor to follow a policy option in accordance with goals of the deter. Despite the difficulties of demonstrating causality we must add the caveat that deterrence only occurs when it appears reasonable to assume that the target chooses the policy option required mainly as a result of the threats that have been made. It is important to note that the decision-making process of the target remains intact. In deterrence the decisions to conform or not rests with the target. Deterrence only occurs if the target recognizes and confers upon a threat a compelling significance. In order to achieve this deterred must frame its threat in such a way as the target will firstly perceive it, then interpret it and finally act upon it in the desired fashion. These requirements are both fundamental and formidable.

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## 17.10: KEY TERMS

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- **Deterrence:** The prevention of undesirable actions through the fear of consequences.
- **Credibility:** Definition: The belief that a threat will be carried out if necessary. The credibility of a deterrent threat is crucial for its effectiveness.
- **Deterrent Threat:** Definition: A warning or declaration of intent to impose costs or punishment on an adversary if certain actions are taken.



- **Capability:** Definition: The actual military, economic, or other resources that a state possesses to carry out a deterrent threat.
- **Intent:** Definition: The expressed willingness and commitment to use force if necessary, demonstrating the seriousness of the deterrent posture.

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### 17.11: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- Discuss various theories of deterrence.
- Discuss the causes of deterrence.
- Discuss different phases of development of deterrence.

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## **BLOCK-4: AN OVERVIEW OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY IR HISTORY-II**

Unit-18: Cold War Evolution and Different Phases

Unit-19: Disintegration of USSR

Unit-20: The Emergence of the Third World

Unit-21: End of the Cold War

Unit-22: Conflict Resolution and Transformation

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## **UNIT-18: COLD WAR: EVOLUTION AND DIFFERENT PHASES**

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### **Structure**

- 18.1 Objectives
- 18.2 Introduction
- 18.3 Meaning of the Cold War
- 18.4 Evolution of Cold War
- 18.5 Different Phases of Cold War
- 18.6 Summary
- 18.7 Key Terms
- 18.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 18.9 References

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### **18.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- What is Cold War?
- Evolution and Background of the Cold War.
- Various Phases of the Cold War

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### **18.2: INTRODUCTION**

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A cold war is a state of conflict between nations that does not involve direct military action but is pursued primarily through economic and political actions, propaganda, acts of espionage or proxy wars waged by surrogates. This term is most commonly used to refer to the American-Soviet Cold War of 1947–1989. The surrogates are typically states that are satellites of the conflicting nations, i.e., nations allied to them or under their political influence. Opponents in a cold war will often provide economic or military aid, such as weapons, tactical support or military advisors, to lesser nations involved in conflicts with the opposing country. The Cold War was a period of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies, the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc, that started in 1947, two years after the end of World War II, and lasted until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. The term *cold war* is used because there was no large-scale fighting directly between the two superpowers, but they each supported opposing sides in major regional conflicts, known as proxy wars. The Cold War was based on an ideological and geopolitical struggle for global influence by these two superpowers, following

their roles as the Allies of World War II that led to victory against Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan in 1945. Aside from the nuclear arms race and conventional military deployment, the struggle for dominance was expressed indirectly, such as psychological warfare, propaganda campaigns, espionage, far-reaching embargoes, sports diplomacy, and technological competitions like the Space Race. The Cold War began with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine in 1947, started a gradual winding down with the Sino-Soviet split between the Soviets and the People's Republic of China in 1961, and ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Western Bloc was led by the United States, as well as a number of First World nations that were generally capitalist and liberal democratic but tied to a network of often authoritarian Third World states, most of which were the European powers' former colonies. The Eastern Bloc was led by the Soviet Union and its communist party, which had an influence across the Second World and was also tied to a network of authoritarian states. The Soviet Union had a command economy and installed similarly communist regimes in its satellite states. United States involvement in regime change during the Cold War included support for anti-communist and right-wing dictatorships, governments, and uprisings across the world, while Soviet involvement in regime change included the funding of left-wing parties, wars of independence, revolutions and dictatorships around the world. As nearly all the colonial states underwent decolonization and achieved independence in the period from 1945 to 1960, many became Third World battlefields in the Cold War.

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### **18.3: MEANING OF THE COLD WAR**

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At the end of World War II, English writer George Orwell used *cold war*, as a general term, in his essay "You and the Atomic Bomb", published 19 October 1945 in the British newspaper *Tribune*. Contemplating a world living in the shadow of the threat of nuclear warfare, Orwell looked at James Burnham's predictions of a polarized world, writing:

Looking at the world as a whole, the drift for many decades has been not towards anarchy but towards the reimposition of slavery... James Burnham's theory has been much discussed, but few people have yet considered its ideological implications—that is, the kind of world-view, the kind of beliefs, and the social structure that would probably prevail in a state which was at once unconquerable and in a permanent state of "cold war" with its neighbours. In *The Observer* of 10 March 1946, Orwell wrote, "after the Moscow conference last December, Russia began to make a 'cold war' on Britain and the British Empire." The first use of the term to describe the

specific post-war geopolitical confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States came in a speech by Bernard Baruch, an influential advisor to Democratic presidents, on 16 April 1947. The speech, written by journalist Herbert Bayard Swope, proclaimed, "Let us not be deceived: we are today in the midst of a cold war." Newspaper columnist Walter Lippmann gave the term wide currency with his book *The Cold War*. When asked in 1947 about the source of the term, Lippmann traced it to a French term from the 1930s, *la guerre froide*.

The expression "cold war" was rarely used before 1945. Some writers credit the fourteenth century Spaniard Don Juan Manuel for first using the term (in Spanish) regarding the conflict between Christianity and Islam; however the term employed was "tepid" rather than "cold". The word "cold" first appeared in a faulty translation of his work in the 19th century. In 1934, the term was used in reference to a faith healer who received medical treatment after being bitten by a snake. The newspaper report referred to medical staff's suggestion that faith had played a role in his survival as a "truce in the cold war between science and religion". Regarding its contemporary application to a conflict between nation-states, the phrase appears for the first time in English in an anonymous editorial published in *The Nation Magazine* in March 1938 titled "Hitler's Cold War". The phrase was then used sporadically in newspapers throughout the summer of 1939 to describe the nervous tension and spectre of arms-buildup and mass-conscription prevailing on the European continent (above all in Poland) on the eve of World War II. It was described as either a "cold war" or a "hot peace" in which armies were amassing in many European countries. Graham Hutton, Associate Editor of *The Economist* used the term in his essay titled "The Next Peace" published in the August 1939 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly* (today *The Atlantic*). It elaborated on the notion of cold war perhaps more than any English-language invocation of the term to that point, and garnered a least one sympathetic reaction in a subsequent newspaper column. The Poles claimed that this period involved "provocation by manufactured incidents." It was also speculated that cold war tactics by the Germans could weaken Poland's resistance to invasion. During the war, the term was also used in less lasting ways, for example to describe the prospect of winter warfare, or in opinion columns encouraging American politicians to make a cool-headed assessment before deciding whether to join the war or not. At the end of World War II, George Orwell used the term in the essay "You and the Atom Bomb" published on October 19, 1945, in the British magazine *Tribune*. Contemplating a world living in the shadow of the threat of nuclear war, he warned of a "peace that is no peace", which he called a permanent "cold war". Orwell directly referred to that war as the ideological confrontation between the Soviet

Union and the Western powers. Moreover, in *The Observer* of March 10, 1946, Orwell wrote that "after the Moscow conference last December, Russia began to make a 'cold war' on Britain and the British Empire."

The definition which has now become fixed is of a war waged through indirect conflict. The first use of the term in this sense, to describe the post–World War II geopolitical tensions between the USSR and its satellites and the United States and its western European allies, is attributed to Bernard Baruch, an American financier and presidential advisor. In South Carolina, on April 16, 1947, he delivered a speech (by journalist Herbert Bayard Swope) saying, "Let us not be deceived: we are today in the midst of a cold war." Newspaper reporter-columnist Walter Lippmann gave the term wide currency, with the book *Cold War* (1947).

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## **18.4: EVOLUTION OF COLD WAR**

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The Cold War developed as differences about the shape of the postwar world created suspicion and distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. The first – and most difficult – test case was Poland, the eastern half of which had been invaded and occupied by the USSR in 1939. Moscow demanded a government subject to Soviet influence; Washington wanted a more independent, representative government following the Western model. The Yalta Conference of February 1945 had produced an agreement on Eastern Europe open to different interpretations. It included a promise of "free and unfettered" elections. Meeting with Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov less than two weeks after becoming president, Truman stood firm on Polish self-determination, lecturing the Soviet diplomat about the need to implement the Yalta accords. When Molotov protested, "I have never been talked to like that in my life," Truman retorted, "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that." Relations deteriorated from that point onward.

During the closing months of World War II, Soviet military forces occupied all of Central and Eastern Europe. Moscow used its military power to support the efforts of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe and crush the democratic parties. Communists took over one nation after another. The process concluded with a shocking coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Public statements defined the beginning of the Cold War. In 1946 Stalin declared that international peace was impossible "under the present capitalist development of the world economy." Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered a dramatic speech in Fulton, Missouri, with Truman sitting on the platform. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," Churchill said, "an

iron curtain has descended across the Continent." Britain and the United States, he declared, had to work together to counter the Soviet threat.

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## **18.5: DIFFERENT PHASES OF COLD WAR**

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The first phase of the Cold War began shortly after the end of World War II in 1945. The United States and its Western European allies sought to strengthen their bonds and used the policy of containment against Soviet influence; they accomplished this most notably through the formation of NATO, which was essentially a defensive agreement in 1949. The Soviet Union countered with the Warsaw Pact in 1955, which had similar results with the Eastern Bloc. As by that time the Soviet Union already had an armed presence and political domination all over its eastern satellite states, the pact has been long considered superfluous. Although nominally a defensive alliance, the Warsaw Pact's primary function was to safeguard Soviet hegemony over its Eastern European satellites, with the pact's only direct military actions having been the invasions of its own member states to keep them from breaking away; in the 1960s, the pact evolved into a multilateral alliance, in which the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact members gained significant scope to pursue their own interests. In 1961, Soviet-allied East Germany constructed the Berlin Wall to prevent the citizens of East Berlin from fleeing to West Berlin, at the time part of United States-allied West Germany. Major crises of this phase included the Berlin Blockade of 1948–1949, the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1945–1949, the Korean War of 1950–1953, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Suez Crisis of that same year, the Berlin Crisis of 1961, the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, and the Vietnam War of 1964–1975. Both superpowers competed for influence in Latin America and the Middle East, and the decolonising states of Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

Following the Cuban Missile Crisis, the fourth phase of the Cold War saw the Sino-Soviet split. Between China and the Soviet Union's complicated relations within the Communist sphere, leading to the Sino-Soviet border conflict, while France, a Western Bloc state, began to demand greater autonomy of action. The Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia occurred to suppress the Prague Spring of 1968, while the United States experienced internal turmoil from the civil rights movement and opposition to United States involvement in the Vietnam War. In the 1960s–1970s, an international peace movement took root among citizens around the world. Movements against nuclear weapons testing and for nuclear disarmament took place, with large anti-war protests. By the 1970s, both sides had started making allowances for peace and security, ushering

in a period of détente that saw the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and the 1972 visit by Richard Nixon to China that opened relations with China as a strategic counterweight to the Soviet Union. A number of self-proclaimed Marxist–Leninist governments were formed in the second half of the 1970s in developing countries, including Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Cambodia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua. Détente collapsed at the end of the decade with the beginning of the Soviet–Afghan War in 1979. Beginning in the 1980s, the fifth phase of the Cold War was another period of elevated tension. The Reagan Doctrine led to increased diplomatic, military, and economic pressures on the Soviet Union, which at the time was undergoing the Era of Stagnation. The sixth phase of the Cold War saw the new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev introducing the liberalizing reforms of *glasnost* ("openness") and *perestroika* ("reorganization") and ending Soviet involvement in Afghanistan in 1989. Pressures for national sovereignty grew stronger in Eastern Europe, and Gorbachev refused to further support the Communist governments militarily.

The fall of the Iron Curtain after the Pan-European Picnic and the Revolutions of 1989, which represented a peaceful revolutionary wave with the exception of the Romanian revolution and the Afghan Civil War (1989–1992), overthrew almost all of the Marxist–Leninist regimes of the Eastern Bloc. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself lost control in the country and was banned following the 1991 Soviet coup attempt that August. This in turn led to the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and the collapse of Communist governments across much of Africa and Asia. The Russian Federation became the Soviet Union's successor state, while many of the other republics emerged from the Soviet Union's collapse as fully independent post-Soviet states. The United States was left as the world's sole superpower.

The Cold War has left a significant legacy. Its effects include references of the culture during the war, particularly with themes of espionage and the threat of nuclear warfare. The Cold War is generally followed by the categorization of *international relations since 1989* and *post–Cold War era* to underline its impact.

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## 18.6: SUMMARY

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The Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, resulting in the U.S. emerging as the world's sole superpower. The period left a lasting impact on global politics, economics, and military strategy, shaping the modern world order. The Cold War concluded with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, marking the end of a nearly half-century of



geopolitical tension between the Eastern bloc, led by the Soviet Union, and the Western bloc, led by the United States. This historic period significantly reshaped global politics, economics, and society.

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## 18.7: KEY TERMS

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- **Capitalism:** Economic system characterized by private ownership and free markets, promoted by the United States.
- **Communism:** Economic and political system characterized by state ownership of resources, promoted by the Soviet Union.
- **Containment:** U.S. policy aimed at preventing the spread of communism.
- **Detente:** Period of eased tensions between the superpowers, especially during the 1970s.
- **Marshall Plan:** U.S. program providing aid to Western Europe after World War II to rebuild economies and prevent the spread of communism.
- **Truman Doctrine:** U.S. policy to support countries resisting communist subjugation.
- **Brezhnev Doctrine:** Soviet policy asserting the right to intervene in countries where socialist rule was under threat.
- **Glasnost:** Policy of openness and transparency in government institutions and activities in the Soviet Union, introduced by Gorbachev.
- **Perestroika:** Policy of economic and political restructuring in the Soviet Union, introduced by Gorbachev.
- **Iron Curtain:** Term describing the division of Europe into Western democracies and Eastern communist countries.
- **Berlin Airlift:** 1948-1949 operation in which the U.S. and its allies supplied West Berlin amidst a Soviet blockade.
- **Korean War:** 1950-1953 conflict between North and South Korea, with the North supported by China and the Soviet Union, and the South supported by UN forces, primarily the U.S.
- **Cuban Missile Crisis:** 1962 confrontation over Soviet missiles in Cuba, which brought the world to the brink of nuclear war.
- **Vietnam War:** Prolonged conflict from the 1950s to 1975 between communist North Vietnam, supported by its communist allies, and South Vietnam, supported by the United States.

States.

- **Berlin Wall:** Barrier built in 1961 by East Germany to prevent East Germans from fleeing to West Berlin; it became a symbol of Cold War division.
- **Space Race:** Competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to achieve significant milestones in space exploration.
- **Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan:** 1979 invasion leading to a prolonged conflict, with the U.S. supporting Afghan resistance fighters.

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## 18.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What is Cold War?
- Discuss the origin and development of the Cold War.
- Discuss the various phases of the Cold War.

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## **UNIT-19: DISINTEGRATION OF USSR**

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### **Structure**

- 19.1 Objectives
- 19.2 Introduction
- 19.3 History of USSR
- 19.4 Major Events led to Disintegration
- 19.5 Factors led to Disintegration
- 19.6 Consequences of Disintegration
- 19.7 Summary
- 19.8 Key Terms
- 19.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 19.10 References

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### **19.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- Major events led to disintegration of USSR
- Important factors responsible for disintegration of USSR
- Consequences of Disintegration

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### **19.2: INTRODUCTION**

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The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formally dissolved as a sovereign state and subject of international law on 26 December 1991 by Declaration № 142-H of the Soviet of the Republics of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.<sup>[1]</sup> It also brought an end to the Soviet Union's federal government and General Secretary (also President) Mikhail Gorbachev's effort to reform the Soviet political and economic system in an attempt to stop a period of political stalemate and economic backslide. The Soviet Union had experienced internal stagnation and ethnic separatism. Although highly centralized until its final years, the country was made up of 15 top-level republics that served as the homelands for different ethnicities. By late 1991, amid a catastrophic political crisis, with several republics already departing the Union and Gorbachev continuing the waning of centralized power, the leaders of three of its founding members, the Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian SSRs, declared that the Soviet Union no longer existed. Eight more republics joined their declaration shortly thereafter. Gorbachev resigned on 25

December 1991 and what was left of the Soviet parliament voted to dissolve the union.

The process began with growing unrest in the country's various constituent national republics developing into an incessant political and legislative conflict between them and the central government. Estonia was the first Soviet republic to declare state sovereignty inside the Union on 16 November 1988. Lithuania was the first republic to declare full independence restored from the Soviet Union by the Act of 11 March 1990 with its Baltic neighbors and the Southern Caucasus republic of Georgia joining it over the next two months. During the failed 1991 August coup, communist hardliners and military elites attempted to overthrow Gorbachev and stop the failing reforms. However, the turmoil led to the central government in Moscow losing influence, ultimately resulting in many republics proclaiming independence in the following days and months. The secession of the Baltic states was recognized in September 1991. The Belovezha Accords were signed on 8 December by President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, President Kravchuk of Ukraine, and Chairman Shushkevich of Belarus, recognizing each other's independence and creating the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to replace the Soviet Union.<sup>[2]</sup> Kazakhstan was the last republic to leave the Union, proclaiming independence on 16 December. All the ex-Soviet republics, with the exception of Georgia and the Baltic states, joined the CIS on 21 December, signing the Alma-Ata Protocol. On 25 December, Gorbachev resigned and turned over his presidential powers—including control of the nuclear launch codes—to Yeltsin, who was now the first president of the Russian Federation. That evening, the Soviet flag was lowered from the Kremlin for the last time and replaced with the Russian tricolor flag. The following day, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union's upper chamber, the Soviet of the Republics, formally dissolved the Union. The events of the dissolution resulted in its 15 constituent republics gaining full independence which also marked the major conclusion of the Revolutions of 1989 and the end of the Cold War. In the aftermath of the Cold War, several of the former Soviet republics have retained close links with Russia and formed multilateral organizations such as the CIS, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), and the Union State, for economic and military cooperation. On the other hand, the Baltic states and all of the other former Warsaw Pact states became part of the European Union (EU) and joined NATO, while some of the other former Soviet republics like Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova have been publicly expressing interest in following the same path since the 1990s, despite Russian attempts to persuade them otherwise.

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### **19.3: HISTORY OF USSR**

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The history of Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union (USSR) reflects a period of change for both Russia and the world. Though the terms "Soviet Russia" and "Soviet Union" often are synonymous in everyday speech (either acknowledging the dominance of Russia over the Soviet Union or referring to Russia during the era of the Soviet Union), when referring to the foundations of the Soviet Union, "Soviet Russia" often specifically refers to brief period between the October Revolution of 1917 and the creation of the Soviet Union in 1922. Before 1922, there were four independent Soviet Republics: the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Byelorussian SSR, and Transcaucasian SFSR. These four became the first Union Republics of the Soviet Union, and was later joined by the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic and Khorezm People's Soviet Republic in 1924. During and immediately after World War II, various Soviet Republics annexed portions of countries in Eastern Europe, and the Russian SFSR annexed the Tuvan People's Republic, and from the Empire of Japan took South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. The USSR also annexed three countries on the Baltic Sea wholesale, creating the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR. Over time, national delimitation in the Soviet Union resulted in the creation of several new Union-level Republics along ethnic lines, as well as organization of autonomous ethnic regions within Russia. The USSR gained and lost influence with other Communist countries over time. The occupying Soviet army facilitated the establishment of post-WWII Communist satellite states in Central and Eastern Europe. These were organized into the Warsaw Pact, and included the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, People's Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, East Germany, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, and Socialist Republic of Romania. The 1960s saw the Soviet–Albanian split, Sino-Soviet split, and de-satellization of Communist Romania; the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia fractured the communist movement. The Revolutions of 1989 ended Communist rule in satellite countries. Tensions with the central government led to constituent republics declaring independence starting in 1988, leading to the complete dissolution of the Soviet Union by 1991.

The original philosophy of the state was primarily based on the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In its essence, Marx's theory stated that economic and political systems went through an inevitable evolution in form, by which the current capitalist system would be replaced by

a Socialist state. Displeased by the relatively few changes made by the Tsar after the Russian Revolution of 1905, Russia became a hotbed of anarchism, socialism and other radical political systems. The dominant socialist party, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), subscribed to Marxist ideology. Starting in 1903 a series of splits in the party between two main leaders was escalating: the Bolsheviks (meaning "majority") led by Vladimir Lenin, and the Mensheviks (meaning minority) led by Julius Martov. Up until 1912, both groups continued to stay united under the name "RSDLP," but significant differences between Lenin and Martov thought split the party for its final time. Not only did these groups fight with each other, but also had common enemies, notably, those trying to bring the Tsar back to power. Following the February Revolution of 1917, the Russian Provisional Government, established by liberal, conservative, and socialist politicians, shared power with the Petrograd Soviet, which was controlled by the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. This regime of "dual power" lasted only a few months until the Bolsheviks took power in the October Revolution, also known as the Great October Socialist Revolution. Membership of the Bolshevik party had risen from 24,000 members in February 1917 to 200,000 members by September 1917. Lenin's government also instituted a number of progressive measures such as universal education, universal healthcare and equal rights for women. Bolshevik figures such as Anatoly Lunacharsky, Moisei Uritsky and Dmitry Manuilsky agreed that Lenin's influence on the Bolshevik party was decisive but the October insurrection was carried out according to Trotsky's, not to Lenin's plan. Under the control of the party, all politics and attitudes that were not strictly RCP (Russian Communist Party) were suppressed, under the premise that the RCP represented the proletariat and all activities contrary to the party's beliefs were "counterrevolutionary" or "anti-socialist." During the years of 1917 to 1924, the Soviet Union achieved peace with the Central Powers, their enemies in World War I, but also fought the Russian Civil War against the White Army and foreign armies from the United States, United Kingdom, and France, among others. This resulted in large territorial changes, albeit temporarily for some of these. Eventually crushing all opponents, the RCP spread Soviet style rule quickly and established itself through all of Russia. Following Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the RCP, became Lenin's successor and continued as leader of the Soviet Union into the 1950s.

The history of the Soviet Union between 1927 and 1953 covers the period of the Second World War and of victory against Nazi Germany while the USSR remained under the control of Joseph

Stalin. Stalin sought to destroy his political rivals while transforming Soviet society with central planning, in particular a collectivization of agriculture and a development of heavy industry. Stalin's power within the party and the state was established and eventually evolved into Stalin's cult of personality, Soviet secret-police and the mass-mobilization. The Communist Party was one of Stalin's major tools in molding the Soviet society. Stalin's methods in achieving his goals, which included party purges, political repression of the general population, and forced collectivization, led to millions of deaths: in Gulags, during the man-made famines, and ethnic cleansings through forced resettlements of population. World War II, known as "the Great Patriotic War" in the Soviet Union, devastated much of the USSR with about one out of every three World War II deaths representing a citizen of the Soviet Union. After World War II the Soviet Union's armies occupied Central and Eastern Europe, where socialist governments took power. By 1949 the Cold War had started between the Western Bloc and the Eastern (Soviet) Bloc, with the Warsaw Pact pitched against NATO in Europe. After 1945 Stalin did not directly engage in any wars. Stalin continued his totalitarian rule in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc until his death in 1953.

In the Soviet union, the eleven-year period from the death of Joseph Stalin (1953) to the political ouster of Nikita Khrushchev (1964), the national politics were dominated by the Cold War; the ideological U.S.–USSR struggle for the planetary domination of their respective socio–economic systems, and the defense of hegemonic spheres of influence. Nonetheless, since the mid-1950s, despite the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) having disowned Stalinism, the political culture of Stalinism—an omnipotent General Secretary, anti-Trotskyism, a five-year planned economy (post-New Economic Policy), and repudiation of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact secret protocols—remained the character of Soviet society until the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev as leader of the CPSU in 1985.

The history of the Soviet Union from 1964 to 1982, referred to as the Brezhnev Era, covers the period of Leonid Brezhnev's rule of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). This period began with high economic growth and soaring prosperity, but ended with a much weaker Soviet Union facing social, political, and economic stagnation. The average annual income stagnated, because needed economic reforms were never fully carried out.

Nikita Khrushchev was ousted as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), as well as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 14 October 1964 due to his failed reforms and disregard for Party and Government institutions. Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev as First Secretary and Alexei Kosygin replaced him as Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Anastas Mikoyan, and later Nikolai Podgorny, became Chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Together with Andrei Kirilenko as organisational secretary, and Mikhail Suslov as chief ideologue, they made up a reinvigorated collective leadership, which contrasted in form with the autocracy that characterized Khrushchev's rule.

The collective leadership first set out to stabilize the Soviet Union and calm Soviet society, a task which they were able to accomplish. In addition, they attempted to speed up economic growth, which had slowed considerably during Khrushchev's last years in power. In 1965 Kosygin initiated several reforms to decentralize the Soviet economy. After initial success in creating economic growth, hard-liners within the Party halted the reforms, fearing that they would weaken the Party's prestige and power. No other radical economic reforms were carried out during the Brezhnev era, and economic growth began to stagnate in the early-to-mid-1970s. By Brezhnev's death in 1982, Soviet economic growth had, according to several historians, nearly come to a standstill.

The stabilization policy brought about after Khrushchev's removal established a ruling gerontocracy, and political corruption became a normal phenomenon. Brezhnev, however, never initiated any large-scale anti-corruption campaigns. Due to the large military buildup of the 1960s the Soviet Union was able to consolidate itself as a superpower during Brezhnev's rule. The era ended with Brezhnev's death on 10 November 1982.

While all modernized economies were rapidly moving to computerization after 1965, the USSR fell further and further behind. Moscow's decision to copy the IBM/360 of 1965 proved a decisive mistake for it locked scientists into a system they were unable to improve so that it gradually became antiquated. They had enormous difficulties in manufacturing the necessary chips reliably and in quantity, in programming workable and efficient programs, in coordinating entirely separate operations, and in providing support to computer users.

One of the greatest strengths of Soviet economy was its vast supplies of oil and gas; world oil prices quadrupled during the 1973–74 oil crisis, and rose again in 1979–1981, making the energy sector the chief driver of the Soviet economy, and was used to cover multiple weaknesses. At one point, Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin told the head of oil and gas production, "things are bad with bread. Give me 3 million tons [of oil] over the plan."



The history of the Soviet Union from 1982 through 1991, spans the period from Leonid Brezhnev's death and funeral until the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Failed attempts at reform, a standstill economy, and the success of the United States against the Soviet Union's forces in the war in Afghanistan led to a general feeling of discontent, especially in the Baltic republics and Eastern Europe.

Greater political and social freedoms, instituted by the last Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, created an atmosphere of open criticism of the Soviet government. The dramatic drop of the price of oil in 1985 and 1986 profoundly influenced actions of the Soviet leadership. Nikolai Tikhonov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was succeeded by Nikolai Ryzhkov, and Vasili Kuznetsov, the acting Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, was succeeded by Andrei Gromyko, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Several Soviet Socialist Republics began resisting central control, and increasing democratization led to a weakening of the central government. The USSR's trade gap progressively emptied the coffers of the union, leading to eventual bankruptcy. The Soviet Union finally collapsed in 1991 when Boris Yeltsin seized power in the aftermath of a failed coup that had attempted to topple reform-minded Gorbachev.

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## **19.4: MAJOR EVENTS LED TO DISINTEGRATION**

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The following were the main reasons for the disintegration of USSR: -

**Socialist bloc crisis:** The people from many east European countries started protesting against their own governments and USSR without the right intervention from USSR at the right time. Communist governments in the Second World War collapsed one after the other without the right intervention from USSR at the right time.

**Fall of Berlin Wall:** After the Second World War Germany was divided among the socialist USSR and the capitalist western regimes. Fall of Berlin led to a series of events including the disintegration of the USSR.

**Political and Economic reforms in USSR:** Gorbachev realized the economic and political problems of USSR, and started a series of reforms, with the intention to revive the economy and settle economic problems. This was more closely associated with the market economy and was a deviation from the communist policies. Many communist leaders in USSR opposed to reforms initiated by Gorbachev. They encouraged a coup in the year 1991.

**Opposition against the coup:** Boris Yeltsin, who won the popular election in the Russian Republic, also protested against the coup and central control of USSR. The freedom for republics became the slogan. Boris Yeltsin and the pluralist movement advocated democratization and rapid economic reforms. The hard-line Communist elite wanted to thwart Gorbachev's reform agenda.

**The power shift from Soviet center to republics:** Republics like Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus emerged as a powerful country. They declared that the Soviet Union as being disbanded.

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## **19.5: FACTS LED TO DISINTEGRATION**

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The factors that led to the disintegration of USSR are as follows:

### **Economic Weakness:**

The weakness in the economy at that time was the major cause of dissatisfaction among the people in USSR. There was a huge shortage of consumer items. The reasons for economics weakness were as follows: A Huge amount was spent on the military. In the Easter Europe, there was a large maintenance of satellite states Maintenance of the Central Asian Republics within the USSR states.

### **Political Un-accountability**

There was a single party rule for around 70 years that turned authoritarian. There were widespread corruption and lack of transparency in the system. Gorbachev made a decision to allow elections with a multi-party system and create a presidency for the Soviet Union. This began a slow process of democratization that eventually destabilized Communist control and contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

### **Gorbachev's reforms**

Once freedom was achieved by under Michael Gorbachev's reforms, they demanded more for it. The demand grew into a big force which turned very difficult to control. The people wanted to catch up on the western side very quickly.

### **Rise of nationalism**

There was a rise of nationalism among countries like Russia, Baltic republics, Ukraine, Georgia etc. This is the most important and immediate cause of the disintegration of the USSR. The national feeling was strong among the most prosperous areas in USSR and not in Central Asian republics. Ordinary people among prosperous republics never liked to pay the big price to uplift the backward Central Asian republics.

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## 19.6: CONSEQUENCES OF DISINTEGRATION

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The major consequences of the disintegration of the USSR upon countries like India were:

**End of ideological battle:** The disintegration of USSR showed the lacunae of socialistic model of economic governance to the developing world. It was seen as a victory of capitalism over socialism, often termed as 'end of ideology' thesis.

**Rise of free-market economic model:** Dominance of western institutions like IMF and World Bank in the global economic governance pushed developing countries to adopt neo-liberal economic policies. India adopted free-market economic model in the form of LPG reforms post 1991.

**Decline in financial aid to other countries:** Though a member of NAM, India had mutual strategic cooperation with USSR as per its 1971 Indo–Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The financial aid from the Soviet Union to India was significantly reduced due to the disintegration of the USSR. This was also one of the reasons for balance of payments crisis of India in 1991.

**Reorganization of Eastern Europe:** Changes in politics of Europe led to dilution of division between Western and Eastern Europe. Demolition of the Berlin wall, the unification of Germany, the end of the Warsaw Pact and rise of democratic regimes changed the politics of Europe. The membership of European Union enlarged, leading to emergence of new economic bloc -EU.

**Rise of Central Asia:** Central Asia became a new centre of global interest particularly from Chinese expansionist ambitions in the region.

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## 19.7: SUMMARY

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The disintegration of the USSR indeed marked a significant shift in the balance of power in international politics, leading to a phase of the USA's dominance in world affairs. The collapse of the Soviet Union left the United States as the sole superpower in the post-Cold War world, leading to a unipolar moment in international relations. During this period of unipolarity, the United States wielded substantial influence over global politics, economics, and security matters. The U.S. played a key role in shaping international policies, resolving conflicts, and promoting its vision of liberal democracy and market-oriented economic systems. In the post-Cold War world, countries like India maintained good relations with Russia, the successor state of the Soviet Union. India's relations with Russia, often referred to as a "strategic partnership," were built on historical ties and shared interests. Despite the geopolitical changes after the USSR's

disintegration, India sought to maintain and strengthen its relationship with Russia. India's emphasis on a multipolar world order was driven by several factors. First, India historically pursued a policy of non-alignment during the Cold War, seeking to avoid getting entangled in the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. This policy of non-alignment continued to influence India's approach to international relations in the post-Cold War era. Second, India's commitment to a multipolar world order was rooted in the belief that a diverse and balanced distribution of power among major global players would be conducive to international stability and peace. India sought to avoid a situation where a single power dominated world affairs and instead advocated for a world where multiple nations had a say in shaping global policies. Additionally, India's engagement with Russia was driven by economic and defence ties. Russia remained an important partner for India in areas such as defence procurement, nuclear energy, and space cooperation.

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## 19.8: KEY TERMS

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- **Glasnost:** Gorbachev's policy of openness, allowing for greater freedom of expression and transparency in government.
- **Perestroika:** Gorbachev's policy of economic restructuring aimed at reforming the Soviet economic system and increasing efficiency.
- **August Coup (1991):** An attempted coup by hardline Communists in August 1991 to overthrow Gorbachev, which failed and accelerated the disintegration process.
- **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS):** A regional organization formed in 1991 by several former Soviet republics to manage their post-Soviet relations.
- **Russian Federation:** The largest and most significant of the successor states to the Soviet Union, formally established as an independent country after the dissolution.
- **Baltic States:** Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which were the first to declare independence from the Soviet Union in 1990-1991.
- **Soviet Union Collapse (December 26, 1991):** The official end of the Soviet Union when the Supreme Soviet voted to dissolve the union and recognize the independence of the constituent republics.
- **Yeltsin's Reforms:** Economic and political changes implemented by Boris Yeltsin, including transitioning to a market economy and political democratization.

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### **19.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS**

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- What do you mean by Disintegration of USSR.
- Discuss major events that led to disintegration of USSR.
- Discuss the factors responsible for the disintegration of USSR.
- Discuss the consequence of disintegration of USSR.

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## **UNIT-20: THE EMERGENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD**

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### **Structure**

- 20.1 Objectives
- 20.2 Introduction
- 20.3 Emergence of the Third World
- 20.4 Relevance of the Third World Countries
- 20.5 Summary
- 20.6 Key Terms
- 20.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 20.8 References

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### **20.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The meaning of Third World
- The Emergence of the Third World
- The Relevance of the Third World

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### **20.2: INTRODUCTION**

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The independence movement led to the emergence of a series of countries that did not belong to the Western bloc or the Soviet bloc. These countries had various features in common, including underdevelopment and rapid demographic growth, and they became known collectively as the ‘Third World’, an expression coined by French economist and demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952. The term Third World has long served to describe countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America that have been seen to share relatively low per-capita incomes, high rates of illiteracy, limited development of industry, agriculture-based economies, short life expectancies, low degrees of social mobility, and unstable political structures. The 120 countries of the Third World also share a history of unequal encounters with the West, mostly through colonialism and globalization. During the Cold War (1945–1991), Third World referred to countries that were relatively minor players on the international stage, strategic though they sometimes were to the United States and the Soviet Union as these superpowers sought to maintain their balance of terror. The tendency was to essentialize, oversimplify, and homogenize complex identities and diversities in the political systems of the Third World by focusing too narrowly on the politics of

bipolarity. Yet the so-called Third World countries always had many more divergences than similarities in their histories, cultures, demographics, climates, and geographies, and a great variation in capacities, attitudes, customs, living standards, and levels of underdevelopment or modernization.

The concept of first, second and third world is outdated and a relic of the cold war. The first world was US & its allies, second world was USSR & its communist allies and third world was neutral, non-aligned nations. India is a third world country, and so is Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland, etc. In the 1950s, five newly independent Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia) took the initiative to rally the Third-World countries to form a united front against colonisation. On 17 April 1955, the first Afro-Asian Conference was held in Bandung in a bid by Third-World countries to consolidate their position on the international stage.

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### **20.3: EMERGENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

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The demographer, anthropologist, and historian Alfred Sauvy, in an article published in the French magazine *L'Observateur*, August 14, 1952, coined the term *third world*, referring to countries that were playing a small role in international trade and business. His usage was a reference to the Third Estate, the commoners of France who, before and during the French Revolution, opposed the clergy and nobles, who composed the First Estate and Second Estate, respectively (hence the use of the older form *tiers* rather than the modern *troisième* for "third"). Sauvy wrote, "This third world ignored, exploited, despised like the third estate also wants to be something." In the context of the Cold War, he conveyed the concept of political non-alignment with either the capitalist or communist bloc. Simplistic interpretations quickly led to the term merely designating these unaligned countries.

Most Third World countries are former colonies. Having gained independence, many of these countries, especially smaller ones, were faced with the challenges of nation- and institution-building on their own for the first time. Due to this common background, many of these nations were "developing" in economic terms for most of the 20th century, and many still are. This term, used today, generally denotes countries that have not developed to the same levels as OECD countries, and are thus in the process of *developing*. In the 1980s, economist Peter Bauer offered a competing definition for the term "Third World". He claimed that the attachment of Third World status to a particular country was not based on any stable economic or political criteria, and was a mostly arbitrary process. The large diversity of countries considered part of the

Third World, from Indonesia to Afghanistan, ranged widely from economically primitive to economically advanced and from politically non-aligned to Soviet- or Western-leaning. An argument could also be made for how parts of the U.S. are more like the Third World. The only characteristic that Bauer found common in all Third World countries was that their governments "demand and receive Western aid," which he strongly opposed. The aggregate term "Third World" was challenged as misleading even during the Cold War period, because it had no consistent or collective identity among the countries it supposedly encompassed.

The term "Third World" arose during the Cold War to define countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. The United States, Canada and their allies represented the "First World", while the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and their allies represented the "Second World". This terminology provided a way of broadly categorizing the nations of the Earth into three groups based on political divisions. Due to the complex history of evolving meanings and contexts, there is no clear or agreed-upon definition of the Third World. Strictly speaking, "Third World" was a political, rather than economic, grouping.

Since most Third World countries were economically poor and non-industrialized, it became a stereotype to refer to developing countries as "third-world countries". In political discourse, the term Third World was often associated with being underdeveloped. Some countries in the Eastern Bloc, such as Cuba, were often regarded as Third World. The Third World was normally seen to include many countries with colonial pasts in Africa, Latin America, Oceania, and Asia. It was also sometimes taken as synonymous with countries in the Non-Aligned Movement. In the dependency theory of thinkers like Raúl Prebisch, Walter Rodney, Theotônio dos Santos, and others, the Third World has also been connected to the world-systemic economic division as "periphery" countries dominated by the countries comprising the economic "core". In the Cold War, some European democracies (Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and Switzerland) were neutral in the sense of not joining NATO, but were prosperous, never joined the Non-Aligned Movement, and seldom self-identified as part of the Third World.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the term *Third World* has decreased in use. It is being replaced with terms such as developing countries, least developed countries or the Global South.

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## **20.4: RELEVANCE OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

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The Bandung Conference in 1955, held in Bandung, Indonesia, brought together newly independent and developing countries from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. The conference



highlighted the collective power of the so-called "weak" or non-aligned countries and demonstrated that they could assert their interests and influence global politics. This event played a crucial role in shaping the concept of the Third World, emphasizing the importance of solidarity among developing nations and their ability to mobilize their collective strength. The end of the Cold War indeed marked a significant shift in the global order, and the threeworld classification scheme (First World, Second World, Third World) lost its relevance as the bipolar dynamics of the Cold War came to an end. The dissolution of the Soviet Union diminished the relevance of the Second World, leaving the former Eastern Bloc countries in a state of transition. However, the Third World has maintained its relevance in the contemporary period. Despite changes in global geopolitics, many developing countries continue to face challenges related to poverty, economic development, and political stability. The term "Third World" may have evolved, and the traditional three-world order may no longer be in vogue, but the concept of developing countries and the struggles they face persist. Developing countries still grapple with issues of economic inequality, social disparities, and sustainable development. They often seek collective action and cooperation to address global challenges such as climate change, trade imbalances, and global health crises. In the contemporary context, the term "Third World" may not be used as extensively as in the past, and some prefer alternative terms like "Global South" or "developing countries." Nevertheless, the underlying concerns of the Third World remain relevant and continue to shape international relations and discussions on global development and cooperation. These Third World countries were often characterized by their struggle for political independence, economic development, and nonalignment with the superpower rivalry. Arif Dirlik, a historian and cultural theorist, argues that geopolitically, the Third World serves as a reference point for development in global politics. It represents an alternative path to modernity and development that is distinct from the models followed by the First and Second World countries. The term "global modernity" in this context refers to the idea that there are multiple paths to development and progress, not solely based on the Western capitalist or the Eastern communist models. The context of the Third World is crucial when discussing geopolitical relationships and global processes. These countries have often faced challenges in navigating international politics, dealing with the influence of major powers, and pursuing their development agendas. One critical aspect of the contemporary world is the significant material inequalities that exist between the North and the South. The North generally refers to the more developed and industrialized countries, while the South refers to the less developed and often economically struggling countries. The statistics you mentioned

illustrate a massive disparity in income distribution, with 23% of the world's population in the North enjoying 85% of the income, leaving only 15% for the 77% population in the South. These inequalities have profound political and social consequences. They can lead to issues such as economic dependency, political instability, social unrest, and migration flows from less developed regions to more developed ones in search of better opportunities. Additionally, the influence of dominant powers in global politics can perpetuate and exacerbate these inequalities, making it challenging for Third World countries to pursue their development paths and achieve meaningful progress. Addressing the imbalances and promoting a more equitable global order remains a significant challenge in contemporary geopolitics. It requires cooperation, solidarity, and recognition of the diverse development aspirations and needs of nations across the world. In the post-Cold War era, the concept of the Third World remains relevant, albeit with some adaptations to the changing global landscape. The principles articulated at the Bandung Conference, especially the five principles of peaceful coexistence, laid the foundation for cooperation among newly independent states, emphasizing mutual respect and mutual benefit. These principles were significant for promoting unity and solidarity among Third World countries during a time when they sought to assert their independence and autonomy in a world dominated by the Cold War superpowers.

The structure of the contemporary international political economy has evolved from the Cold War era. The traditional division of the world into three distinct segments (First World, Second World, and Third World) has become less rigid, with characteristics of all three segments now found in both the North and the South. This means that economic and social disparities are not solely confined to specific regions; they can be found across the globe. As a result of these changes, the counter-hegemonic force that was created by Third World states at the Bandung Conference cannot remain limited to Third World countries alone. The need for a new brand of Third Worldism emerges one that aims to include not only states but also non-state actors in the subaltern (marginalized) and excluded segments of the Trilateral regions (comprising North America, Western Europe, and East Asia). Despite the geopolitical and economic changes, the North/South divide, which represents the disparities between more developed and less developed regions, has not disappeared. While borders might have diminished in political and economic significance, the gap between the wealthy and the impoverished remains evident. Therefore, there is a call for a revival of the concept of Third Worldism as a means to address and tackle the persisting issues related to economic inequality and underdevelopment. This new form of Third

Worldism should strive for a broader coalition, involving not only states but also various non-state actors like civil society organizations, advocacy groups, and grassroots movements. By including these voices from marginalized segments in both the North and the South, this reinvigorated Third Worldism can work towards promoting social justice, economic equity, and human rights on a global scale. It should be an inclusive movement that advocates for meaningful change and cooperation among nations and peoples to create a fairer and more just world.

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## 20.5: SUMMARY

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The differences among nations of the Third World are continually growing throughout time, and it will be hard to use the Third World to define and organize groups of nations based on their common political arrangements since most countries live under diverse creeds in this era, such as Mexico, El Salvador, and Singapore, which each have their distinct political systems. The Third World categorization becomes anachronistic since its political classification and economic system are distinct to be applied in today's society. Based on the Third World standards, any region of the world can be categorized into any of the four types of relationships among state and society, and will eventually end in four outcomes: praetorianism, multi-authority, quasi-democratic and viable democracy. However, political culture is never going to be limited by the rule and the concept of the Third World can be circumscribed.

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## 20.6: KEY TERMS

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- **Third World:** Originally a political term during the Cold War to describe countries not aligned with NATO (the First World) or the Communist Bloc (the Second World). Today, it generally refers to developing or underdeveloped countries.
- **First World:** Developed, capitalist, industrial countries, roughly a bloc of countries aligned with the United States after World War II, with more advanced economies and higher standards of living.
- **Second World:** The former Communist-socialist, industrial states, including Russia, Eastern Europe, and some of the Turk states as well as China.
- **Non-Aligned Movement (NAM):** An international organization of states considering themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.
- **Underdevelopment:** A condition in which resources are not used to their full socio-economic potential, leading to lower living standards and higher poverty rates.

- **Economic Inequality:** The unequal distribution of income and opportunity between different groups in society.

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## **20.7: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS**

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- What do you mean by Third World?
- Discuss the emergence of the Third World in International Relations.
- Discuss the relevance of the Third World in IR.

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## **UNIT-21: END OF THE COLD WAR**

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### **Structure**

- 21.1 Objectives
- 21.2 Introduction
- 21.3 Concept of end of cold war
- 21.4 Causes of end of cold war
- 21.5 Impact of end of cold war
- 21.6 Summary
- 21.7 Key Terms
- 21.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 21.9 References

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### **21.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- The concept of the end of the cold war
- Causes of the end of the cold war
- Impacts of the end of the cold war

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### **21.2: INTRODUCTION**

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The end of the Cold War represents one of the most significant geopolitical shifts in modern history, marking the conclusion of a prolonged period of tension and competition between the world's two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. This era, spanning from the end of World War II in 1945 to the early 1990s, was characterized by a complex interplay of ideological, military, and economic rivalry. By the late 1980s, a combination of factors culminated in the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, effectively bringing the Cold War to a close. The end of the Cold War not only transformed the political landscape of Europe but also had profound implications for international relations, economic systems, and global security.

Key factors contributing to the end of the Cold War included the economic stagnation and political reform efforts within the Soviet Union, the rise of independence movements in Eastern Europe and the Soviet republics, and significant diplomatic efforts aimed at reducing nuclear

arsenals and easing superpower tensions. The leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, with his policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring), played a crucial role in accelerating these changes. The aftermath of the Cold War saw the emergence of the United States as the dominant global superpower, the expansion of NATO, and the integration of former communist states into the global economy. It also prompted a shift in focus from ideological confrontation to addressing new security challenges such as regional conflicts, terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Understanding the end of the Cold War is essential for comprehending contemporary global politics, as it set the stage for many of the international dynamics and challenges that define the current world order.

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### **21.3: CONCEPT OF END OF COLD WAR**

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The ascendancy of Gorbachev as the President of the Soviet Union marked a new era in the East-West relationships. His ascendancy to the presidency paved the way for agreements on nuclear and conventional forces. The Geneva Summit of 19-21 November 1985 was the first Soviet-American summit held after the Afghanistan crisis. Here both USA and the Soviet Union focused on the need for preventing any sort of war nuclear or conventional between them. After the Reykjavik summit of 1986 and the Washington summit of 1987 Gorbachev travelled to the United States and signed the INF. Gorbachev and Reagan met at the Moscow summit held in the year 1988 and the Malta summit of 1989 which marked a new beginning not only in US and USSR relations but also in international politics. The Bulgarian and Romanian communist governments collapsed by the end of 1989. The climax was reached in November 1989 when thousands of ordinary citizens broke the Berlin wall and the security guards stood there as mere spectators. In July 1991, President Bush and Gorbachev signed the START for deep cuts in their strategic arsenals. Gorbachev's new thinking reflected in his GLASNOST and PERESTROIKA unleashed such forces which ultimately became the reason for the destruction of the Soviet Union. Internally there were several reasons which led to the collapse of communism. Francis Fukuyama came up with 'The End of History' and 'Last Man' a thesis where he elucidated the victory of liberalism over all other ideologies and the globalisation of liberal capitalism. The other thesis which became very popular was Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations. This changed scenario would induce the world community to set a new agenda for international relations.

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## 21.4: CAUSES OF END OF COLD WAR

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The end of the Cold War, marked by the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, resulted from a complex interplay of various political, economic, social, and strategic factors. Here are some of the primary causes:

### 1. Economic Stagnation in the Soviet Union:

- **Economic Inefficiency:** The Soviet planned economy was increasingly inefficient, leading to stagnation. The lack of innovation and the inability to meet consumer needs eroded confidence in the system.
- **Military Spending:** The arms race with the United States placed a massive financial strain on the Soviet economy, diverting resources from essential domestic needs.
- **Technological Lag:** The Soviet Union fell behind in technological development compared to the West, further weakening its economic position.

### 2. Political Reforms and Leadership Changes:

- **Mikhail Gorbachev's Policies:** Gorbachev's leadership was crucial. His policies of **glasnost** (openness) and **perestroika** (restructuring) aimed to reform the political and economic systems but inadvertently hastened the collapse.
- **Liberalization Efforts:** Gorbachev's move to allow more freedom of expression and the loosening of state control over various aspects of society reduced the Communist Party's grip on power.

### 3. Nationalism and Independence Movements:

- **Eastern Europe:** The push for independence in Eastern European countries undermined Soviet influence. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 symbolized this broader trend.
- **Soviet Republics:** Nationalist movements within various Soviet republics gained momentum, leading to declarations of independence from the Soviet Union.

### 4. International Dynamics:

- **U.S. Foreign Policy:** The United States, under President Ronald Reagan, adopted a more aggressive stance against the Soviet Union, including the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), which put additional pressure on the Soviet economy.
- **Detente and Diplomacy:** Efforts to ease tensions through diplomacy, arms control agreements (like the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1987), and summit meetings contributed to a reduction in hostilities.

#### 5. **Information and Cultural Exchange:**

- **Western Influence:** Increased exposure to Western ideas and lifestyles highlighted the shortcomings of the Soviet system, particularly among the younger generation.
- **Media and Communication:** The flow of information, through media and other forms of communication, played a role in spreading democratic ideals and economic aspirations.

#### 6. **Internal Political Pressure and Dissent:**

- **Reformist Movements:** Political dissent within the Soviet Union, including movements led by figures like Boris Yeltsin, called for significant changes and greater autonomy for the Russian Federation.
- **Civil Society:** Growing civil society activities and increased public participation in politics weakened the traditional power structures.

The convergence of these factors created an environment where the Soviet Union could no longer maintain its political, economic, and social structures, leading to its eventual collapse and the end of the Cold War.

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## 21.5: IMPACT OF END OF COLD WAR

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The end of the Cold War had a profound and multifaceted impact on global affairs, touching on geopolitical, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. Here are some of the most significant impacts:

### 1. **Geopolitical Realignment:**



- **Dissolution of the Soviet Union:** The breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent republics marked the end of a bipolar world order, leading to a significant reduction in global tensions and the ideological divide between East and West.
- **Emergence of the United States as the Sole Superpower:** With the Soviet Union no longer a superpower, the United States emerged as the dominant global force, shaping international policies and institutions.
- **NATO Expansion:** Former Warsaw Pact members and Soviet republics joined NATO, extending its influence and fostering closer ties between Eastern and Western Europe.

## 2. Economic Changes:

- **Transition to Market Economies:** Many former communist states transitioned from centrally planned economies to market economies. This shift involved privatization, deregulation, and opening up to global markets, leading to economic restructuring and growth in some regions while causing severe economic hardship in others.
- **Increased Globalization:** The end of the Cold War accelerated globalization, with former Eastern Bloc countries integrating into the global economy, leading to increased trade, investment, and economic interdependence.

## 3. Political Transformations:

- **Democratization:** Many former communist countries embraced democratic reforms, adopting multiparty political systems, holding free elections, and establishing new democratic institutions.
- **Political Instability and Conflict:** The transition to democracy and market economies was often turbulent, leading to political instability, ethnic conflicts, and civil wars in regions such as the Balkans and the Caucasus.

## 4. Military and Security Shifts:

- **Reduction in Nuclear Arsenals:** Significant reductions in nuclear arsenals were achieved through arms control agreements like the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), reducing the risk of nuclear conflict.
- **New Security Challenges:** With the end of the Cold War, attention shifted to new security challenges such as regional conflicts, terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

#### 5. **Social and Cultural Impacts:**

- **Greater Personal Freedoms:** Citizens in former communist countries gained greater personal freedoms, including freedom of speech, press, and assembly, leading to a more open and diverse public discourse.
- **Social Challenges:** The economic transitions often led to increased unemployment, social inequality, and the erosion of social safety nets, creating significant social challenges and discontent.

#### 6. **International Relations and Institutions:**

- **Strengthening of International Organizations:** The United Nations and other international organizations became more active in peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and humanitarian efforts, as the global community sought to manage the post-Cold War order.
- **Formation of New Alliances and Regional Organizations:** New political and economic alliances emerged, such as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the European Union's eastward expansion, fostering regional cooperation and integration.

#### 7. **Ideological and Cultural Shifts:**

- **End of the Ideological Divide:** The ideological struggle between communism and capitalism ended, leading to a widespread acceptance of liberal democracy and market economies as the dominant global paradigms.

- **Cultural Exchange and Influence:** Increased cultural exchange and the spread of Western values and lifestyles influenced societies globally, contributing to cultural globalization and the blending of cultural practices.

#### 8. Impact on Developing Countries:

- **Reduced Superpower Influence:** Developing countries experienced a reduction in superpower influence and intervention, providing more autonomy but also exposing them to new geopolitical dynamics and regional conflicts.
- **Focus on Economic Development:** Many developing countries shifted their focus towards economic development, democratization, and regional cooperation, seeking to integrate into the global economy and improve living standards.

The end of the Cold War marked a significant turning point in world history, leading to profound changes across various spheres of life. While it brought opportunities for peace, democracy, and economic development, it also presented new challenges and complexities for global governance and international relations.

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## 21.6: SUMMARY

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The conclusion of the Cold War marked the end of a crucial chapter in 20th-century history, characterized by the dissolution of long-standing geopolitical tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The period was distinguished by several transformative developments: The end of the Cold War ushered in a new era of international relations. It marked the transition from a bipolar world, dominated by the rivalry between two superpowers, to a unipolar world order with the United States as the predominant global power. This period also initiated the expansion of NATO and the European Union into Eastern Europe, reshaping the political and security landscape of the continent.

The conclusion of the Cold War demonstrated the power of diplomatic negotiation, economic and political reform, and the will of the people in shaping history. It underscored the significance of cooperative international relations and set the stage for new geopolitical dynamics and challenges in the post-Cold War era.

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## 21.7: KEY TERMS

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- **Perestroika:** A political movement within the Soviet Union led by Mikhail Gorbachev, aimed at restructuring the economic and political system. Introduced in the mid-1980s, perestroika sought to increase automation and labor efficiency, but it also unintentionally undermined the control of the Communist Party.
- **Glasnost:** Another policy introduced by Gorbachev, meaning "openness." Glasnost allowed for increased transparency in government institutions and freedom of information, encouraging public debate and reducing censorship.
- **Berlin Wall:** The physical and symbolic division between East and West Berlin. Its fall on November 9, 1989, marked a pivotal moment in the collapse of communist control in Eastern Europe and symbolized the end of the Cold War.
- **Eastern Bloc:** The group of socialist states under the influence of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The collapse of communist regimes in these countries in 1989-1991 was a key factor in ending the Cold War.
- **Solidarity Movement:** An independent labor union in Poland that became a major political force opposing the communist government. Its success in gaining political concessions was a significant factor in the broader collapse of communist regimes across Eastern Europe.

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## 21.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What do you mean by cold war?
- Discuss the main causes of the end of the cold war.
- Discuss the impacts of the end of the cold war in international relations

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## **UNIT-22: CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION**

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### **Structure**

- 22.1 Objectives
- 22.2 Introduction
- 22.3 Definition of Conflict
- 22.4 Types of Conflict
- 22.5 Functions of Conflict
- 22.6 Features of the Traditional Approach
- 22.7 Strength of the Traditional Approach
- 22.8 Weakness of the Traditional Approach
- 22.9 Summary
- 22.10 Key Terms
- 22.11 Self Assessment Questions
- 22.12 References

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### **22.1: OBJECTIVES**

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

- Different types of conflict
- Functions of conflict
- Features of the traditional conflict
- Strengths and weakness of the traditional approach

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### **22.2: INTRODUCTION**

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Many of today's large-scale violent conflicts in the global south cannot be perceived as conventional 'wars' and longer. Neither are they clashes between states, nor are they congenital civil wars between a state government and an internal armed political opposition aimed at the overthrow of the government, regime change or secession. Rather they are characterized by an entanglement of a host of actors, issues and motives. Particular attention has been paid to the emergence of so- called war economies, with opposing groups fighting-in a sub-national and transnational framework-not over state-related issues, but over access to lucrative or essential resources. The political economy of armed conflict has generated a wide range of new players such as warlords, private military companies and mafia-type criminal networks which do not care

about “states”, “boarders”, “sovereignty” or “territorial integrity” at all.

Moreover, many current large-scale violent conflicts emerge and are carried out in the context of so called weak in fragile or even failed states. To speak of ‘weak’ states, however, implies that there are other actors on the stage that are strong in relation to the state. ‘the state’ is only one actor among others, the state order is one of a number of ‘orders’ claiming to provide security and frameworks for conflict regulation.

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### **22.3: DEFINITION OF CONFLICT**

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Conflict in itself is neither good nor bad. The key is how we understand and response to conflict. The participants in a conflict establish the meaning of conflict with the ultimate results being determined by the feelings, beliefs and values of those involved. Conflict is a state of unresolved differences within an individual, between individuals, an individual and a group, or two or more groups. Conflict of some kind will occur throughout your career. To turn it in to a positive factor, it must be managed in a way that will benefit you and your organization. Conflict is based on caring. Each of the parties involved in the difficulty desires something. Usually those involved are frustrated because they believe they should be able to give. It is also necessary that two parties be locked into some kind of interdependent relationship, where what one does affects the other. The simplest way to reduce conflict is to eliminate the relationship, by leaving or by refusing to interact with the other party. In many situations, however, this is not only impractical, but may be impossible. So, leaders must learn how to address and mange conflict.

Physiologically we respond to conflict in one of two ways-we want to get away from the conflict or we are ready to “take on anyone who comes our way”. Think for a moment about when you are in conflict What is important to learn, regardless of our initial physiological response to conflict, is that we should intentionally choose our response to conflict. Whether we feel like we want to fight or flee when a conflict arises, we can deliberately choose a conflict mode. By consciously choosing a conflict mode instead of to conflict, we are more likely to productively contribute to solving the problem at hand.

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### **22.4: TYPES OF CONFLICT**

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The processes of resolving conflict are influenced to great degree by the situations in which the conflict occurs, for example within the context of the organization. Three types of possible conflict in an organization are intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup.

#### **INTRA PERSONALCONFLICT**

An experience that takes place within an individual. It occurs in relation to temptations to stop

dieting as well as in a major decision of getting physical shape to get good evaluation report.

### **INTER PERSONAL CONFLICT**

Conflict between individuals in the same organization. It exists whenever people interact in some way to produce results or achieve goals. Because they differ, however, in many ways; attitude, personality, values, goals, background, experience, etc. The resultant conflict makes the attainment of the goals quite difficult. Therefore, learning to make the proper adjustments is an important factor in managing interpersonal conflict.

### **INTER GROUP CONFLICT**

Conflict between groups in the same organization. It occurs whenever there is a contact or interaction between the groups. Three sources of intergroup conflict are: cohesion- “sticking together” within a group often causes out-group hostility; structure-type of leadership and status of individuals within a group are factors that increase conflict; power- taking actions which affect others and purposely influencing the welfare of others produce conflict with less powerful groups. Parties involved in conflict, by trying to find solutions acceptable to all, can reduce the dysfunctional aspects of conflict.

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## **22.5: FUNCTIONS OF CONFLICT**

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Conflict serves many functions in organizations here are but a few.

- I. Conflict establishes identify. Through conflict individuals and groups clearly establish their positions on issues.
- II. Conflict serves as a safety valve to hold the group together. Through conflict, individuals and groups “let off steam” which in turn enhances the communication process leading to better understanding of the issues within the group.
- III. Conflict increases group cohesion. When there’s a higher level of communication brought about by conflict, groups strengthen and become closer.
- IV. Conflict mobilizes energy. This concept adds credence to the old adage “I work best under pressure”. When there’s conflict in an organization, the pressures members feel cause them to work at greater efficiency and fervor.
- V. Conflict enhances communication. As discussed above, the communication process



improves because of the higher level of information exchange and there's a higher level of understanding.

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## **22.6: FEATURES OF THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH**

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The institutions and mechanism of conflict transformation shall be termed “traditional” that have developed independently in the context of pre-modern societal structures in the global south and have been practiced in that context over a considerable period of time.

However, several caveats apply here: the ideal type of “traditional conflict transformation (Max Weber) will hardly be found in reality today. Traditional societies everywhere in the world have come under modern outside influence; they have not been left unchanged by the powers of—originally European-capitalist expansion, colonialism, imperialism and globalization”. In real life, therefore there are no clear-cut boundaries between the realm of the exogenous “modern” and the endogenous “traditional”, rather there are process of assimilation, articulation, transformation and adoption in the context of the global/local/interface.

Another caveat: traditional approaches vary considerably from society to society, from region to region, from community to community. There are as many different traditional approaches to conflict transformation as there are different societies and communities with a specific history, a specific culture and specific customs in the global south. There is no one single general concept of “traditional conflict transformation”.

One has therefore to acknowledge that the modern western-style Westphalia state hardly exists in reality beyond the OECD world. Rather the ‘actual existing states’ in most parts of the global south are hybrid political orders combining elements stemming from the local pre-colonial indigenous traditions of governance and politics.

In other words: many contemporary large-scale violent conflicts are hybrid socio-political exchanges in which modern state centric as well as pre-modern traditional and post-modern factors mix and overlap. The state has lost its control position in violent conflicts of this kind, both as an actor and as the framework of reference.

Up to now, traditional approaches to conflict transformation have not been adequately addressed by scholarly research and political practice. For the most part they are widely ignored, although empirical evidence from relatively successful cases of conflict transformation demonstrates their practical relevance.

**The Aim: Restoration of Order and Relationship**

From a traditional point of view, conflict is perceived as an unwelcome disturbance of the relationships within the community. Hence traditional conflict transformation aims at the restoration of order and harmony of the community. Cooperation between conflict parties in the future has to be guaranteed. The issue at stake is not punishment of perpetrators for deeds done in the past but restitution as a basis for reconciliation. Reconciliation is necessary for the restoration of social harmony of the community in general and of social relationships between conflict parties in particular. Reestablishing harmony implies reintegrating the deviant members... the ultimate matter is ...restoring good relations. This is why traditional approaches in general follow the line of restorative justice instead of western centric punitive justice.

### **The Ways: Holistic and Consensus-Based**

The orientation towards the future does not exclude dealing with the past. In the contrary; restitution, reconciliation and restoration of harmony and relationships can only be built on a common understanding of what went wrong in the past. Therefore conflict parties have to negotiate a consensus regarding the interpretation of the past. This is an often very lengthy endeavor. Facts have to be established and the truth has to be revealed. Only once a consensus about the facts and the truth has been achieved, perpetrators can confess their wrong doings, apologies and ask for forgiveness and victims can accept the apologies and forgive. Often such process leads to the exchange of material goods as compensation, be it "blood money " or other gifts; depending on the cultural context these might be cattle, goats, pigs, and garden produce or shell money. The importance of this exchange lies in the transformation of reciprocity; the reciprocity of revenge characteristic of traditional conflicts and which leads into vicious circles of violence is replaced by the reciprocity of gifts .

Traditional approaches cannot be compartmentalized into political or juridical or other rather they are holistic, comprising also social, economic, cultural, and religious-spiritual dimensions.

### **The Context: The We-group**

Traditional approaches do not provide a panacea for conflict transformation that can be utilized at all times in all situations. They depend on the existence of a community of relationships and values to

which they can refer and that provide the context for their operation. This means that customary conflict resolution is targeted at problems in relatively small communities in the local context. It can work well within a given community with regard to the members of the community. Conflicts among the members of the 'we group' of the community can be addresses and solved by

customary ways but conflicts between us and them are more difficult to tackle as they adhere to another law be it customary law or formal statutory law.

In order to make traditional approaches applicable beyond the confines of the local community context, the conflict constellation has to be reframed: the we- group has to be reconstructed in ways that allow for the inclusion of what used to be outsiders and adversaries. There formation of we-groups in the traditional context was pursued by a variety of means: marriages, hostages and joking were simple devices for building relationships when conflict were on a personal level even the widespread use of gifts was effective in creating dependencies of indebtedness.

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## **22.7: STRENGTH OF THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH**

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Five major strengths of traditional approaches to conflict transformation can be identified. Traditional approaches-

1. Fit situations of state fragility and failure;
2. Are not state-centric and hence credited with legitimacy;
3. Take the time factor into due accounts and are process-oriented;
4. Provide for comprehensive inclusion and participation;
5. Focus on the psycho social and spiritual dimension of conflict transformation.

### **1. FIT SITUATIONS OF STATE FRAGILITY AND FAILURE**

Traditional approaches fit situations of state fragility or collapse. As many of today's large scale violent conflicts in the Global South are carried out in regions where the state is absent or merely a –relatively weak- actor among a host of other actors. In view of the absence of modern state-based institutions and mechanisms for the control of violence and the regulation of conflicts people take recourse to pre-state customary ways. Of course, this only is an option if custom has not been destroyed by but has survived previous processes of state-building and modernization and is still alive. The western view that where there is no state and no monopoly over the legitimate use of force there must inevitably be chaos and a Hobbesian war of everybody against everybody else is false. There is control of violence and non-violent conduct of conflict beyond the state and this holds true for contemporary constellations of weak, fragile and collapsing states.

### **2. ARE NOT STATE-CENTRIC AND HENCE CREDITED WITH LEGITIMACY**

Traditional approaches are not state-centric and because of that they are credited with legitimacy by the communities in which they are sought. They can be pursued without recurrence to the task

of state and nation building. Instead of trying to impose western models of the state and nation on societies one can draw upon existing indigenous forms of control of violence and conflict transformation which have proven their efficiency. Such a non-state-centric approach opens up possibilities for dealing with the issues of legitimacy. It must not be forgotten that legitimacy is at the core of problems of state weakness. Weakness of state is not only problems of structures, institutions and powers of enforcement and implementation, but also of perception and legitimacy. It is often ignored that Max Weber's famous definition of the state-''monopoly over the legitimate use of violence''- includes both: enforcement power and legitimacy.

### **3. TAKE THE TIME FACTOR INTO DUE ACCOUNT AND ARE PROCESS-ORIENTED**

Traditional approaches are process-oriented and take the time factor into due account. "Melanesian time" or "African time" differs from European time regimes. "Circular time that predominates in traditional societies opposes vectorial time that prevails in modern industrial societies". The process of conflict transformation- which can be very time consuming tends to be more important than solutions. "Traditional conflict management mechanisms tend to be process- oriented, not product-oriented that is, they focus on managing rather than resolving conflict. In this sense they are somewhat more realistic than standard international diplomacy with its emphasis on peace treaties that definitely end a conflict; one has to do with ongoing rounds of talks that revisit and renegotiate issues. This approach to conflict management more particularly the tendency to begin renegotiating freshly minted accords, fits poorly with international diplomatic time tables and approaches. Traditional approaches are characterized by their slowness. And their slowness, breaks and time outs are deliberately built into conflict transformations so as to give conflict parties time to calm down, to assess the state of the process so far and to reformulate their position.

### **4. PROVIDE FOR COMPREHENSIVE INCLUSION AND PARTICIPATION**

In the same way as all parties are responsible for the conflict, everybody also has to take responsibility for its solution. A solution can only be achieved by consensus. Every side has to perceive the resolution as a win-win outcome compatible with its own interests- which are not confined to the material sphere, but also comprises issues such as honour, prestige, saving one's face. To pursue an inclusive participatory approach at all levels of the conflict is

extremely complex and time consuming but has greater chance of success than approaches that are confined to the leaders of the conflict parties. According to the holistic nature of custom, it is not appropriate to isolate specific 'political' events from the overall context. "Leisure, visits, cultural events, amusements, attendance at plays, and participation can be part of them." The mixing of the activities within the negotiation can be highly functional with regard to the relationship that it helps to establish, reestablish or strengthen.

## **5. FOCUS ON THE PSYCHOSOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL DIMENSION OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION**

This dimension tends to be underestimated by actors who are brought up and think in the context of western enlightenment. Conflict transformation and peace building is not only about negotiations, political solutions and material reconstruction, but also about reconciliation and mental and spiritual healing. Traditional approaches have a lot to offer in this regard. Reconciliation as the basis for the restoration of communal harmony and relationship is at the heart of customary conflict resolution. By means of reconciliation relations between conflict parties are restored, both the perpetrator and victims are re-integrated into the community. Traditional approaches are inclusive, not exclusive. Traditional methods of purifications and healing, carried out by customary healers, priests and other spiritual authorities are of utmost importance for the mental and spiritual rehabilitation of victims and perpetrators. Traditional approaches are well suited to address this dimension. They take into account that conflict transformation and peace building is not only an issue of reason, rationality and talk, but also of affects, emotions, imagination and of the spirit.

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### **22.8: WEAKNESS OF THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH**

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The five major strengths of traditional approaches to conflict transformation are matched by five major weaknesses. Traditional approaches.

- I. Do not terminate violence in the long term.
- II. Often contradict universal standards of human rights;
- III. Have a limited sphere of applicability;
- IV. Are geared towards the preservation of the 'good old' order;
- V. Are open to abuse

- I. Traditional conflict transformation does not necessarily put an end to violence in the long run. In a traditional context recourse to violence- violent self help- is a normal option. A permanent pacification of the conduct of conflicts in the context of the modern state with its monopoly over violence is not achievable. Moreover, certain highly ritualized and thus controlled forms of violence are perceived not as violation of the rules but as integral to the societal order and as indispensable elements of conflict resolution.
- II. Traditional approaches may contradict universal standards of human rights and democracy. More often the council of elders broking peace deals are constituted of old people excluding young male and females from the decision making process. This gerontocratic rule is problematic for young generations violating the international standards of human rights. Women sometimes are the victims of the customary conflict resolution processes that are dominated by male persons. Furthermore, the treatment of perpetrators according to customary rules can contradict universal human rights standards. These problematic features of traditional approaches may themselves lead to conflict.
- III. Traditional approaches have a limited sphere of applicability. They are confined to the relatively small community context to the we group of family, clan, village or neighbouring communities. This problem can be addresses by reframing of the we-group. Boundaries of groups are not fixed but can be changed. The inclusion of far away external actors such as multinational enterprises, central state authorities and mercenaries will probably pose grave difficulties. The other problem is related to the fact that some members of we group have left the community and settle in a modern environment in cities. To reintegrate them in a post conflict scenario becomes very difficult.
- IV. Traditional approaches are preservative. They are geared towards the preservation of the status quo or the restoration of the good old order. Traditional approaches only work in the framework of that order and are only applicable to conflicts that occur within a given community. Traditional approaches are difficult to apply with regard to conflicts that challenge the framework of values and relations of the traditional

order. The conservative character of traditional approaches does not sit well with modernizing influences from either within the community- young men and women challenging the traditional values- or from outside the community-western external actors intervening in the name of modern values and interests.

- V. Traditional approaches are open to abuse. There are many examples of traditional authorities abusing their power for their own benefit and to the detriment of the weak members of the traditional communities. Biased approaches on the part of leaders are sometimes motivated by personal greed and are often legitimized with reference to custom. Status and prestige stemming from the traditional context is instrumentalized to gain personal advantage. The relevance and applicability of traditional approaches have been greatly affected by politicization, corruption and abuse of traditional strategies.

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## 22.9: SUMMARY

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Given the disintegration of traditional societal structures in many regions of the world, the potential of traditional approaches for conflict prevention and peace building is limited. Traditional approaches only are applicable in specific circumstances and in confined niches. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to ignore that potential and not to make use of it wherever possible. Traditional approaches might give us wider insights for conflict transformation process more generally. Such an approach challenges today's fashionable mainstream discourse on failing states and its practical political fallout: conventional state- building and institution-building as the one and only avenue for non violent conduct of conflict-an approach which has reaped only poor results so far. It challenges the dominant thinking which assumes that all societies have to progress through western stages of state and society development and that weak incomplete states have to be developed into proper western style states.

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## 22.10: KEY TERMS

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- **Conflict:** A disagreement or struggle between two or more parties with incompatible goals, values, or interests.
- **Resolution:** The process of finding a solution to a conflict or dispute.
- **Transformation::** The process of changing the nature or form of a conflict to achieve a more positive and constructive outcome.
- **Negotiation::** A process in which parties discuss and make joint decisions to find a mutually acceptable agreement.

- **Mediation:** A neutral third party facilitates communication between conflicting parties to help them reach a voluntary agreement.

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### 22.11: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

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- What do you mean by conflict? What are the major causes of conflict.
- What is conflict? Discuss various types of conflict.
- What are the main features of the traditional approach of the conflict.
- Discuss merits and demerits of the traditional approach.

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### 22.12: REFERENCES

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