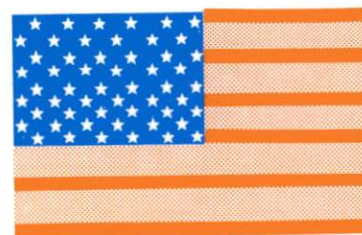
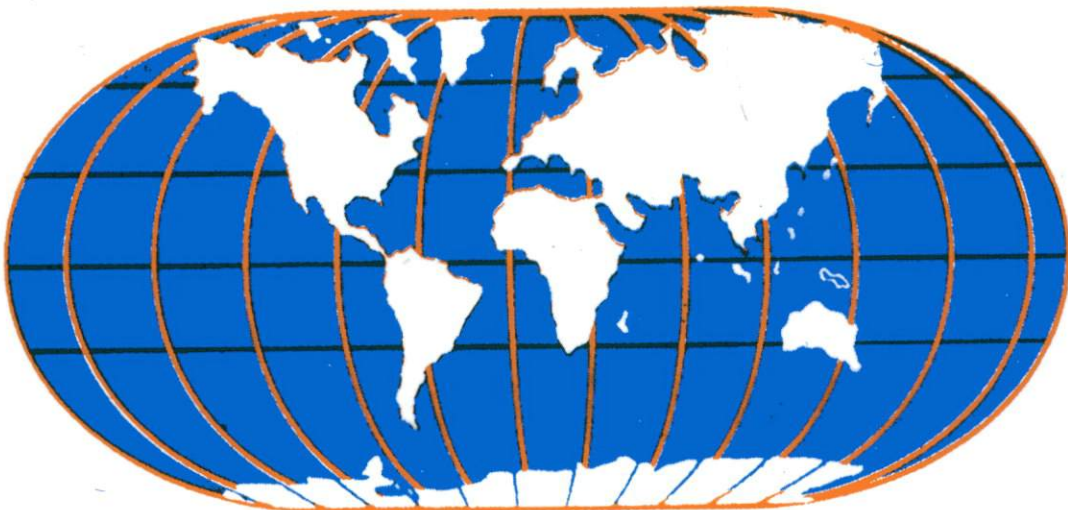
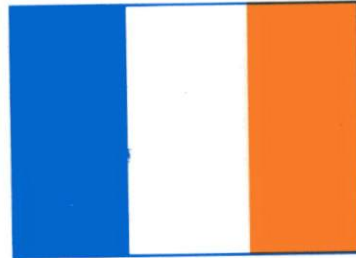




POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course V

1834



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 2

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 democratizing education.

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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 ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿಲು 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



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course V**

Block

2

Introduction

Unit 5

National Power - Meaning, Nature and Importance 1 to 10

Unit 6

Elements of National Power and Limitations 11 to 16

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Block - II Introduction

Block - II consists of 2 units from 5 to 6. Unit - 5 explains the National Power - Meaning, Nature and Importance. Unit - 6 explains Elements of National Power and Limitations.

Block II

Unit –5 National Power – Meaning, Nature and Importance

Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Meaning
- 5.3 Nature
- 5.4 Importance
- 5.5 Let us Sum Up
- 5.6 Key Words
- 5.7 Some Useful Books
- 5.8 Answer to Check Your Progress exercises.

5.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to comprehend and understand:

- Meaning and definitions of National Power.
- Nature of National Power and
- Importance of the Study of National Power.

5.1 Introduction

The concept of Power plays a significant role in international relations and it is an essential element of politics. Power is the centre of all kinds of politics, whether local, national and international. Since the beginning of humanity power has been occupying the central position in human relations. The study of the concept of power is imperative to comprehend international politics and relations. There is a close relation between state and power. In this perspective, Hartman says that “Power lurks in the background of all relations between sovereign states”. Thus all inter state relations are ultimately relations of power politics, The study of international relations unravels that power has been the most important means for achieving national interests. This is the reason why every nation tries to attain, maintain utilise and spread power. It is both an end as well as a means of international politics. The position of a state in the comity of nations is determined not so much by its civilization or culture or literary contribution, but by its power. Therefore, Power plays a very vital role in world politics. Thus, one cannot ignore ‘power’ while studying international relations.

This Unit is concerned with the analysis of the concept of power which is one of the most crucial concepts in the vocabulary of international politics and also with the discussion on the meaning, nature and importance of national power.

5.2 Meaning

According to Kautilya, power is the possession of strength derived from three elements namely knowledge, military and valour. Hans Margenthau following Kautilya's realistic line preferred to define power as relationship between two political actors in which actor 'A' has the ability to control the mind and actions of actor 'B'. Thus power in the words of Margenthau 'may comprise anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man and covers all social relationship which serve that end from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one mind controls another'. Power is viewed both a set of attributes of a given actor as well as a relationship between two actors. Schwarzen berger defines it as the "capacity to impose ones will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance". He distinguished power from both influence and force by regarding it as containing threat not present in influence and yet stopping short of the actual use of force.

Schleicher also makes a distinction between power and influence. Power is the ability to make others to 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. But influence means to change the behaviour of others through their consent by persuasion rather than through the exercise of coercion. According to Dahl "power is the ability to shift the probability of outcomes". To Dahl, " 'A' has power over 'B' to the extent that he can get 'B' to do something that B would not otherwise do". Duchack defines it as "the capacity to produce intended effects to realize one's will. Thus, power is the ability to control the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own intentions and interests".

In human relations, power is generally understood as the capacity to impose one's own will on other individuals or groups. In international relations, power possessed by a nation-state is known

as national power. According to Padelford and Lincoln' national power is the sum total of the strength and capabilities of state harnessed and applied to the advancement of its national interests and attainment of its national objectives. Hartmann defines the term power as "the strength or capacity that a sovereign state can use to achieve its national interests". Thus power alone enables a state to defend its interests in the long run and produce desired results. It is an indicator of the ability to influence opinion, human behaviour and course of events outside its own frontiers.

According to Anam Jaitly national power is the capacity to influence people domestically and other nations externally towards certain desired national preferences and induce a favourable response for accomplishing these preferences. Thus, power means the totality of states effectiveness in world politics to achieve its national interests. The pursuit of national interest is made possible through the employment of national power which may appear in the form of nationalism, patriotism, sovereignty and so on. The power to influence the behaviour of others, consists of many elements such as threat, violence, persuasive argument, reputation based on past performance or success and ability to offer rewards.

In the words of R.T. Jangam, national power is the wherewithal or means of conducting nations foreign policies or the pursuit of national goals". To him, national power is the capacity of nations for the pursuit of different stakes – territorial, political, economic, social, cultural, and those relating to prestige and goodwill.

5.3 Nature

In a very broad sense, national power can be defined as the ability or capacity to control others and get them to do what one wants them to do and also see that they do not do what one does not want them to do. It is the ability of a state to make its will prevail and to enforce respect and command obedience from other states in accordance with one's own will. It is often believed that wealth,

resources, manpower and military power confer power on nations. But their importance is to be judged in accordance with whether or not they are used successfully to influence the behaviour of other states. But the mere possession of wealth does not ensure power. It is the use of sources and not merely their possession, which confers power to a nation. A nation, which possesses sources of strength and also knows how to utilise its resources successfully is a nation vested with power.

Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan define power as “participation in decisions. This definition is not generally accepted because it does not accommodate the entire content of power. When we say that a nation has the ability to influence or control others behaviour, it includes not merely participating in but actually monopolizing decisions. When a state tries to influence the behaviour of other states it enters the realm of politics because politics is the struggle for power. What we mean by power in the context of international politics is political power. It is true that power is a phenomenon of all relationships and political relationship cannot be separated from other relationships. But it assumes political character and consequently becomes a phenomenon of international politics when states are able to influence and control the behaviour of others. Sometimes power is defined as the control over men’s minds. But this definition seems to offer little advantage because as the working of a mind cannot be seen, we can depend only on behaviour.

As a matter of fact, power plays the same role in international politics as money plays in market economy. What is true of money in market-economy is also true of power in international politics. Most nations seek power so that they can achieve their urgent national goals with the means of power. This leads to quest for maximum power whether it is needed for the fulfillment of national goals or not. The quest for power is an end in the study of international politics. In the words of Vernon Van Dyke, Power is both “the capstone

among the objectives which states pursue and the cornerstone among the methods which they employ”.

The discussion on the nature of national power can be summed up in the words of Organski; “Power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with ones own ends”. Thus, power is the most important concern of a state and every state, therefore, attaches great importance to power and is engaged in the acquisition and growth of its power.

5.4 Importance

- a) National power is one of the most important and inseparable means of the very existence of state-system. It is like sovereignty and nationalism which sustain the continuance of the independent nation- state-system. The advantage of such power is that it helps a nation to provide security to its people and institutions. It can be used to bring suitable changes in the national societies the status quo or to preserve or to change the status and in their favour. It adds to the style and quality of diplomacy and foreign policy that a nation pursues in international community. National power also helps states to acquire prestige and promote their image further. Positive use and role of national power contributes to the peaceful environment of international community. Negative use of the same will certainly disturb the balance and harmony in inter national politics.
- b) Power alone determines the capacity of a state to defend its interests, to influence opinion, human behaviour as well as international interests. It determines the status of a state in international sphere. In this regard Hartmann aptly observes that the security of a nation depends on the power at its disposal. Defence of its territory and sovereignty is the mainstay 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 and vital interest.

Every nation has a department or ministry in charge of the defence of the country. This shows how all states feel that military or physical power must be possessed in the interest national security.

- c) Power also provides the basis for classification of states in international sphere. On the basis of quality and quantity of power, states are classified as Super-powers, world powers, Great powers, Middle Powers and small powers. The basis for this traditional classification is the range and extent of national interests of a nation and its capacity to pursue such interests. For instance world powers or super powers have global interests as against very limited interests of middle or small powers. When we say that the nation 'A' is a greater power than the nation 'B', we mean that in terms of actual and potential strength 'A' is superior to 'B', at the same 'A' is also superior in the ability and capacity to pursue its national interests.
- d) Power helps diplomats of a powerful country act more confidently in their diplomatic activities than diplomats of the less powerful states. Power helps nations at the negotiation table. It enables a nation to advance its particular claims or to resist the claims of other nations. The chinese leader Mao-tse-tung once remarked that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Likewise 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. Moreover, their threat of punishment and use of force will carry more weight during diplomatic negotiations.
- e) Power characterises relations between states. The relationship of one state with another is a relationship of power. All inter state relations are mainly power relations. The central feature of the world politics has been the struggle for power among nations.

- f) Today, the use of power and employment of force is becoming a privilege of great powers. They are capable of using power in many forms anywhere in the world with desired effects and they assume an interest in international events. They can employ a new kind of coercion in their aid policies. Aid cut or even a threat of it can mean a tremendous pressure for weak and small powers.
- g) Power also helps states to accomplish other national interests like geographical, political, strategic, cultural, economic, social, educational, scientific, technical and so on. Each country may have its own national interests according to its specific needs and conditions. Power alone can help achieve all these interests. It is easy for more powerful country to achieve them than the other nations. Thus power is the main tool used by nations to fulfil their various national interests.

Check Your Progress – I

Note:

- a) Use the space given below for your answer.
- b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the meaning and nature of National Power.

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2. Examine the importance of National Power

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5.5 Let us Sum up

In this unit, we have elaborately discussed the meaning, definitions and nature of national power. By this elaborate discussion, you understand that the study of national power in international relations is of great importance. The concept of power helps to fulfil national interests like national security and independence, preserving status quo and prestige etc. It is interesting to note that some nations with the help of power are able to dictate terms on other nations in the world.

5.6 Key words

1. Perspective - View
2. Sovereignty - Supreme power
3. Status-quo - Unchanged position
4. Harmony - In concord
5. Unravel - Reveal
6. Compliance - Acting according to request or command.

5.7 Some useful Books.

1. Chakravarthy .R - International Relations
2. Mahendra Kumar - Theoretical Aspects of International Politics
3. Morgenthau - Politics among Nations
4. Palmer and Perkins - International Relations
5. Vinay kumar Malhotra - International Relations

5.8 Answers to Check you Progress Exercises:

Check Your Progress – 1

See section 5.2 and 5.3

See section 5.5

**Unit 6 Elements of National power and
Limitations**

Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Elements of National Power
 - 6.2.1 Tangible Elements
 - 6.2.2 Intangible Elements
- 6.3 Limitations of National Power
- 6.4 Let us Sum up
- 6.5 Key words
- 6.6 Some useful books
- 6.7 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises

6.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to understand and explain

- the tangible and intangible elements which determine the national power
- the limitations of national power.

6.1 Introduction

The power of a nation depends on numerous elements and relative factors. All the elements of national power are dynamic and not static. They undergo changes due to natural and technical causes. Therefore, it is rather difficult to estimate these components accurately. Mere possession of these elements does not determine the national power. What determines the power is the proper and efficient utilization of these elements. They should not be termed as determinants of power. At best they can be called elements or factors, or components of national power.

This unit is pertaining to the discussion on the elements of national power which is one of the important aspects in the study of international relations. It also examines the various limitations of National Power.

6.2 Elements of National Power

The role and effectiveness of a nation largely depends upon its national power. But in international relations, there is no device to measure the power of the nation. Schleicher remarks that “at best power can be estimated rather than measured with a high degree of accuracy”. This kind of approximate estimate provides a guide to every foreign office in the conduct of its foreign policy.

There has been no unanimity among the writers about the elements or components of national power. Various authors of international relations have classified these elements differently. Morgenthau has divided them into two categories namely permanent

and changeable. The first one includes geography and natural resources whereas the second has military preparedness, population, national character and morale, diplomacy and government. Organski classified them into natural and social. The natural determinants are geography, natural resources and population, social determinates are economic development, political structure and national morale. Palmer and Perkins divided them into tangible and intangible. Many other writers like Lerche and said, Coulountris and Wolfe, Anam Jaitly and others have also preferred to classify them into tangible and intangible elements.

In the backdrop of the above, the elements of national power are usually classified into two broad categories for convenience of discussion. They are: 1) Tangible Elements

2) Intangible Elements

6.2.1 Tangible Elements

There are four tangible elements of National power. They are:

1. Geography
2. Population
3. Natural resources
4. Technology

1. Geography

Geography is one of the most important and permanent elements of national power. It is the geography which determines the range and limitations of the role of a nation in international sphere. It cannot be denied that it offers the physical foundation for the definition of national interests and the general objectives of foreign policy. If international politics is a drama, geography is a stage for it. Therefore geopoliticians think that geography is the main element of power and national power is firmly rooted in the geography of a nation. Geographical factors like size of territory, climate, its topography and its location influence the power potential of nation.

a) Size of a territory constitutes an important geographical component of national power. The size of territory increases the power of a nation. A nation having a large area can accommodate a large population and can also have a large and varied supply of natural resources. The size of a country should include such territory which is useful. Canada with its frozen waters, Brazil with its jungles and Australia with its deserts rank as the longest countries in size but this size does not contribute much in terms of power. Great size implies the presence of large expanse of arable land, a large variety and quantity of raw materials and the capacity to accommodate large population. A large area may also add to a nation's power by providing various types of military advantages. Size gives a nation room for retreat and manoeuvre without surrender. It was the largeness of size that helped defeat the armies of Napoleon and Hitler in Russia and the armies of Japan in China. In times of war a large country can retreat and yet has space left to mobilize power and prepare for counter attack. Thus, the vast size of territory of state is of great help to its security. It is difficult for the enemy to win and occupy a large territory. On the other hand, nations with small size of territory can never aspire to a great power status. For example, small nations like Monaco, Maldives, San Marino, Finland have no chance to become great powers. They can be conquered without difficulty. Further, small nations cannot improve their capacity beyond a definite limit, because of limited population and resources. This does not mean that small nations are at disadvantage in the conduct of their foreign policies. Sometimes such states are placed relatively in a better position. For Example Britain and Japan, in spite of their small size, have proved to be successful in the conduct of their foreign policies. Therefore size matters little now a days. More over, utility of large territories has also diminished due to the technological revolution and the invention of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles.

- b) Climate is another factor which is considered to have an influence on the making of national power. Climate is a factor which is well related to the agricultural and industrial production and to the very human behaviour. It determines the human habitation and performance. If the climate is very cold and very hot, it will generally result in meager exploitation of resources. On the contrary the temperate climate with seasonal variations is most suitable for the development of national power. The states located in such favourable climate zones have generally been the most powerful states. The status of many nations like America, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and others has been due to favourable climate. According to Hartmen “the temperate zone between 20 and 60 degrees north and 20 and 60 degrees south are the most favourable for human activity. Climate determines the temperature of a place and thereby the fertility of the soil. If the rainfall is uncertain and the region is drought-prone, the development of national power is inevitably limited. Under such situation, a country has to increasingly depend upon foreign countries for food which obstructs the development of national power and an adoption of an independent foreign policy. Climate also indirectly conditions human behaviour, capacity and performance. In this regard, Sprout-and Sprout – observe that “from time immortal climate has consisted an obstacle, sometimes negligible, more often considerable, and in a few places nearly inseparable to the higher levels of human achievement”.
- c) Topography plays an important role in the defence of nations. Topographical features like mountains, valleys, rivers may determine natural boundaries between nations and set limits to their natural expansion. The Himalayas, the Alps, the Pyrenees and rivers like the Rhine, the Rio Grande and the Nile provide natural barriers between nations. But this fact has become little

important due to the advanced techniques of air warfare and stockpile of missiles. Nations with numerous disconnected areas with interfering mountainous terrain like Greece, Indonesia and the Phillipines will always face disadvantages in transportation, communication, defence, national integration and hinder the growth of a strong central government. A compact territory on the other hand, helps in internal communication in the development of national integration and protection of frontiers. However, the topographical barriers become gradually less and less formidable with the developments of faster means of travel.

d) Location determines the extent of a country's vulnerability to invasion. It decides whether a country is a sea power, or a land power. The achievements of England and Japan on seas have been owing to the fact of there being islands. Land-locked countries like Austria, Hungary, Nepal, Bhutan, etc are at a disadvantages position when compared to states having outlets to sea. States that are located far away from the friction zones of power can pursue independent or neutral policy in world affairs, but the same is not true with those states, which are close to the epicenter of world politics.

2. Population

Population is another important component of national power. Generally large population is considered as a source of strength. But Palmer and Perkins hold that large population can both be a source of weakness or strength. They say that "the test is whether a state can utilise its human resources effectively, can support them at tolerable standards of living, and can provide constructive outlets for their talents and energies. Usually large numbers are a source of strength in the developed countries whereas in under developed countries they are a source of weakness. Thus large population by itself does not add to the power of the state. But it cannot be denied that the proper utilization of the population can add to the strength of

nation. Large population may help in increasing agricultural and industrial production. It provides a vast consumer market and thereby it stimulates national productivity. Population provides sufficient number armed personnel as well as for replacement during war. Even after war a large population is essential to occupy the conquered territories. Germany found it difficult to keep the occupied European territories under her control because of her limited man power resources. On the other hand, states with small population such as UK and France have been able to emerge as big powers because they succeeded in adding to their demographic power by colonial expansion. Their colonial possessions were many times more than their own area and size. China and India with large population also have certain advantages.

The quantity of population alone cannot contribute to the national strength. If the large population cannot be maintained by the existing resources of a country, it becomes more a handicap rather than an asset in the development of national power. If a country does not possess sufficient capital and technical know how, the population can become a liability. In spite of their large population, the Middle Eastern and South American countries were forced to open up their lands to the American and European investors because they lacked both capital and technical know-how. The age composition of the population is very significant. If there are too many children or elderly people in a population, it means an additional strain on national economy and power. On the other hand, if there are more youth they can render immense help to the national economy as well as military power. The occupation of the people also helps for the development of national power. There is a close relationship between the population and the profession followed by them. The comparative strength of the population engaged in agriculture is relatively less than those engaged in non-agricultural activities. A state with higher rate of literacy is more powerful, because the people develop greater

productive capacity. In this respect Madariaga says that national power is “mostly due to technical capacity, ability, brain ability for organising and leading human beings in the mastering and the controlling of forces of nature. It is mostly attained through intellectual capacity for the physical, chemical and mathematical sciences as well as in the sciences and practical arts of administration and government”.

3. Natural Resources

It is a very important and stable factor of national power. The modern industrial and military power of a nation is largely due to the availability and the use of raw materials and requisite energy, steam or electricity. Modern technological development is mainly due to the proper utilization of raw materials. For example, countries like USA, Russia have been able to exploit the available abundant natural resources with the help of skilled labour, technology and capital. It is true that mere resources do not contribute to power. In the case of India, though it possesses large deposits of iron and coal, due to lack of suitable industrial establishment and efforts, it cannot claim to be a first rate power. Therefore the power of a nation gets increased or decreased depending upon its ability to make use of the available raw materials in the state.

It is to be noted that since II World War, Oil as a source of energy has gained greater importance from the point of industry and war. Those nations which possess or in a position to obtain oil supply, have greater influence on the international happenings. Morgenthau points out that the emergence of oil as an indispensable raw material has brought about changes in the power position of leading countries of the world. As a result, we see the role of oil diplomacy in the Arabian peninsulas by the great powers. United States and Russia with large reserves of oil enjoy clear advantages. Recently Uranium as another important source of energy atom and other uses of warfare, is gaining military importance. As a result, states like Canada, USA,

Russia have greater advantages due to their control of Uranium deposits.

Food is another resource that adds to the power position of a nation. A nation which is self sufficient in food has greater advantage over those nations which imports food stuffs. It is rightly observed that permanent scarcity of food is a source of permanent weakness in international politics. Nations today have been making use of better and scientific methods of agriculture to overcome the problems of food and its self-sufficiency

4. Technology

Technology has been an important element of national power. Technology is the nation's capacity to convert the available resources to a greater advantage. It can be applied in economic and industrial sphere to produce better machines and better and abundant products. No nation in the present world can become great power unless it has the capacity to produce a large quantities of goods and services. It can be safely said that those countries which have both important raw materials and developed technology, are fully developed and powerful countries.

Technology helps a nation to have stronger economy, stronger industrial base, stronger military, greater capacity to win war and influence nations during peace. The progress in military technology projects the image of a nation as a great power in world politics. Those nations which are superior in war technology, have won more wars. With the help of technology tremendous development is made in the field of communication and transport. With this help great nations are trying to have their influence over world public opinion. Propaganda has gained significance due to the changes in communication devices like Radio and TV. Diplomacy has become sophisticated due to this change. A successful use of these developments have added to national strength.

6.2.2 Intangible Elements

There are three intangible elements of national power.

They are:

- 1) Ideology
- 2) Leadership
- 3) Morale

1. Ideology

Ideology is closely linked with national power. Ideology is a body of ideas and beliefs concerning economic, social and political values and goals. Ideology expresses a kind of social order for the attainment of values and goals. As an element of national power, ideology encourages a nation and calls her people to work and die for their ideals. An ideology as a system of abstract ideas held by individuals, may be broadly divided into political and non-political. Non-political ideologies include economic, social, moral, religions and material ideas, whereas political ideology includes political institutions and ideologies like democracy, communism, nationalism and internationalism. Experience reveals that ideologies provided a tremendous philosophical, psychological and moral power for the policies and programmes of people. As an element of national power ideologies can boost the morale of the people. If an ideology is followed by majority of people, it can act as a powerful factor making for unity and power. Thus, ideology is a significant element strengthening the power base of the state. Socialist and Liberal ideologies helped soviet Union & America respectively in a big way.

2. Leadership

This is one of the most significant intangible factors of national power. It is the leadership which utilises the natural resources to build up power. Morale of the people also revolves around leadership. Proper and competent leadership helps utilise other components of national power like geography, population, industrial capacity, technology etc. It coordinates other elements of national power and

allocates resources between military and civilian programmes and divides the nature of relations with other states and declares war and peace. The decisions and actions of leaders have a direct bearing on the power of the state. In this perspective, Columbus and Wolfe aptly observe that undoubtedly, greatness or incompetence, wisdom or irrationality, effectiveness or importance in leadership considerably affect the power of a nation. Thus, an able leadership serves as a source of great inspiration to people which is crucial in the realisation of national development programmes.

3. *Morale*

It is another vital factor of national power. Morale may be defined as the physical and mental tolerance of the 'individual citizens to behave in a particular manner'. It is the spirit of people exposed through their faith in the integrity, ability of their leaders, the belief in their cause, courage and loyalty. National morale appeals to the people to sacrifice to the cause of their nation and subordinate their vested interests to the nation. National morale gives highest fighting capacity to military force. High morale may ensure success, a low morale may cause defeat. According to Morgenthau, national morality is the degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policies of its government in peace or war. It permeates all activities of a nation, its agricultural and industrial production as well as its military establishment and diplomatic service. National morale would greatly influence the policies of a government and their effectiveness.

Thus national morale can go a long way in influencing the attitude of people to international events and determination of foreign policy of their nation. Such an attitude and support profoundly influence a national policy.

6.3 Limitations of National Power

A nation may be powerful and may be in possession of as many elements of power as possible still it cannot act in an arbitrary and authoritative manner at international level. National power

operates within certain limitation. These limitations act as restrictions on state action. The major limitations of national power are as follows;

1. International morality
2. International public opinion
3. International Law
4. Balance of power
5. Disarmament
6. International organisation

1. International Morality

International morality or ethics is the combination of the standards, norms and values which nation-states and international organisations should observe in their relations with each other. Power is a crude and unreliable method of limiting the aspirations for power on the international scene. If the struggle for power takes an independent course it resembles the Hobbesian 'state of war' where might is right'. In practice, moral norms operate in the civilized world and in their presence power struggle cannot go unbridled. According to Morgenthau, "to preserve society certain moral precepts have been put forward which the statesmen and diplomats ought to take to heart in order to make relations between nations more peaceful and less anarchic, such as the keeping of promises, trust in others word, respect for international law, protection of minorities, repudiation of war as an instrument of national policy". These limit the actions of statesmen and diplomats. They do not pursue certain ends and use certain means due to moral limitations. Thus norms of morality impose limitations on the use of power a country possesses to achieve the desired goals. All states are expected to observe universally accepted moral code of conduct. This universal code is international morality.

2. International Public Opinion.

This is the second important limitation on the power of a nation. According to Bryce the term public opinion is commonly used to denote "the aggregate of the views men held regarding matters

that affect the interest of community”. According to Morgenthau “world public opinion is obviously a public opinion that transcends national boundaries and that unites members of different nations in a consensus with regard to atleast certain fundamental international issues”. Accordingly the policies and activities of the nations in the pursuit of their objectives can be influenced, modified or even halted under the pressure of world public opinion. No nation can generally exercise power at its disposal to achieve selfish ends in violation of the world public opinion, Thus, the world public opinion effectively guards the interests of the humanity as a whole. Whenever governments or nations execute a particular foreign policy which is against the interest of mankind, international public opinion checks it.

3. *International Law.*

There are rules which regulate the human conduct and social behaviour in all societies, similarly in the society of nations there exist moral and legal norms for the regulation of the conduct of nations. It is to this moral and legal norms which regulate the conduct of nations we call by the name international law. In the field of international relations, the execution of national policy for the fulfillment of the national interests, requires the use of force. The most common method of use of force is war or threat of war. If each nation uses its power in unlimited terms against her neighbour or opponent, the world society would come to an end. There would be no peace or stability. It would be a perpetual state of war. There would be no progress in the field of art, literature, science or technology. Therefore a code of conduct in the form of international law is necessary to limit the national power.

In a true sense of law, international is not a law. It has certain inherent deficiencies like the absence of a common law-making, law enforcing or law adjudicating body. Its implementation is dependent on the will of the states. The implementation of these laws by consent or by use of external force limit the scope of use of national power

by any state. Further, international law permits to form collective security by a group of nations to oppose collectively a particular nation or a group of nations who jeopardise their independence. Here the object of international law is to impose limits on the exercise of national power so that international society remains intact.

4. *Balance of power*

Balance of power implies containing power with power. Like checks and balance in domestic politics, in the sphere of International politics also the power of one nation or a group of nations is used to prevent a particular nation from imposing its will upon others. When a state has preponderance of power, it must be balanced or checked by the combined power of other states. The common patterns of balance of power are direct opposition and competition. In opposition, one state opposes the other state with a view to preserve status –quo. In competition, two nations compete with each other to establish control over the third nation. The common methods used to maintain the balance of power are divide and rule, compensation and acquisition, armaments and disarmaments, interventions and non interventions, alliance and counter alliances and buffer state formation.

5. *Disarmament*

The efforts made in the direction of disarmament in and outside the UN also restrict nations power. The steps towards disarmament have acquired much significance. An effort has been made through various conventions, agreements, treaties to control the use of nuclear and conventional weapons, which have the potentialities to destroy the entire world. This has resulted in the curtailment of national power.

6. *International Organisations*

The formation of international organisation like the erstwhile League of Nations, and the United nations has restrained the power of states. The objectives of the UN stipulate “to maintain international peace, and security and to that end to take effective

collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace". The states are expected to act in accordance with the principles laid down in the charter. United Nations cannot intervene in the internal matters of any state except when it poses a threat to world peace. However, the UN certainly acts a check on the unfair and unlimited use of power by the states. Therefore, it is a limitation on national power.

Check Your Progress – I

Note:

- a) Use the space given below for your answer.
- b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain how geography is an important element of national power

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2. Examine the limitations of National Power

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6.4 Let us Sum up

In this unit, discussion is made on the elements of national power and the limitations of national power. By the elaborate

discussion you understood the broad classification of elements into tangible and intangible components of national power. In this unit, analysis is also made which helps you understand and comprehend how each element contributes to the strength of the nation and various limitations that restrain the national power in the interest of peaceful coexistence and international peace and security.

6.5 Key words

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1. Tangible | - | concrete |
| 2. Intangible | - | Abstract |
| 3. Topography | - | description of land |
| 4. Configuration | - | Form |
| 5. Comity | - | Group |
| 6. Epicenter | - | Centre |

6.6 Some useful books

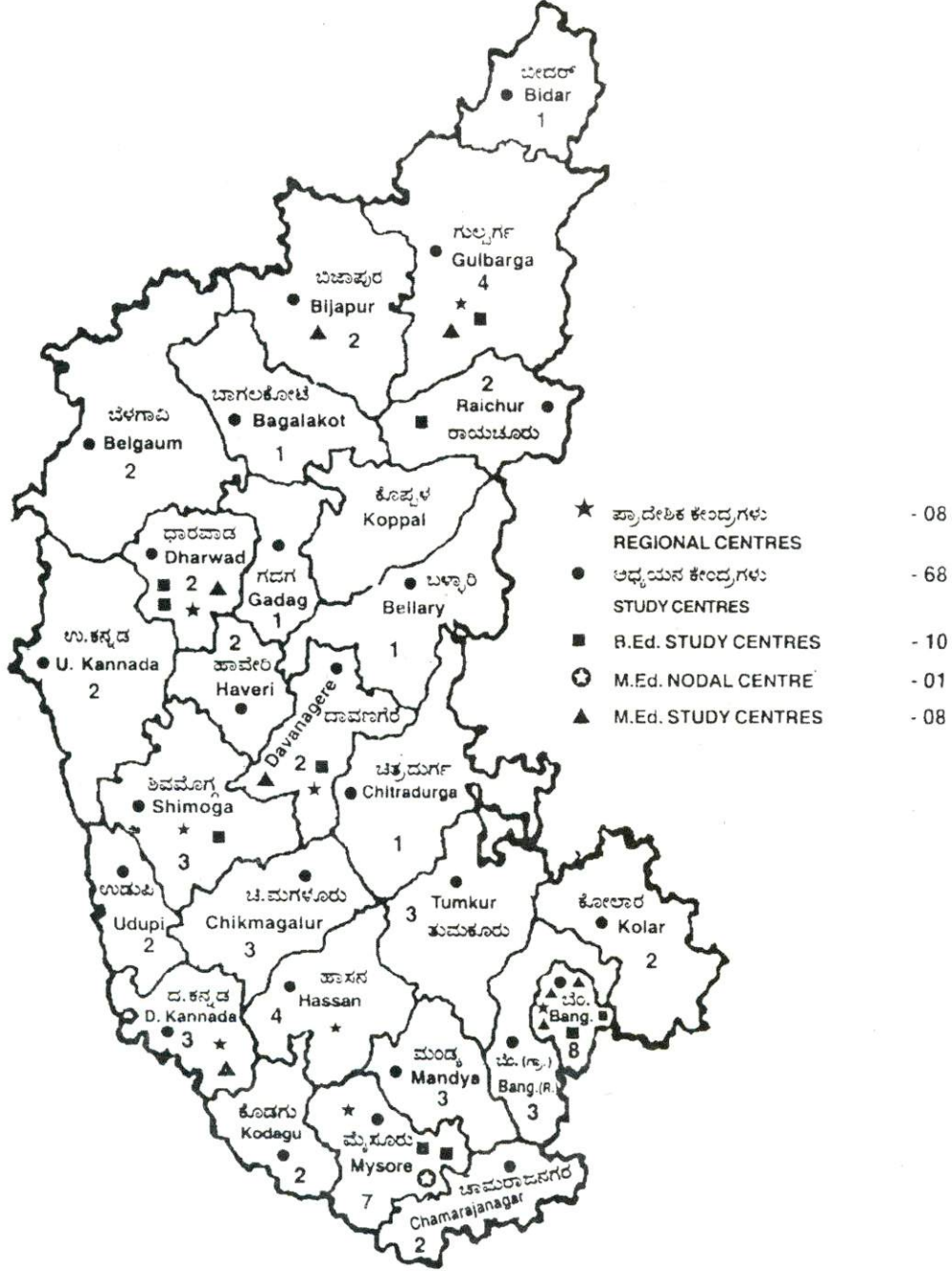
- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Chakravarthy | - | International Relations |
| 2. Mahendrakumar | - | Theoretical aspects of International politics |
| 3. Morgenthau | - | Politics among nations. |
| 4. Palmer and Perkins | - | International Relations |
| 5. Vinaykumar Malhotra | - | International Relations |

6.7 Answers to Check you Progress Exercises:

Check Your Progress – 1

- 1) See section 6.3 and subsection 6.3.1
- 2) See section 6.4

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ಸಮೂಹಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)

