POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course V

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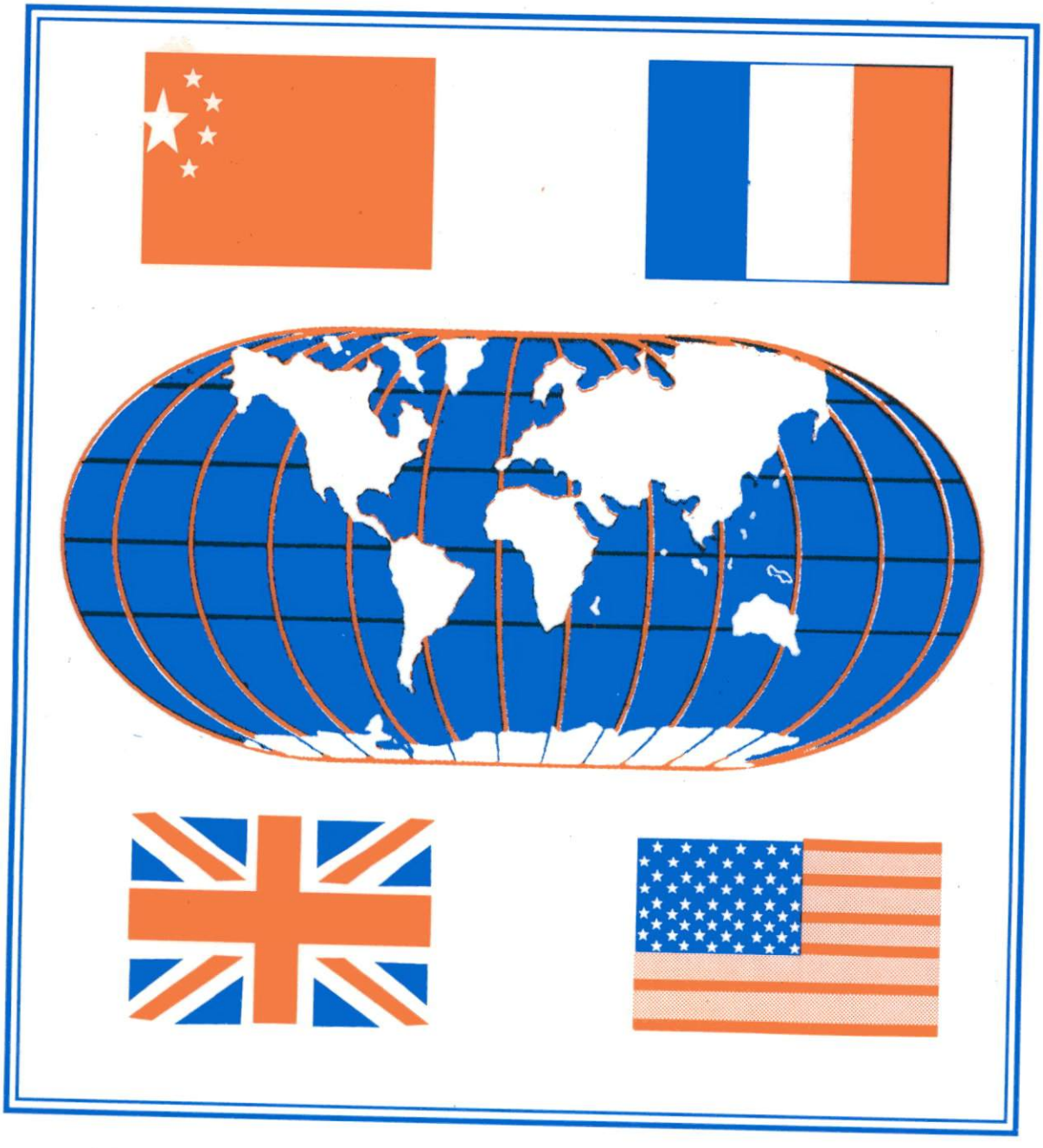

KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 1

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as instrument of democrating education.

National Education Policy 1986

ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. .....ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. ..... it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು **'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'**ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು **'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'**ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ಮನುಜ ಮತ.** ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ.** ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ತರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ **ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.**

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these ***five mantras*** should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu

Course Introduction

Course V : International relations

International Relations has developed into an academic autonomous discipline. In view of its growing importance, it is offered as an independent academic discipline in some of the universities in India and abroad.

The present world witnessed many far-reaching changes. The collapse of communist governments in East Europe and in the soviet union, end of cold war, coming closer of old rivals, the independence of the Republics of erstwhile USSR, revival of market economy at global level and emergence of new centres of power have transformed the scenario of international relations. All these mega events have enamored the attention of people towards the growing significance of international relations and provided stimulant for encouraging the study of international relations as an academic discipline.

The U.S.A has emerged as the only super power after the withering away of communist block. Its dominance in the world politics has become unsuitable. This has paved the way for its military superiority in the world Scenario. In this perspective, it is sine,quo-non to have the insight. Such changes and events with the help of international relations whose main mission is to avert the dangers of war and protect the humanity from the scourge of disartrous effects of war. Therefore, it has become inevitable to give up narrow nationalism and faster the feeling of internationalism with a view to establish abiding fence and order in the world community. In the light of this, the study of international relations has become more important.

The subject international relations is offered as one of the courses of political science for M.A. (Previous) students. This course V is Structured in accordance with the self instruction mode (SIM). It has 7 Blocks which consist of 28 units dealing with various aspects of international relations.

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Political Science
Course V

Block
1

Introduction

Unit 1
International Relations - Nature, Scope and Importance 1 to 14

Unit 2
Growth and Development of International Relations as an Academic Discipline 15 to 25

Unit 3
Approaches to the Study of International Relations : Traditional Approaches-Idealist approach, Historical approach, International Organisation approach and International Law approach. 27 to 39

Unit 4
Realist Approaches - Systems Theory, Game Theory, Decision-making Theory, Power Theory. 41 to 54

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Block - I Introduction

Block - I consists of 4 units from 1 to 4. Unit - 1 explains the International Relations - Nature, Scope and Importance. Unit - 2 explains Growth and Development of International Relations as an Academic Discipline. Unit - 3 explains Approaches to the Study of International Relations : Traditional Approaches-Idealist approach, Historical approach, International Organisation approach and International Law approach. Unit - 4 explains the Realist Approaches - Systems Theory, Game Theory, Decision-making Theory, Power Theory.

Block I

Unit- 1 International Relations - Nature, Scope and Importance

Structure

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Meaning of International Relations

1.3 Nature of International Relations

1.4 Scope of International Relations

1.5 Importance of International Relations

1.6 Let us sum up

1.7 Key Words

1.8 Some Useful Books

1.9 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises

1.0 Objectives

The objectives of this Units are as follows:

a) to understand the meaning of different words/terminologies used to describe the relations among nations;

b) to know what International Relations actually refer to in their content

c) to be aware of the growth of International Relations from their European affairs phase to world politics;

d) to understand the factors which have contributed to the changing nature of International Relations;

e) to come to terms with their growing scope; and

f) finally to appreciate the importance of International Relations both as an academic discipline and as relations between and among nations.

1.1 Introduction

International Relations as a subject of study has grown over centuries. Scholars have referred to how the students and. teachers of International Relations have understood and analysed it from the ancient times to the emergence of the modern nation - state system, to the phase of Colonialism and Imperialism to the Post I and II World War phases dealing with the cold war and post-cold war years. While in a great majority of nations International Relations is studied as part of History and Political Science, gradually the subject has come to acquire the status of an independent academic discipline. More about this in later units/chapters.

International Relations has also, over the years and decades, undergone great changes in terms of its content - from wars and conflicts to peace and cooperation; from being purely bilateral to multilateral involving nation States and international organisations and non-governmental organisations. The substantive issues of International Relations have also included questions of strict adherence to national sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction by nations

to an era where nations are realising the need for sovereignty-sharing in a fast growing interdependent world. Simply put, the study of International Relations has seriously acquired global importance.

1.2 Meaning of International Relations

The Oxford English Dictionary refers to the use of the word 'international' for the first time by the British Philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1780. He however referred largely to the legal aspect jurisprudence) of relations between nations. Many scholars have also gone to the root of the word and said that it is derived from the Latin Word *intergenets,* a term used to refer to the law of nations or *jes gentium,* a term for Roman Law which was applied to foreigners. From the 19th Century onwards, the word 'international' came to be used to define the official relations between sovereign nations. Such explanations have grown out of the realisation that nations cannot live in isolation and that there are issues of political, economic and military importance which form part of the relations among nations and an academic study which explains all that has come to be described as International Relations.

There is no precise or clear definition of International Relations. While it is true that we should not get too exercised about definitional aspects, it may be useful to examine a few of them. According to Quincy Wright, "International Relations is the relations between groups of major importance in the life of the world at any period of history and particularly relations among territorially organised nation-States". Another scholar has defined it as "that aspect of human society which transcends national boundaries". Modern writers like Richard Falk have included international organisations in which nations interact with them as part of International Relations. Thus, viewed conventionally, International Relations refers to the official relations among nations, but viewed from a broader modern perspective it includes the relations not only between and among nations, but also their behavior as international

organisations. Stanley Hoffman says "the discipline of International Relations is concerned with the factors and the activities which affect the external policies and the power of the basic units into which the world is divided".

A few words of explanation about the use of different terminologies and their distinctions are necessary here. The phrase International Relations is very comprehensive and includes as part of its explanation not only political but economic, military social and cultural aspects too. The phrase "International Politics" on the other hand is a reference specially to the dominance of political (including military) aspects in the relations between and among nations. The emphasis is not so much on the history of relations but on the present /contemporary state of affairs which are influenced by politico-miitary considerations. The phrase refers to the primacy of politics and the political factors that influence relations among nations.

Writers like James N. Rosenau, Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane consciously use the term world politics in their writings. They emphasise the fact that over the decades, specially after 1950s, Third World states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are playing an important role in International Relations. Thus to them, International Relations has become truly global and hence the use of the world politics. Also, according to them, global forces and factors influence the patterns of behavior of nations; national decisions being influenced by them decisively. Some scholars also describe International Relations as Transnational Relations. While too much meaning into the differences in the use of nomenclature need not be read, it is important to note that from the phase of Diplomatic History, International Relations has, as a discipline, grown to emphasise the complex forces and factors that influence relations among nations.

1.3 Nature of International Relations

Any understanding of the nature of International Relations has to be done against the background of the number of significant actors

in the international system. Starting from this premise, it can clearly be stated that the nature of International Relations of the 17t\ 18th and 19th Centuries was characterised by the struggle among the European nations for imperialism and their quest for colonies. During that period, the economic and military objectives of the imperial powers were sought to be achieved by them as part of their international relations. The United States pursued for long an isolationist policy and Asia and Africa being colonies of one or the other European Powers were the *objects* and not *subjects* of international relations.

The ending of the I World War and the efforts to create the League of Nations by the victorious nations of the war was the first clear sign of broadening the nature of international relations. The entry of United States in an active way during the II World War and after in the creation of the United Nations, together with the Soviet Union was the next important development in the unfolding nature of international relations.

The nature of the post 1945 international relations was characterised by the following important events:

a) The emergence of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union with the setting up by them of military alliances, the NATO and Warsaw pact by the United States and the Soviet union, under their leadership respectively led to international relations acquiring a strong military-strategic orientation. The US and USSR were involved in power and influence building rivalry which also resulted in the creation of Regional Security Pacts (like the SEATO and CENTO) by the US/West and the signing of bilateral military treaties by the Soviet Union.

b) The unleashing of the nuclear weapons rivalry marked by the Soviets going nuclear in 1949 as an answer to Nuclear America followed by the British and French in the 1950s and

Communist China in 1964 added a strong nuclear dimension to the post 1945 international relations. This aspect of the nature of International Relations has continued even today with intermittent hypocritical and half-hearted measures at nuclear arms control and disarmament. This military dimension, in retrospect, has caused a significant negative impact on the nature and character of International Relations in the post 1945 period. The period was marked by the acquisition of *overkill capacity* by the United States and the Soviet Union. The intense military competition between them and their allies also led to the strong emergence of a military industrial complex, i.e., the arms industries, which acted (even now act;) as strong lobbies / pressure groups on national governments to spend more on defence.

c) The post 1945 international relations were marked by the slow, but steady, growth of new nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Third World as they are described, who slowly emerged as important payers in world politics. This period was also marked by many of them resisting the path of alliances and adopting the foreign policy strategy of *Nonalignment.* The nonaligned slowly grouped themselves into a movement called the Nonalignment Movement (NAM) and radically altered the nature of international relations. Their voting pattern in the UN General Assembly reflected a strong anti-Americanism, but often they were pro-Soviet Union *or* the Soviet Union came to adopt a pro-Third World, Pro- NAM position. The nature of international relations was thus characterised by, as Professor Richard Rosencrance wrote, bipolarity, multipolarity and at some stage it showed itself as bimultipolarity. In other words, the competition for power was among the US, USSR interspersed by the existence of (Third World) multipolar nations, often some of them informally taking

sides with one or the other bipolar power/nation, which was described as bi-multipolarity.

d) The nature of international relations was also marked by the progress made by the specialised agencies of the U.N. in various fields which came to be described by Prof. Richard Falk as functionalism of the UN with scholars beginning to study the working of the specialised agencies of the UN in a serious academic fashion. This, however, contrasted with the complaint by the United States of the 'tyranny of the majority' in the UN General Assembly. Needless to say, International Relations which are basically relations among nations were caught in the web of Super Power Third World relations, even confrontation, in some respects.

e) International Relations however witnessed a healthy change when in 1972 cold war ended and as replaced by the *detente* relaxation of tensions - phase of relationship between the United States and Soviet Union and the US and China. *Detente* had its impact, on the Third World too and the nature of International Relations thus underwent a positive change. Progress in Naval Armaments Limitation Pact along with Strategic Arms Limitation Act I and II between the US and USSR were some of the healthy developments.

f) In addition to power considerations, while ideology was very much a factor which explained the nature of International Relations during the cold war era, the post cold war International Relations which emerged in the 1990s were marked by the rise of economic and commercial interests which came to the forefront after the collapse of the socialist order and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Forces of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG as often referred) have come to explain the nature of contemporary International Relations. Multinational corporations as important

non-State actors are playing a crucial role in International Relations today.

(g) The post Soviet and post-Socialist era in International Relations is also known by the rise of United States in a big way. Often referred to as the only surviving Super Power, US leaders and academics heralded the rise of *unipolarity* in International Relations, i.e., one nation dominated international system, which however has been strongly refuted by many American scholars themselves. Countries like Russia, China, France and India rightly regard the world as being multi-polar.

h) International Relation's nature in modern days is also characterised by the dissolution of Warsaw pact and many regional defence organisations, but the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) has continued to stay with more of its former enemies from the Eastern Europe becoming its members. This aspect of the nature of International Relations was simply inconceivable during the cold war era.

i) The post cold war nature of International Relations is also markedby the growing irrelevance of the Nonaligned Movement. The NAM is adjusting itself with great difficulty to the present day international realities. Forces of globalisation and the emergence of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) have resulted in the economic sovereignty of nonaligned Third World nations being slowly wiped out, heralding the rise of neo-colonialism.

j) The debate about the reform of the United Nations and restructuring of the UN Security Council so as to include Germany, Japan and India along with representations to Africa and Latin America are the additional factors which have altered the nature of International Relations today.

k) Last but not the least, the menace of international terrorism after the terrorist attack in Washington and New York on the

11th of September 2001 have contributed to the building up of an international coalition under the leadership of the United States to wage a war on terrorism. This single factor greatly explains the nature of International Relations today and perhaps in the years to come.

1.4 Scope of International Relations

While imperial and colonial rivalries constituted the scope of international relations from the 17th to the mid 20th Century, the second half of the 20th Century brought in the power and ideological competition between the United States and the Soviet Union as the driving force of International Relations in the post Second World War period. The rise of Third World and Nonalignment since the 1950s expanded the scope of International Relations in a significant way. The role played by them within the Nonaligned movement and the United Nations and elsewhere made them key, if not powerful, actors in the conduct of international relations. The gradual ascendancy of the United Nations marked the arrival of supranational institutions (NAM also be included here) as additional actors in an international system whose scope till then was confined only to the nation States. Thus the scope of international relations came to be clearly expanded since the sixties, if not earlier.

In a similar fashion, military-strategic issues which formed part of the traditional concerns of International Relations came to be supplemented by the rise of economic issues with the emergence of multinational corporations as significant non-State actors influencing in their own distinct manner the scope and activities of international relations.

The nineties which marked the end of the Cold War coincided with the rise of the phenomenon of globalisation which further added to the importance of multinational corporations as significant actors influencing decisively the transformed scope of international relations. Supranational organisations like the European Union (EU) and

regional associations for cooperation like the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) together with the Asian Regional Forum (ARF), the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and many other associations/ organisations for regional economic cooperation explain in a striking manner the expanding scope of international relations with a clear focus more on economic and less on military aspects.

Another important component of the non-State actors refers to the rise in recent years of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with a clear focus on people to people diplomacy (Track II diplomacy as is often known) to help find solutions to some of the complex problems between nations where official diplomacy has failed to bring success. NGO diplomacy which thus points to a further expanded scope of International Relations, is playing its role not only on bilateral matters, but also some of the common issues of mankind like environmental protection, nuclear disarmament and peace.

The rise of international terrorism in recent years specially after the events of 11th September 2001 in America and the resolve of major nation -States to combat terrorism by forming an international coalition under the leadership of the United States is in all likelihood going to be an important agenda explaining the scope and activity of international relations in the coming years.

1.5 Importance of International Relations

The transformation of European relations into a truly global international activity in the post Second World War period together with the rise of new nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s was a significant development which contributed to the importance of international relations. World Politics, as it is often referred to, explains the importance of the community of nations collectively playing their role in the conduct of international relations.

The rise and spread of nuclear weapons with the expansion of the nuclear club coming to include the United States, the Soviet

Union, Britain, France and China by 1964 and the acquisition of overkill capacity by the US and USSR coupled with conventional arms rivalry in various other parts of the world were some of the other developments which contributed to the concern pursuit of Peace and Disarmament by the nations of the world. Setting up of the departments of Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies in several Universities in the West, notably the US, was a symbol of the growing importance of peace as an essential component of international relations.

Yet another factor which has contributed to the importance of international relations over the years is the rise of institutions/ associations for regional economic cooperation in addition to the global efforts to bring about equity and justice between and among nations.

Global efforts to spread democracy and human rights in regions and countries where they are absent points to the rediscovery of the value component in the importance of international relations in modern times. 0evelopments like Switzerland giving up its long-held position of neutrality and becoming a member of the United Nations explains the importance of nations working collectively (as part of their conduct of international relations), for the good of the global community. The efforts to strengthen the United Nations and help independently is yet another healthy development.

The increasingly positive role that the media, the newspapers and the television - are playing in exposing aggressive designs of some nations and the good work done by the majority of other nations, is yet another important factor/development, which has contributed to the importance of international relations in contemporary times. The emergence of Track II Diplomacy (people to people diplomacy) in recent years is further evidence of the growing popular disappointment with the failure of Governments and leaders to find solutions to some of the burning issues of international life. It

also points to the very real and sincere efforts being made by peoples' groups (NGOs) to break deadlocks and provide directions/ suggestions for amicable solution of vexed problems in the interests of international peace, justice and development. The conclusion is inescapable: International Relations are all important activity which requires the collective efforts of nations, leaders, non-governmental organisations and the people as a whole. The importance of international relations in the 21st Century lies in its emphasis on activities which are both people centric and government-centric for the good of all.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Examine the changing nature of International Relations

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2) Analyse the growing scope and importance of International Relations

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1.6 Let us sum up

In this Unit, an attempt has been made to highlight the meaning and the changing nature of International Relations by taking into account the developments in the subject as well as in the relations among nations. The Unit also discusses at length the elements/factors which have added to the expanding scope of International Relations. Finally the Unit ends with an analysis of the importance of International Relations, both as an activity and as an academic study.

1.7 KeyWords

Actors	-	The reference is to the role played by nations.
Bipolarity	-	world dominated by two nations.
Multipolarity	-	world characterised multiple nations.
Bi-multipolarity	-	Two nation/group centered multiple world.

Some Useful Books

Hans S. Morgenthau	:	Politics Among Nations (1954).
James N. Rosenau	:	World Politics (1988).
Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane	:	Power and Interdependence: World Politics by Transition (1998, latest edition)
Mahendra Kumar	:	Theoretical Aspects of International Politics (2001).
Rama Melkote and Narasimha Rao	:	International Relations (1994)
Vinay Kumar Malhotra	:	Theories and Approaches to International Relations (1998)
Vinay Kumar Malhotra	:	International Relations (2001)

1.9 Answer to Check Your Progress

Check Your Progress-1

1) See Section 1.3

Check Your Progress-2

1) See Section 1.4 & 1.5

Unit: 2- Growth and Development of International Relations as an Academic Discipline

Structure

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Early Efforts in the Growth of International Relations

2.3 Stages in the Development of International Relations as an Academic Discipline

2.4 Behavioural Approach

2.5 Post-Behavioural Approach

2.6 Conclusion

2.7 Let us sum up

2.8 KeyWords

2.9 Some Useful Books

2.10 Answers to check your Progress Exercises.

2.0 Objectives

The objectives of studying this Unit are to understand:

i) the historical growth of International Relations

ii) the way International Relations grew distinctly in the United States as a discipline

iii) the manner in which International Relations differ from Political Science and History

iv) the manner in which developments at the global level influenced the growth of the discipline of International Relations

v) the efforts made by Third World Countries to add their own emphasis towards the study of International Relations.

2.1 Introduction

In modern times while nations and people have come to understand not only the growth and importance of International Relations as an activity between and among nations, there is not much awareness about the evolution of International Relations as an academic discipline. An effort is made here to analytically explain the growth and development of International Relations as an academic discipline alongside developments that took place in Europe and the United States of America, which had a strong bearing or influence on the growth of the discipline. Efforts made by nations to develop certain international institutions and the manner in which those institutions contributed to the growth of the discipline of International Relations too have been highlighted wherever necessary. All in all, this lesson is a study of the growth and development of the discipline of International Relations.

2.2 Early efforts in the growth of International Relations

The ending of the First World War and the pivotal role played by the then President of the United States Woodrow Wilson in the creation of the League of Nations as an international organisation at

the world level had a great influence on the efforts that were made at the academic level to institutionalise the study of International Relations. Thus, it was in 1919 that the first department of International Relations was established in the University of Wales with the Woodrow Wilson Chair, first occupied by Alfred Zimmeru, a historian. Later on, the position was held by such well known scholars of the time as Professor E.H. Carr, P.A. Reynolds, Lawrence Martin and T .E. Evans, all reputed historians again.

The appointment of historians to head the departments of International Relations indicated the strong tendency during those times to identify International Relations with Diplomatic History. While this was perhaps inevitable at that time, it also pointed to the strong tendency to consciously or unconsciously equate the substance of International Relations with History and historical developments, i.e., the emphasis was more on the past than on the present. This character of the discipline began to change slowly and for good. The emphasis on regarding the present and the future as of supreme importance and the thought that the past is only a guide eventually helped recognize international relations as an 'independent' discipline. While concepts and strategies followed by the nation states in the conduct of their foreign policies will be dealt with elsewhere separately, the focus here is to understand and appreciate the international relationships that have been studied in the past, as that will help explain the changing nature of the relations between and among nations. This phenomenon has been variously described as international politics, international affairs, world affairs and more recently as world politics. Needless to say the above referred nomenclatures and their use by scholars point significantly to the political and/or other aspects of the relations between and among nations.

2.3 Stages in the development of International Relations as an academic discipline

The First Stage

Professor Kenneth W. Thompson in his essay "The Study of International Politics: A Survey of Trends and Developments", has referred to four stages in the development of the discipline. According to him, the first stage up to the end of the First World War was dominated by the monopoly of Diplomatic Historians, who presented international relations in a chronological and descriptive (not analytical) manner. They never bothered to explain how various events and situations fitted into the general pattern of behaviour among nations. Diplomatic Historians, avoided the study of current events and refrained from deducing any universal principles from their descriptive study of events. Their study helped us in understanding events of the past, but provided no clues as to how the present and future trends were to be understood. As such that phase was not helpful in developing a general perspective or theory of International Relations.

The Second Stage

The second stage in the development of International Relations began with the end of the First World War with scholars emphasising the importance of studying current events and focussing their attention on interpretation of the significance of current developments and problems. During this stage, an attempt was made to highlight developments which were ignored or overlooked by Diplomatic Historians. But as it came to be realised later, even this approach, though very significant _failed to provide an integral view of international relations, as its focus was on the present without much reference to the past. Its serious deficiency was its failure to integrate the past with the present in a theoretical continuum. No attempt was made to relate the post-war political problems with comparable problems of the past. The "current events" approach corrected a failing of the Diplomatic Historians approach without retaining its

useful aspect. The result was that no cogent and theoretical methodological foundation was laid by the scholarly community.

The Third Stage

The third stage in the development of the discipline of International Relations which began during and after the inter-war period emphasised the institutionalisation of international relations through law and organisation. Such an emphasis was based on the belief that the international community was able to *create* institutions which would help resolve all international problems. As is well known, this approach to the study of International Relations was given special emphasis in the wake of the establishment of the League of Nations and the efforts that were made to codify and operationalise a system of International Law under the auspices of the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCU). Some scholars began to emphasise that traditional techniques of international behaviour like balance of power were no longer relevant. Thus, the main focus of teaching and research was in the field of International Law and International Organisation. The belief was that once individual morality and group morality could strike roots in the international society, peace and security could be achieved through international institutions. But as future developments showed, this excessive focus on law and organisation resulted in the neglect of an understanding of the dynamics of behaviour between and among nations. That this approach was based on a faulty assessment of international realities came to be realised when the League of Nations was faced with the gigantic task of dealing with totalitarian dictatorships engaged in aggression III different parts of the world.

The Fourth Stage

Interestingly many scholars began emphasising the need for studying military strategy rather than peace-oriented studies. The sad and eventual failure of the League of Nations in preventing the

outbreak of the Second World War dealt a *body* blow as it were to the severe limitations of the legal organisational approach and that phase of the development of international relations, which was associated with it. While the third stage in a way continued and the same got impetus with efforts to create a new international organisation and strengthen international law, as can be seen in the establishment of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice in 1945, the fourth phase in the study of International Relations began with the emphasis shifting from international law and organisation to the study of forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of States. Students of International Relations were now involved in analyzing and understanding the motivating factors of foreign policy, the techniques of conducting foreign policy and the mode of resolution of international conflicts.

2.4 Behavioural Approach

This phase of the development of international relations highlighted the importance of theoretical investigation and developing new theories to understand international relations. Thus began the emergence of behavioural theories (developed mainly by American scholars) like the systems theory, decision-making theory, game theory, to name only a few. In addition to nation states, as the units of analysis, emphasis came to be placed on private groups and organisations, the military-industrial complex, the pressure groups, etc., as important players and units of analysis, helping us to understand their influence on the behaviour of nations in the international system.

Scholars belonging to the behavioural mould also started arguing about the growing irrelevance or the decline of nation-states and the corresponding rise of non-state actors in the study and conduct of international relations. More about some such theories in a later chapter. Suffice it say that these theories began to emphasise the value- free nature of inquiry into international relations.

While the behavioral theories made some rapid impact, soon it was realised by the community of scholars that the study and research in the field of international relations should be concerned not merely with the production of a body of scientific knowledge, but also *improvement* of international relations by nations with the quest for peace as their ultimate goal.

2.5 Post-behavioral Approach

Thus began the post behavioral phase with the emergence of the peace research approach which emphasised its commitment to scientific theory of the causes of war and conditions of peace. Peace research approach seeks to combine the values of the idealistic approach with the methodological rigour of the social science scholars.

One of the byproducts of the peace research school/approach was the emergence of the world order approach. The world order approach headed by scholars like Richard Falk and Rajhi Kothari in India insist that the future of the world can be improved not just by an emotional commitment to certain values, but more importantly by planning certain concrete steps and by linking them strongly. They emphasised the need for planning for the next 25 or 30 years, This approach suggests policy alternatives for a better world order and is being advocated and preferred by many scholars in the discipline of International Relations today.

Thus, the above noted four stages marked the growth of the discipline of International Relations in the West, predominantly in the United States of America, resulting in the setting up of separate departments of International Relations in many of the American Universities.

The post Second World War era was also marked by the rise of the socialist approach to the study of the discipline of International Relations. The socialist approach emphasised the need for understanding and interpreting international relations from the

perspective of the class antagonisms between the haves and the have nots. It firmly believed in the emergence of a classless international society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Influenced by the Revolution in Soviet Union and the writings of Karl Marx and Engels, this approach highlights the pursuit of equality as the main concern of nations and believed in the spread of socialism and communism in the newly emerged. Third World States in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet and Chinese scholars and their counterparts in the leading Third World Countries like India and Cuba projected the socialist perspective to the study of and research in International Relations. The Centre for Soviet and Chinese Studies in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi contributed significantly to the socialist literature on International Relations.

At the same time, many of the Third World scholars (including Indian) argued in favour of developing an ecelectical approach, to the study of international relations by trying to bring in the best from the Western and socialist perspectives and giving it a definite Third World flavour, quite understandably so. Though International Relations as a separate discipline grew in only some selected institutions like the Indian School of International Studies which later on became part of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, separate departments of International Relations came into being in Jadavpur University (Calcutta) and the Pondicherry and Hyderabad Central Universities in the South. In the rest of the country, International Relations is even now not accorded the status of a separate discipline and is being studied as part of the discipline of political science.

Eversince the dawn of the eve of Liberalisation, Privitisation and Globalisation (LPG as is often referred to) International Relations as a discipline has come to acquire a strong economic bias as against the military/strategic bias which formed part of the focus of International Relations Studies in the post 1945 period upto 1991.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can only be said that whether International Relations has grown as a separate discipline around the world or not, importance of the study of International Relations (even when it is studied and taught as part of the discipline of political science) has grown tremendously. The varying and often competing perspectives and approaches have only added to the richness of the discipline. This trend is only going to continue in the years to come which is indeed a happy and satisfying development.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Examine the stages in the growth of International Relations as a discipline.

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2) Bring out the advantages of the different perspectives and approaches

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2.8 Let us sum up

The discipline of International Relations has grown over the years and decades, having acquired a separate status in some countries and not so in many other countries. The various stages referred to earlier have only served to strengthen the growth and development of International Relations as an academic discipline. The growth trend is positive and is likely to grow in the years to come.

2.9 KeyWords

Discipline	:	Systematically developed branch of knowledge.
Behavioral approach	:	That which emphasises an understanding of institutions and processes in a value-free manner.
Post behavioral approach	:	that which emphasises an understanding of institutions and processes from a value-oriented perspective.
Eclectical approach/method	:	that which emphasises taking the best of various approaches and developing out of it, its own perspective.

2.10 Some Useful Books

Mahendrakumar	:	Theoretical Aspects of International Politics (Agra, Shivalal Agarwale and Company (2001) (revised ed.)
Lerche and Said	:	Concepts of International Politics. (1972)
Rama S. Melkote, and A. Narasimha Rao	:	International Relations (1994)

Hans S. Morgenthau	:	Politics among Nations (1954)
Karl Deutsch	:	Analysis of International Relations.
Vinay Kumar Malhotra	:	Theories and Approaches to International Relations (1998)
Vinay Kumar Malhotra	:	International Relations (2001)

2.11 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises.

Check Your Progress-1

1) See Section 2.2 & 2.3

Check Your Progress-2

1) See Section 2.4 , 2.5 & 2.6

Unit 3 Approaches to the Study of International Relations: Traditional approaches - Idealist approach, Historical approach, International Organisation approach, and International Law approach.

Structure

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Idealist. approach

3.3 Historical approach

3.4 International Organisational approach

3.5 International Law approach

3.6 Let us sum up

3.7 Key Words

3.8 Some Useful Books

3.9 Answers to Check your progress Exercises.

3.0 Objectives

The objectives of studying this unit are to understand:

(i) the main tenets of the above referred approaches

ii) their significance

iii) their merits and demerits

iv) to what extent they constitute an important contribution to the study of International Relations as part of the traditional approaches, and

v) how in spite of the advance in later years of the scientific approaches, the traditional approaches have not lost their validity.

3.1 Introduction

The traditional approaches to the study of International Relations have had the responsibility of showing to the students and practitioners of International Relations the significance of societal, human (including impulsive) and historical influences that go into the understanding and conduct of International Relations. According to them, these factors should serve to strengthen our resolve to develop the subject rather than make us feel inferior to the so-called hard sciences. At the same time, the traditional approaches also point to the need for reposing faith in idealism, historical legacies, the limits upto which international organisation and international law can push nations to successfully conduct international relations, specially in view of the hard fact that nations do not like to easily share their sovereign power with supra-national bodies and instruments. The scholarly community in the field of International Relations has not perhaps succeeded to the extent they wanted to in changing the behaviour of nations. The effort nonetheless will continue.

3.2 Idealist approach

Historically, idealism had influence with on with out success, even before the emergence of the nation state system. However, the

idealist approach to the study of international relations is widely believed to have emerged in the eighteenth century and is recognised as the main inspiration behind the American and French Revolutions. In 1795, Condorcet wrote a book entitled "Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind", in which he outlined the essential basis of idealism. He envisaged a world order marked by the absence of war, inequality and tyranny and driven by progress in human welfare brought about by the use of rationality, education and science. In the twentieth century, it was Woodrow Wilson and our own Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru who valued the above noted tenets and vigorously argued for their adoption by nation-States in their relationships with one another. Woodrow Wilson, as President of the United States firmly believed in and vigorously campaigned for the abolition of wars by creating an international organisation which came to be the League of Nations and believed in banishing wars from the international scene. Mahatma Gandhi led a non-violent struggle successfully against the British colonial rule. Jawaharlal Nehru articulated after India became Independent in 1947, an independent path of foreign policy (called Nonalignment) and refused to align India with power politics and alliances which twice in our life time (the reference is- to I and n World Wars) had brought untold misery to mankind. Thus, they along with Woodrow Wilson were the strong advocates of idealist approach to international relations.

Idealism thus presents a picture of the future of international society based on the notion of a reformed international system free from power politics, immorality and violence. The idealist approach has always believed in bringing about a better world with the help of education and international organisation. The idealist approach strongly advocates nations to:

a) follow moral principles in their international behaviour;
b) abstain from all forms of power politics as it only begets more and more violence and conflicts;

c) to move away from policies of alliances and counter alliances;

d) to strive for co-operative relationships within the framework of international organisations;

e) to pursue policies aimed at collective security;

f) to strengthen international law;

g) to eventually strive for the creation of World Government and or World Federalism; and

h) to finally find solutions to all contentious problems of international relations in a peaceful and co-operative manner.

Idealism thus appeals to the inner conscience of mankind and outlines a value based, peace-oriented approach to international relations, but unfortunately the reality of international politics (as has been observed by the realist approach which has been discussed elsewhere) is marked by wars and conflicts brought about often by the selfish and power hungry attitudes of leaders. The fact that the League of Nations could not prevent the Second World War and that in the post 1945 period, power struggle between the United States and Soviet Union became the dominant facet of international relations emboldened the realist school to launch a frontal attack on the idealist approach. Simply put, the realist school argued that the idealist approach was grossly out of touch with the international realities. Morality and values are described by the realists as being inconsistent with present day power politics. Hans Morgenthau even went to the extent of arguing that the ideological struggle between the capitalists/liberals and the socialists (between the West and USSR) was a garb for their concealed interest of spreading their power and influence over the world, Thus, the idealist approach came under a very severe attack in the hands of the realists.

The criticisms of the realist approach notwithstanding, it is wrong to describe international relations as devoid of idealism. If that was so, leaders and nations would not be talking and working of a terror-free world marked by peace and nuclear disarmament. It is

true that idealism gets the backseat in the hands of power hungry leaders, but that is not to say that idealism as an approach to international relations has ceased to be of any relevance.

3.3 Historical approach

One of the earliest approaches that was developed in the study of international relations was the historical approach. The Universities in Britain were the pioneers in the use of approach in their teaching and research. The approach laid emphasis on the importance of learning diplomatic history and relations among nations for fixed periods of time. The approach was useful because at that time the study of International Relations was confined to largely to Europe where all the action took place. World History was nothing more than European history. But with colonialism ending and more and more Asian-African colonies of the former Imperial Powers becoming independent nations, and with U.S. entering as an important action, the scope of international relations induced dramatically.

Though in the post 1945 period, political scientists and international relations scholars. importance an power approach and later on the behavioral approach in the study and conduct of international relations emphasising power and behavior as determinants, one cannot deny totally the relevance of the historical approach. Even those like Morgenthau who advocate the power approach do so ironically relay on historical examples to validate their approach. The behaviouralists, while emphasizing the study of the behaviour of nations as leaders and the factors - socioeconomic - which influence their behavior, do not emphatically deny the utility of knowing the history of nations.

The merit of the historical approach lies in the fact that it not only helps us to know the past, understand the present in a better manner in the light of historical background, but also to arrive at certain valid generalisations. Thus, historical approach is very much relevant to understand the present. day international developments

regarding foreign policies and the behaviour of leaders can be better appreciated by correctly evaluating the historical forces and influences.

The historical approach is particularly rewarding in the understanding of the failures of the past and shortcomings of the leaders. As such it serves as a guide to present day decision-makers to improvise and change, if desirable the course of 'history' of their nations.

Moreover, the forces of nationalism, internationalism, democracy, totalitarianism, etc., cannot be understood without the use of the historical approach. For example, if India is described as a successful democracy, such a description goes back to the historical legacy of democracy in India. The existence of Sabhas and Samitis in Ancient India are cited in favour of such a conclusion.

Also, if the Indian emphasis on peace and rejection of war as an approach to the conduct of foreign policy is to be understood, it is useful to go back to the days of Ashoka and the way he renounced the use of force after the Kalinga war. At the same time, if some aspects of India's foreign policy and international behaviour are interpreted and understood as being rooted in power politics and some of its leaders as being power hungry, such explanations need to be seen as historical intellectual legacies like the Kautilyan statecraft as expounded by him in his "Arthashastra"; his chapter on Diplomacy is as realist ie as Morgenthau's power approach expounded in his book "Politics among Nations". Such historical examples can also be drawn in the case of nations like the United States of American, Britain, France and present day Russia. This only goes to show the utility of the historical approach in our understanding of even contemporary international relations.

Also, the modem day historical approach is enriched by its emphasis on social history and economic history, which add value to the traditionally understood historical approach. Only that part of

the historical approach which sees history as *only the record of past events* has no doubt some serious limitations.

3.4 International Organisation Approach

International organisation approach came to be developed with the establishment of the League of Nations. This approach points out that successful international relations can and should be seen only in a context where nations understand the utility of having international organisations to find solutions to some of their problems which cannot be found purely in a bilateral context. In other words, this approach believes that certain aspects of national behaviour and objectives and the focus and factors that hinder and influence nations should be understood in the context of the need and utility of international organisations. For example, the League of Nations was established to help nations overcome the evils of wars (and the use of force) by agreeing to the norms of behaviour that the League was to establish and enforce.

The international organisation approach also emphasises the utility of collective action in certain important spheres to bring about order and security in the world. It also highlights the need for nations going beyond narrow interpretations of State sovereignty and agreeing to share part of their sovereignty with the international organisation, be it the earlier League of Nations or the present day United Nations, so that the organisation helps establish peace and order among nations.

The failure of the League no doubt dealt a big blow to the advocacy of international organisation approach. The Second World War and the destruction it brought with it led to a further resolve to reinvent the international organisation with new vigour minus all its earlier defects. That also gave new life to the international organisation approach.

With the growth and development of the United Nations in the political and non-political fields, the international organisation

approach has come to lay stress on the advantages that accrue to the nations by economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. The approach points to the fact that in this age of interdependence, nations gain by using international organisations for cooperation in all sectors. The famous functionalism thesis of Prof. Richard Falk has only added to the immense value of the approach in the understanding of the modern international relations.

Together with the growth of regional organisations for economic, trade, cultural and scientific cooperation, the international organisation approach has indeed grown in strength as one of the viable approaches to the study of international relations. This also marks a healthy trend in the discipline of international relations. But it needs to be highlighted that this approach should be seen as an additional and even complementary approach not as an exclusive one - to the other approaches already in practice in the study of international relations, just as in the same way as international organisations are seen as supplementing the bilateral relations between and among nation-states.

3.5 International Law Approach

The international law approach complements and supplements the international organisational approach. This approach emerged in the wake of the creation of the Permanent Court of International Relations (PCIR) as part of the League of Nations after the I World War. As the name itself points out, the international law approach came to be advocated by the international relations scholars because of their belief that if international relation are to be conducted orderly within the framework of rules, regulations, and a clear implementation of those rules followed by punishment whenever they are violated, there has to be a system of laws which will govern then and more so nations agree to adhere to it. The need for such an approach arose in the wake of the fact that the pre-I World War international relations were characterised by a system where national law and national

frameworks guided the behavior of nation-states, led as they were by narrow national interest considerations. The pre-1919 system had all the characteristics of anarchic international relations when bilateral agreements were the only factors that operated. When the big and the powerful trampled on the rights and privileges of smaller nations, the latter had no forum where they could take their case to. More than that, issues of common concern and how they needed to be addressed as part of relations between and among nations could not be articulated and pursued with a sense of justice and fair play. The aggressors got away without any condemnation, punishment and sanctions.

Under the above circumstances, the birth of the League of Nations and the advocacy of the international organisation approach had to be supplemented by a clear recognition of the laws that were to govern national behaviour in international relations. The creation of a court to hear cases against unlawful behaviour of nations which would also act as a forum for settlement of disputes between and among nations was of paramount importance. Thus emerged the international law approach.

Historically however, it could be stated that from the time Hugo Grotius wrote his famous book "The Law of War and Peace", modern scholars such as Hans Kelsen, Quincy Wright and Louis Sohn, have shown a tendency to view international law, not only as a criterion for international order, but also as the most approach to international relations.

This approach considers international law as the basis for the interpretation of International Relations. The advocates of this approach favour acceptance and adoption of common elements of world wide law found in different legal systems. According to them, nations have an obligation to abide by such a law and even work for its advancement. They argue that international law is the key stone of international order, "around which national actions in the international sphere should be oriented".

The failure of the League of Nations to the serious effort for the creation of the United Nations. Since the Permanent Court proved itself very helpful and legal approach practical, the world court was made a principal organ of the U.N. with a renewed plea for strengthening international law as the guiding force behind an orderly conduct of international relations.

From the 19561 to the end of the 20th century, International Law has grown widely and has come to lay the basis for justice and fairplay. The growth of trade and commerce, inclusion of scientific and technological cooperation, concern for environmental protection, rights of refugees, questions relating to international investments in other countries by nations and multinational companies and finally the pressing need for combating international terrorism have led to a situation where international law is being called upon to lay the ground rules for the orderly conduct of relations among nations in the fields mentioned above. Thus, international law has grown in its scope and applicability.

While it is true that nations cling to their rights and often cite national sovereignty and interest imposing restrictions on international law and how their behaviour cannot be regulated, much less made punishable, it cannot be denied that they have also come to realise the tremendous advantages international law and the legal approach has come to confer on them in matters of policy formulation and implementation. In the era. of Globalisation and Liberalisation, the importance and utility of the international law approach is growing day by day. Hopefully, in the years that follow, nations would recognise the supremacy of international law over national interest and sovereignty on questions of war, peace and security and agree to abide by the tenets of international law and the decisions of International Court of Justice. Intellectual and moral pressure nation-states, which will ensure orderly conduct of international relations based on the principles of equality and justice, and at the same time strengthen International Law approach.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Describe briefly the main features. advantages and disadvantages of the Idealistic and Historical approaches

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2) Examine the characteristics and linkage, between international organisation and international law approaches. How far have they enriched International Relations?

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3.6 Let us sum up

This unit clearly shows the importance and utility of the traditional approaches to the study of International Relations. The idealistic approach drives home the importance of values and the case for an orderly evolution of International Relations from its nation-centric to world-centric concerns, and cautions us against undue emphasis on the criticisms of the approach, by the realists. The historical approach underlines the importance and utility of knowledge of history to understand the present.

The international organisational approach affirms the positive benefits that both the approaches and the international organisations can bring to the enhancement of the understanding and conduct of International Relations.

Finally, the International Law approach highlights the manner in which principles of international law and the approach can contribute to a significantly qualitative order in the world.

3.9 Key Words

Tradition	:	Belief or practice handed down to people and communities by people/nations (in our context).
Idealistic	:	Imaginative treatment of subjects and society based on certain ideals.
Anarchy	:	Complete absence of law and government, utter lawlessness, chaos and disorder.

3.8 Some Useful Books

Mahendra Kumar	:	Theoretical Aspects of International Politics(2001)
Hans S.Morgenthau	:	Politics Among Nations (1954)
Rama S.Melkote and Narasimha Rao	:	International Relations (1994)
K.P. Misra and Samuel Biad	:	International Relations Theory.
J.W. Burton	:	International Relations: A General Theory.
Vinay Kumar Malhotra	:	Theories and Approaches to International Relations (1998)
Vinay Kumar Malhotra		
Vinay Kumar Malhotra	:	International Relations (2001)

3.9 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises.

Check Your Progress-1

1) See Section 3.3

Check Your Progress-2

1) See Section 3.4 &3.5

NOTES

Unit 4 Realist Approaches - Systems Theory, Game Theory, Decision-making Theory, Power Theory

Structure

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Systems Theory

4.3 Game Theory

4.4 Decision-making Theory

4.5 Power Theory

4.6 Evaluation

4.7 Let us Sum up

4.8 Key Words

4.9 Some Useful Books

4.10 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises

4.1 Objectives

The objective of studying this unit is to understand:

i) the main tenets of the above referred theories

ii) their merits and demerits

iii) to what extent they are significant contributions to the study of International Relations, as part of the behavioural theory

iv) to what extent International Relations can be understood as a science and the limitations in general of the scientific behavioural theories

v) and finally how can the, limitations be overcome.

4.1 Introduction

The post Second World War study of International Relations became distinctively different from the pattern followed earlier in the study and development of International Relations. The behavioural / scientific theories in the study of International Relations are predominantly an American contribution to the subject. They are driven by considerations of making the study and understanding of International Relations free from biases/prejudices and developing as far as possible scientific methodologies and formulations which would help us understand why nations behave the way they behave, what options they have objectively before them, and how best to use the one which would confer optimum advantages to the nation-states as actors in the international system. The scientific theories also have the main objective of highlighting the forces at work, both domestic and international, which influence national behaviour. The advocates of the scientific behavioural theories are also driven by the strong urge to elevate the discipline of International Relations to the status of a science and thus make important theoretical contributions to the growth of the discipline. The theories that emerged from the American Universities had their own distinctive features and emphases and possibly could not agree on what constituted the scientific theory's

common minimum content. That often led to confusion and eventual failure on their part to develop one grand theory to the study of International Relations. They are nonetheless marked by methodological rigour.

4:2 Systems Theory

The Systems Theory, often known as the General Systems Theory, as pointed out earlier, is he result of behavioral revolution in social sciences, and more so, political science. It developed out of a strong concern on the part of social scientists to evolve a body of knowledge by integrating the various disciplines of social sciences.

A system is defined as "a set of elements standing in interaction", as "a set of objects together with relationship between the objects and between their attributes", as "a whole which is compounded of many parts, an ensemble of attributes". The General Systems Theory is thus based on the assumption that there are certain features of relationship that are common to systems of all kinds. In brief, a system is said to connote the relationship between units.

The systems approach operates on the belief that it is possible to see certain regular modes of behaviour within the structure of a political organism. Thus, according to it, a study of the actions of the parts of a political system can be made in terms of an analysis of the action of participating states. In other words, the systems theory emphasises the interaction between nation-states as an important activity in international relations, influenced as it is by several forces and factors in the international system.

With this abstract notion of the General Systems Theory, it would be useful to focus specifically on the systems theory as propounded by Morton Kaplan in his book "System and Process in International Politics", published in 1957.

As part of his systems theory Morton Kaplan explained that

a political system is to be distinguished by the fact that its rules determine the areas of jurisdiction and provide methods for settling conflicts among nations regarding their jurisdiction, or boundaries, as one may call it. He gives primary to the international system (i.e., the world as a whole) but quite realistically considers the international system to be subordinate to the national political systems (i.e., nation-states). He regards national behavior to be always governed by considerations of national interest.

Morton Kaplan talks of national actors and supra-national actors; countries like the United States, Britain, France are called the national actors while an organisation like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is regarded as supra- national actor. According to him, international relations is always an interaction between supra-national actors with national actors always playing a decisive role.

As part of his systems theory, Morton Kaplan develops six models of major international systems: the balance of power system, the loose bipolar system, the tight bipolar system, the universal actor system, the hierarchical international system and the unit veto system.

The first of Kaplan's system, the balance of power system is somewhat similar to the system that prevailed in the Western world in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The balance of power system, according to him, has multiple number of actors, say five or six nations, working as national actors.

Kaplan argues that the balance of power system to be operational requires: (a) each actor (i.e., nation) trying to increase its power and capabilities through negotiation with other actors, and not through the use of force (i.e., war); (b) each actor wants to protect itself by increasing its power; (c) national actors oppose any growth of actors trying to become more powerful at the cost of others; (d) supranational actor's interests are subordinate to the interests of national actors. The essence of Mortan Kaplan's balance of power

model is that nations and national interests are superior to those of the supranational bodies.

The balance of power system, according to Kaplan, operated in the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe very well and appeared as a rule of universal applicability. But Kaplan cautions that the balance of power system fails if nations do not conform to the rules of the game or if one tries to .look for unilateral gains at the expense of others, as happened in the world in the past, specially in Europe.

According to Mortan Kaplan, the balance of power system transforms itself into a bipolar system, one in which two national actors and their cooperating actors dominate over two different blocs. The nearest similarity to this was the United States and the Soviet Union operating in the world during the cold war years with their bloc supporters, the NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Going further, Kaplan divides his bipolar system into loose bipolar system, which again got reflected in the manner in which the United States and the Soviet Union were surrounded by a group of smaller nations and non-aligned States, in which the existence of non-aligned States made the power of the bipolar actors (the US and USSR) loose. The existence of a universal actor like the United Nations, says Kaplan, further made the bipolar system loose. Kaplan argues that the loose balance of power system is marked by instability which results in its transformation into a tight bipolar system, a hierarchical international system, a universal international system or into a unit veto system, not necessarily in the same order.

Kaplan's model of tight bipolar system is one in which the neutral and nonaligned States disappear and the system will operate only around the two bipolar powers. This model of Kaplan is unrealistic because the neutral and non-aligned nations will not disappear totally though they may become weak. Also, his concept of tight bipolar system to be successful requires its stability being guaranteed by blocs which are hierarchically organised, which also

is unrealistic.

The universal international system of Mortan Kaplan refers to the United Nations becoming sufficiently powerful to prevent wars among nations, but national actors retain their individuality and strive for more power. While the second part of the model/system is often true, the first part, i.e., the U.N. preventing wars among nations is divorced from reality. As such this model of Kaplan also fails to be convincing.

The next model of Kaplan, the hierarchical international system envisages a situation in which a universal actor absorbs practically the whole world. This model is also faulty as one nation dominating the entire international system is quite unrealistic to happen. Neither Nazi Germany could represent that nor the present day United States has reached such a position, though many argue that the United States is playing such a role today.

The last of the models of Kaplan is what he calls the Unit veto system in which the weapons that exist are of such a nature that any national actor can acquire such a capability. We cannot predict whether it will become a reality or not.

While Mortan Kaplan can be credited to have produced a methodologically rigorous model, none of his systems represent the international reality faithfully. In any case, the impression one gets is that in his enthusiasm to build models, Kaplan loses sight of the much needed scholarly obligation to project a model of an international system which is normatively (in terms of values) superior and worthy of adulation and acceptance.

4.3 Game Theory

Game theory is yet another theory as part of the behavioural approach to the study of international relations. The theory was developed by Mathematicians and Economists like Martin Shubik, Oskar Morgenthau and Karl Deutsch.

Game theory's objective is to formulate principles which could specify what is rational behaviour in certain social/international situations. The Game Theory has identified three kinds of games which explain. national behaviour: (a) games of identical interests among nations, (b) games of opposite interests, and (c) games of mixed interests.

The technique of game theory had its genesis in the war games developed at defence colleges. Through a number of models, the game theory seeks to predict international political consequences. International Relations is seen by the theory as a zero-sum game in which one party wins while the other party loses. It is often argued that during the cold war, the US and USSR played their role in this fashion, their goal being to win at the cost of the other.

The game theory also refers to the model of non- zero-sum game which is however considered as a more appropriate model because we must recognise that some types of international conflict can be resolved only by situations in which neither side loses and in which sometimes both sides may- win. Nuclear America and Nuclear Russia in situations of conflict should both win by practicing restraint and not crossing a certain threshold.

Another model which is mathematically developed is the zero-sum two person game. In mixed motive games, the participants do not have competitive interests.

The game theory provides useful insights into the nature of international relations. However, it fails in complex international situations. The tendency on the part of scholars nowadays is to suggest win-win situations for the parties to a conflict. Additionally, another important reason why the game theory often fails is because of the irrational and impulsive factors which openly guide national behavior. Thus, like the systems theory, the game theory too has its shortcomings and cannot be accepted as a convincing model both to the study of international relations and as a guide to national behavior in

international politics.

4.4 Decision-making Theory

The behavioral approach/revolution produced yet another important theory called the Decision-making Theory developed by Snyder, Bruck and Sapin in their book "Decision-making as an approach to the Study of International Politics" in the year 1954. The authors of this theory seek to provide a full description of the factors that shape and influence the actions of nations in international relations. Their focus is on decision-making for the study of the processes of policy making. They place emphasis on the 'crucial structures' in the political field where decisions are made and where actions are initiated and carried out. To them, the decision-makers consist of leaders/individuals and structures/institutions and their interaction leads to decisions or policies. The structures/institutions consist of both internal and external ones like the legislature, the cabinet (internally) and the outside powers/nations and institutions (externally). Decisions, according to this theory are the result of rational interaction between the decision-makers and the internal and external structures/institutions.

Decision-making, the theory, says, leads to a course of actions as well as sequence of activities. Any event under analysis needs to be viewed in terms of several phases of action - the pre- decisional phase choices available and implementation.

While the decision-making theory is indeed a good theoretical development, the theory and its advocates overlooked a number of factors: (1) Decisions, contrary to their assumption, are not always a rational activity; many a times, decisions are irrational and impulsive depending as they are on the idiosyncrasies of the decision-makers/ leaders. (2) The theory may hold good in normal situations, but in extraordinary or emergency situations, decision-making becomes a contracted activity. Decisions are often made on calculations relevant

to those times and situations and are at best the product of judgements of the decision-makers, a factor completely overlooked by the theory. (3) The decision making theory also fails to provide any guidelines for future situations and decisions to be made under such situations and contingencies. (4) Finally the decision-making theory fails to provide any corelationship between the quality of inputs that go into the making of decisions and the actual policies or outputs. This is a major weakness of the theory. Nonetheless, the decision-making theory gained lot of popularity in academic circles during the 1950s and 1960s.

4.5 Power Theory

Power theory which is also known as Realist Theory has attracted wide attention by the students and practitioners of international relations. Power theory is based on the premise that power is the major determinant of national behavior in international politics and that nations think and act in terms of acquiring power, increasing power, retaining power and using that power over other nations, specially smaller nations. Thus, power is the be all and end all of nations, according to the Realist School. Though the English Historian, E.H. Carr, known for his pathbreaking book "The Twenty Years Crisis" is considered to be the 20th century originator of the power theory, Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau of the United States is widely accepted as the main advocate or proponent of the power theory, through his celebrated book "Politics Among Nations". Prof. Morgenthau succeeded in his efforts to systematise the concept of power, and described it as the Realist theory to the study of international relations. His theory relies upon the empirical study of international phenomena, and argues that a rational theory of international politics is possible and that the political sphere has an autonomy of its own.

Morgenthau's theory attempts to prove that interest and power are the two fundamental concepts of international politics. His

theory tries to understand international politics from the point of view of interest defined in terms of power. The theory is based on his acceptance of Hobbe's concept of human nature which explains human beings as nasty, brutish and selfish. Thus, according to Hans Morgenthau, just as human beings are selfish, nasty and brutal and always care for their own survival, nations too behave in the same manner, using force for their survival. As such politics and power are always associated with one another, and those engaged in political activity inevitably come into conflict with one another, always trying to further their goals through power.

Morgenthau, as a scholar, pleaded for an integration of the various disciplines which contribute to the study of International Relations. According to him, a political realist is one who thinks in terms of interest defined as power, as an economist thinks in terms of utility.

Morgenthau's six principles of Political Realism

In order to drive home his point that power is the prime concern of nations, Prof. Morgenthau develops his theory around six principles of political realism. According to him, the first principle is that politics is governed by objective laws which have their roots in human nature, which has not changed since the time of the classical philosophers of Greece, China and India. Laws are necessary for social life and development and political realism seeks to understand the role of law in the formation of society. Such a study enables us, says Morgenthau, to understand politics.

Secondly, the main element of political realism is the concept of national interest which Morgenthau defines in terms of power. Linked to this concept is his assumption that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as Power Ace, to the realist theory therefore, the foreign policy of a nation concerns itself with the political requirements of success rather than with ideologies and value systems of nations and leaders.

Thirdly, political realism does not take a fixed meaning of interest; it asserts that forces of international politics are always continuing and that the transformation of the world is possible only by manipulation of those forces which are already in existence. Morgenthau's emphasis is on power which must be adapted to the changing circumstances.

The fourth principle of political realism says that, political realism though not indifferent to moral principles, implies that moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of nations in their abstract universal formulations, but be modified in accordance with the requirements of time and place. Accordingly, realism considers prudence to be the supreme virtue in politics and not a blanket acceptance of moral principles.

Fifthly political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. Each nation is thus seen to be concealing its real motives under the cover of universal moral principles. .

Sixthly and finally, political realism calls for maintaining the autonomy of the political sphere. As noted earlier, the theory thinks in terms of interest defined as power just as economists think in terms of interest defined as wealth.

4.6 Evaluation

Though Morgenthau goes on to dwelve on historical examples to support his theory of political realism and though his theory is universally known, the theory is not devoid of limitations and weaknesses. Coming down heavily on Morgenthau's theory, Prof. Stanley Hoffman argues that p0litical realism neglects the fundamental fact that power is after all a means to an end and that we should not ignore the purpose for which power is sought and used. He criticises the "powermonism" of Morgenthau. One should not underestimate the role and significance of moval values in international relations.

Another scholar Wasserman says that "no scientific progress can be made in the study of international politics so long as Morgenthau's realist theory continues".

Robert Tucker and Kenneth Waltz too find it difficult to accept the realist theory as "realist", for, it is inconsistent both with itself and the reality.

Scholars like Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in their book "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition" (1978) have developed the neo realist theory arguing that in the aftermath of the oil crisis of 1973, what explains distinctively the behavior of nations in international politics is not their quest for power, but the reality of interdependence. According to them, even the most powerful nation (the United States for example) is not immune from this reality of dependence, and that the pig powers and small powers depend upon one another for their survival and success.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Examine the key ideas merits and demerits of the Power Theory.

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2) Analyse the features and criticism of the concept Theory Game.

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4.7 Let us sum up

This unit has dealt with the behavioral and realist theories in the study of international relations. The behavioral theories, rich as they are in terms of their methodology, are lacking in an understanding of how national leaders as human beings often behave on irrational and impulsive basis, and contribute to the failure of their foreign policies.

The realist theory of Hans Morgenthau though universally known and studied has severe limitations in as much as it treats power as an end in itself. Quite often, power is pursued to achieve certain other ends.

4.8 Key Words

International systems	:	the comity of nations which play their role in international relations.
Zero sum and non Zero sum games	:	Zero sum games means one loses and the other gains, whereas non-zero sum refers to situations of both losing or both losing and gaining in some way.

Inputs and output	:	Inputs are those element which go into the making of decisions whereas outputs are a reference to the policies and progresses that emanate from the Government/nations.

4.9 Some Useful Books

Mahendra Kumar	:	Theoretical Aspects of International Politics (2001)
Hans S. Morgenthau	:	Politics Among Nations (1954)
Lerche and Siad	:	Concepts of International Politics (1972)
Rama S.Melkote and Narasimha Rao	:	International Relations (1994)
K.P. Misra and Samuel Biad	:	International Relations Theory (1984)
J.W. Burton	:	International Relations: A General Theory

4.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

Check Your Progress-1

See Section 4.1

Check Your Progress-12

See Section 4.3

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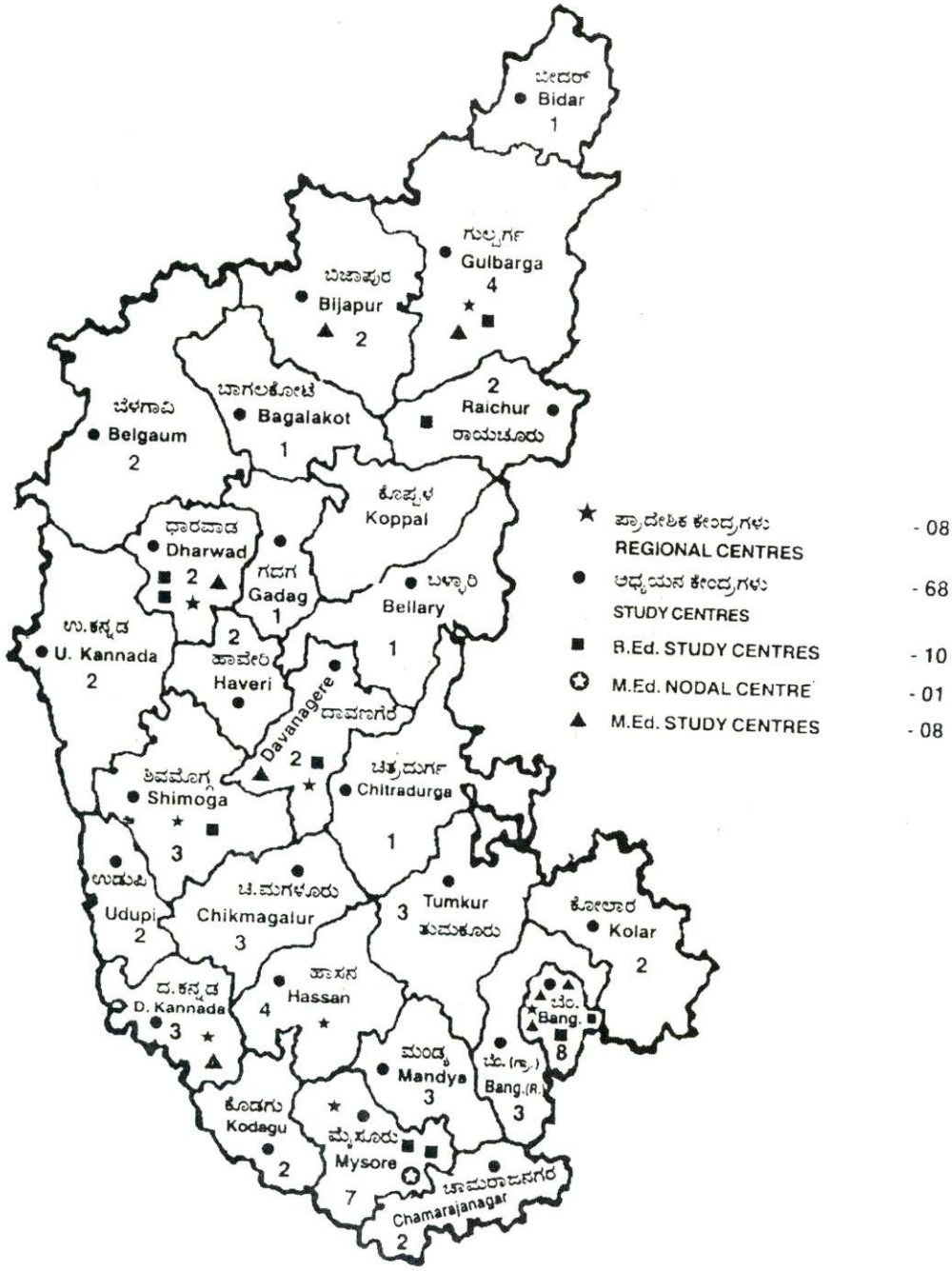
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



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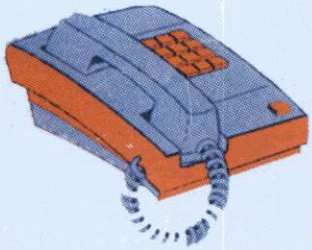

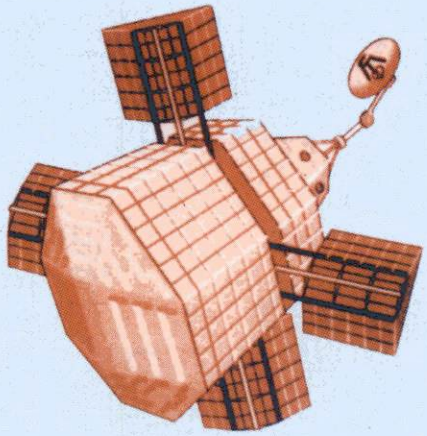

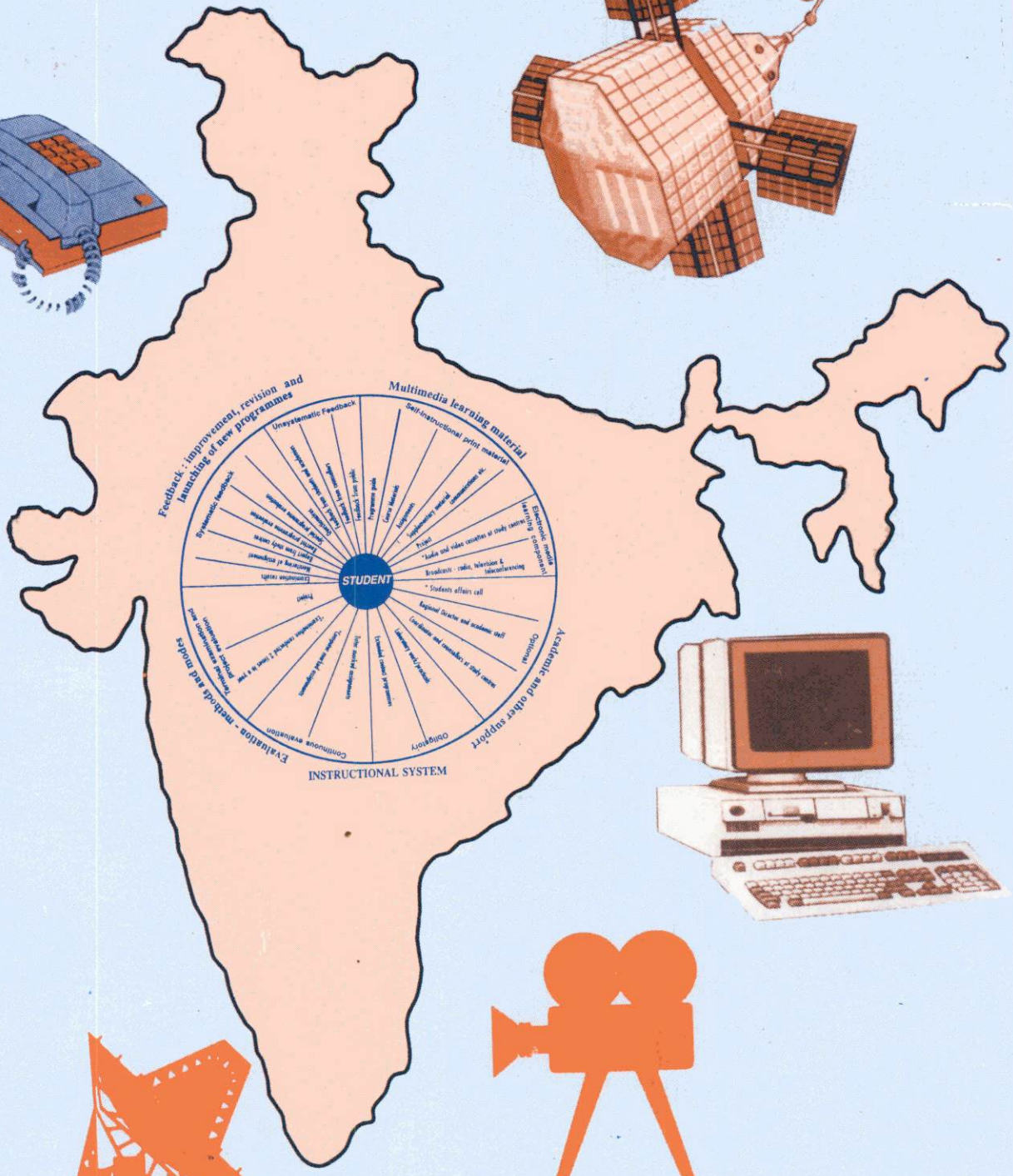
Multimedia learning material
Self-instructional print material
Core Materials
Programme guide
Supplementary material
Electronic media (as integral components)
Broadcasts : radio, television & teleconferencing
Students affairs cell
Academic and other support
Regional Director and academic staff
Coordinator and counsellors at study centres
Laboratory work/practicals
Optional course programmes
Compulsory course programmes
Continuous evaluation
Formal examinations and Practical examinations
Evaluation - methods and modes
Feedback : improvement, revision and launching of new programmes
Unsystematic Feedback
STUDENT
INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM