

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

**MASTER OF ARTS - POLITICAL SCIENCE
SEMESTER- I**

**WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT
CORE 101
BLOCK-2**

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.



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BLOCK - 2 WESETERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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Communication & Society.

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8.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit students can able to understand:

- To know the first known democracy in the world.
- To know the system consisted of three separate institutions:
Ecclesia, a sovereign governing body that wrote laws and fixed foreign policy;
- To understand the council of ten Athenian tribes and representatives of Dicastery, popular courts, in which citizens argued cases before a group of gamblers selected by lottery.

- To know the Athenian democracy would only survive for two centuries, it was invented by Cleisthenes.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

As we find in ancient Greek the etymology of two key words, "political" and "philosophy", in the title of this article: the former originally related to the polis or city-state; The latter is the practice of a particular type of inquiry which literally means "love of knowledge" (philosophical). These ideas were transmitted beyond the periphery of the classical polis as Greek city-states came under the suzerainty of large states after the initial Macedonian conquest at the end of the fourth century BCE; Those states in turn were eventually conquered and heavily assimilated by the Roman Republic, later transferred to an empire. Philosophers writing in Latin engaged in self-consciousness with earlier and continuing traditions of writing about philosophy in Greek. Already from its origins, Greek political philosophy placed questions of forms of governance or "formation" at the center of its concerns. The classification of types already found in Herodotus, thrown out by Plato, and further adapted by Aristotle into Aristotle's version, were three "good" good regimes: monarchy, democracy, and a liberal form of democracy; And his three "perversions": tyranny, oligarchy, and an evil form of democracy — will continue to inform the discussion of politics in the context of the "mixed rule" of the Roman Republic, which would combine the three good elements. These discussions were indexed, especially in a historical setting, in keeping with general principles that are relevant in many ways, even though questions and references to political philosophy have changed.

Because the field of political philosophy has such a long history that a long time, when ancient models were determined to defines the field and consider "problems", it is a mistake to approach their idea. Modern menu of expectations of what the subject will be Century Athens, which was intellectually prominent at the time and in many ways politically exemplary, as well as the lion's share of our surviving evidence from ancient Greece (Lion 1990, Ober 2008), on surviving evidence for the

philosophy of ancient Greece. Had to behold; In general, for ancient philosophy see entry on doxography).

8.2 WHAT IS ANCIENT POLITICS?

Ancient political philosophy is understood here to mean ancient Greek and Roman thought in the fifth century BC until the end of the Roman Empire in the west, except for the development of Jewish and Christian thought in the fifth century BC and politics during that period. Political philosophy as a genre was invented by Plato in this period and, in fact, reinforced by Aristotle: it incorporates reflections on the origins of political institutions, concepts of justice and equality of political life, such as the interpretation of relationships and Used to organize Purpose of the nature of ethics and politics, and the relative merits of various constitutional arrangements or arrangements. Platonic models remained particularly important to later writers during this period, even as the development of later "Hellenistic" schools of Greek philosophy, and typical Roman forms of philosophical adaptation, led to the formation of politics from a philosophical point of view. This has been Offered new structures. Engagement in these Greek and Roman traditions of political philosophy among the late ancient scholars continued in the last phase of the last pretenses of the Roman imperial throne in the western part of the empire in 476 CE, and even later, further focusing scholars and their successors. Writing remained in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and (later) Arabic.

Because the fields of political philosophy has such a long history that since a long time, when ancient models were determined to defines the field and consider "problems", it is a mistake to approach their idea. Modern menu of expectations of what the subject will be. At the same time, because the Greeks still widely recognize other genres today - among them, history, tragedy, comedy, and rhetoric - no understanding of their idea of politics can be limited to the genre of political philosophy alone. is. For example, some argue that the expansion of the nature of Tupaiids through the history of the fifth-century Peloponnesian War between Athens and the Sparta-led leagues is more important and

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instructive than the release of Plato's philosophical dialogues (Gees 2005). While this argument is controversial, it rests on an important broad point. "Politics" and whether "political" emerged as part of a broader set of sociopolitical practices, most notably and most well documented in Athens, while "philosophy" was invented by a relatively small number of self-philosophical "philosophers" "Was done by thinkers. Thus, while the invention of "political philosophy" as a genre can be understood as a deliberate challenge to "political" existing practices and concepts, the challenge was directed specifically, though not exclusively, specifically. Form of democratic practices from the mid to late fifth century. The century Athens, which was at that time intellectually prominent and in many ways politically exemplary, was also meant to derive the lion's share of our surviving evidence from ancient Greece.

The king being the main pivot of the administration, the strength and durability of the government very much depended on his personality. As the king was the apex of the administrative structure much was expected of him. To shoulder such responsibilities the king had to possess qualities of a high order. Kautilya, in one place, quotes the opinion of an early teacher regarding the relative importance of the three 'powers' (Saktis) of the king. The three 'powers' are the power of good counsel (mantrasakti), the majesty of the king himself (prabhusakti) and the power of energy (utsahasakti). This obviously implies that the state is ruled by the human qualities of knowledge, physical might and energy. In specifying the necessary royal virtues of the king, Kautilya seems to have elaborated the three 'powers' already mentioned. Kautilya divides the essential qualities of a Svamin into four classes. The first comprises attributes which are of an inviting nature (abhigamika gunah) that is, those which induce the people to approach him and follow his lead. These are the qualities pertaining to noble birth— luck, intelligence, heroism, piety, sincerity, taking counsel with the aged, gratefulness, magnanimity, virtuousness, truthfulness, having an assembly of ministers of no mean quality, discipline etc. The second class contains those which relate to his understanding (prajna gunah) or the qualities of intellect such as inquiry, hearing, perception, deliberation, inference, curiosity,

attention, assimilation, memory, discernment, discretion and passion for truth. The third class relates to his energy or enthusiasm (utsahagunah). These are the qualities of courage, pride, promptitude, probity and skill. The fourth class includes qualities which constitute self-possession (atmasampad) and these are prudence, strong memory, vigorous intelligence, keen mind, energetic, powerful, trained in all kinds of arts, free from vice, possessed of dignity, self-control, impartial justice, , far-sightedness, expertness to discover weak points of the adversary, control of emotions, freedom from passions .from irritability, greed, arrogance, indolence, inconstancy, impatience and cruelty. By thus regulating his conduct he endears himself to the people at large (lokapriyatva). The king who feels happy in the happiness of his subjects and feels sorrow in their sorrow, gains fame in this world. While specifying the essential qualities of a svamin, Kautilya nowhere implies that the sovereign must be the king. A careful examination of these qualities shows that svamin is not a feudatory chieftain, but a veritable, sovereign, owing allegiance to none. He is the ruler of one whole political organization. According to the Hindu polity the seven constituents are the natural elements of a state. A whole and entire state cannot be conceived of without these seven components. The king, who is the highest unit of the state, is not an omniscient and self-sufficient despot, for the amatya is declared to be one of his indispensable adjuncts.

Check Your Progress-1

Q1. Discuss the elements of sociopolitical.

Q2. Discuss the importance of Ancient political philosophy.

8.3 POLITICS IDENTITY

Identity politics, also commonly referred to as the politics of identity or identity-based politics is a phrase that is widely used to frame political claims, frame political propaganda in the social sciences and the humanities. It has been used to describe the deployment of a category of identity as a tool. Ideologies, or politics of provocation and orientation, occur when people of a race, ethnicity, gender, or religion form alliances and organize politically to protect the interests of their group. The feminist movement, the civil rights movement, and the gay liberation movement are all examples of such political organizing. Nationalist movements such as Brexit do not usually make people to think of "politics of identity", but the fact is that nationalism is also based on the idea of a shared ethnic identity. Nationalists organize politically to serve the unique interests of their group. If we include such political movement under the umbrella of identity politics, then we can see that identity politics is a bit mixed bag. In some contexts, it seems necessary to fight oppression. In others, it seems that it can be used as a license for harassment or discrimination. There is also this philosophical concern that the politics of identity depends on a dubious idea, namely, that there is something called "shared identity" between people in particular group. It appeals to a kind of inevitability and ignores the heterogeneity within the group.

8.3.1 Analysis Of Political Identity

The primary objective of the current study was to define and use participants' own words to classify the contents of their political identities. This inspiring approach showed that the Greeks Cyprus teenagers describe their political identity content in terms of political values, beliefs and political interests, political commitment, political inquiry and political outlook tolerance, mainly related to Greek Cypriot political affairs. Our second objective was to do a search "Alternative" approach to narrow four-identity position classification that can reveal content and reference to political identity. Cluster analysis of political identity content elements. As a result of nine identity types, which resemble identity-sub-conditions? Third, we show that the nine political

identity types are significantly associated with different ecosystems as the macrosystem of Greek Cypriot society, the school's meso-system and the ecosystem.

Nationality is the identity of a group in whose name injustice has been done and retaliated. Both slavery in united in South Africa, for example, states and apart were institutionalized and then protested in the name of nationalism. Nationalism is dramatically different in content.

Democratizes have fought both aggressive and defensive wars by encouraging nationalist impulses among their citizens. People have rallied for a variety of nationalist identities in support of tyrannical rule, yet atrocities have been opposed by many nationalist movements.

Nationalism is part of identity politics, and nations should be examined according to the ideas of democratic justice no less than other identity groups. Identity groups are indispensable byproducts according to the freedom of individuals. If individuals are free to associate, many types of identity groups will exist. This is because free people identify in many politically relevant ways and mutually in a society an atrocity prevents identity groups from forming. Associational Independence therefore legitimizes many types of identity groups. Many political parties are identity groups, which advance and cultivate shared identities about ideology, class, religion, and ethnicity among mutualists.

8.3.2 Role Of Partisan

In the second part of Now it can be doubted that mutual identity officer has a central role around a partisan group identity. Institutions of democratic politics are related with this. As the literature on party identities increasingly demonstrates, the relative successes and failures of political parties cannot be adequately understood in the way parties fail or fail to form and call mutual identities among potential members.

This chapter explores that mutual identity is a central part of party politics by examining and evaluating the role of identity groups outside political parties and the formal political processes of democratic government. Not only within but also outside the formal democratic

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system, identity groups act in ways that support and threaten the basic principles of democratic justice.

The three basic principles are the same as a citizen- or "citizen" Equality"- along with freedom opportunity and explanation of these principles differ in democratic views, but the differences do not detract from the fact that civil equality, freedom, and opportunity are fundamental principles of any morally defensible democracy. A broad range of ideas compatible with these principles can be called democratic. Identity groups act in ways that aid and hinder democracy in articulating and applying these principles. The benign neglect of identity groups by political scientists and the over-specialization of popular commentators are not very helpful in understanding or assessing their role in democratic societies.

To evaluate some of the key issues for identified groups

Democracy, consider various examples, is most likely derived from the United States, a context that provides examples of dominant types of identity groups. Identity issues for democracy are best analyzed in their specific political context, but other inquiries, focus on other democratic countries.

Once we identify all these groups as identity groups, we are in better position to engage in non-polar analysis of problems they contribute and contribute to democracy. The dilemma is that identity groups exist for democracy:

- Identity groups are not the ultimate source of value committed to an equal relationship for individuals in any democracy;
- Identity groups can aid individuals and impede equal respect for individuals and equally democratic justice;
- Some identity groups promote negative stereotypes, incite injustice, and promote the pursuit of justice;
- Help others overcome negative stereotypes and confront injustice

- In terms of civil inequality and unequal freedom and opportunity;
- Identity groups can also provide shared support and express sharing
- Identity among individuals whose life would be poor without

This mutual support and recognition

This system of slavery was so deep rooted and so rigid that it continued unchallenged into the time of the Peshwas. This was achieved by duping the minds of the people and keeping them ignorant.

8.4 PLATO THOUGHT ABOUT POLITICS

Political thought is the study of questions about power, justice, rights, law, and other issues about governance.

PLATO:

Plato was an influential philosopher and scholar in the political field, living between 427 and 347 BCE. He was a student of Socrates and later known as the Academy for the first time "University". He has a huge contribution in political principles. His best work is The Republic, and his best-known concept is Theory of Form. The theory of forms states that, while experience is changing and illusory, ideal forms are static and real. Plato advanced Parmenides's theory that both experience and form are real. Aristotle and Socrates also began their philosophical thought from the Parmenides, known as the Parmenides of Eleme and lived between 510 and 440 BCE.

Plato developed such differing areas of philosophy as philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics. He had a profound influence on Western philosophy. This is confirmed in Alfred North Whitehead's famous comment: "The safest characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it contains a series of Plato's footnotes. He

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was also an ideal political philosopher whose ideas were based on later political theory. It was really thoughtful influence. His greatest influence was Aristotle, but he influenced Western political ideas in many ways. Ditto Plato's philosophy is characterized by the use of dialectics, a method of dialogue involving ever more practical insights into the nature of reality, and by cognitive optimism, a. To achieve the truth and the coherent and righteous order of human affairs believed in the ability of the human mind to use this truth. Plato believed that different parts of society But opposing interests can be consistent. At best, rational and religious, political. The order, which he proposes, leads to a harmonious settlement of society and allows each part of it to flourish, but at the expense of others.

Plato was a visionary of the dialogical and dialectical forms in philosophy that originated with him. Plato was the founder of Western political philosophy, with his republic, and law, among other dialogues, providing some of the earliest initial treatment of political questions from a philosophical point of view. Plato's own most decisive philosophical influences have generally been thought of Socrates, Parmenides, Heraclitus, and Pythagoras, although the works of some of his predecessors remain and what we know of these things today derives from Plato Occur.

Many philosophers described Plato as "one of the brightest writers in the Western literary tradition and one of the most penetrating, comprehensive, and influential writers in the history of philosophy." He was not the first thinker or writer to whom the term "philosopher" was applied.

Reviewing his contribution to politics, it has been observed that throughout the history of political thought, no thinker has aroused the praise, admiration and criticism made by Plato. Plato is generally regarded as the creator of philosophical idealism by virtue of his belief that there is a universal idea in the world of everlasting reality beyond the world of senses. He was the first to express and define political ideas within a larger framework of Good's philosophical thought. He was concerned about human life and the human soul or human nature, and the real question in this is how best to live in the state within European

traditions. Plato, along with his follower Aristotle, is credited with laying the foundations of Greek political theory on which the Western political tradition rests. These two philosophers among themselves explored, said, analyzed and covered a wide range of philosophical perspectives and issues.

Republic: Among Plato's major works in political philosophy, the Republic was a collection of Plato's ideas in the fields of ethics, metaphysics, philosophy, and politics. The Republic, about justice, Plato's greatest and best-known work, was written as a dialogue, a way of great Prominence in clarifying the questions and establishing the truth. As stated, and first developed by Socrates, it was one of the premium examples of the dialectical method. Although Socrates did not give a theoretical description of the method, he established a precise pattern of dialectical reasoning for others to follow. He placed dualism in the service of morality, defining virtue as the basis of traditional and moral change. The argument in the Republic was held in a room between Socrates. Republic in Greek means justice, and this Latin meaning should not be used or understood which means states or polity. William. E indicated that after twenty-three hundred years the republic "still corresponds less as an introduction to the basic issues that human beings face than citizens". No other author on politics has equated Plato in penetrating and dialectical logic, combining poetic imagination and symbolism. One of the main criteria of the republic is that the right kind of government and politics can be a legitimate object of rigorous scientific thinking, rather than the inevitable product of maiming through fear and faith, indolence and reform.

In the Republic, Plato explained that the general opinion of justice in the contemporary world is that those who behave unjustly naturally gain power and become strong people in rulers and societies. On the other hand, when weak people behave according to justice, they are disadvantaged, and receive strong benefits. "In the second title, about justice" Plato equates justice with virtue, thus equating them. Nevertheless, as one attempt to interpret justice in terms of political

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discipline, one sees that laws were initially enacted to bring peace and social order into society. Plato's view of justice suggests that in the field of justice, there are many ways to designate its private and public place in society. He argued that justice is a method and it works according to the needs of society and the individual. In fact, the system itself is prevalent in that it can be manipulated to regulate the lives of innocent individuals when such a system remains under the influence of powerful rulers who practice anarchy.

In his search for the true nature of justice, Plato devotes much of *Cantering's* work primarily to his concept of morality. It has been established that the Republic serves to introduce relativity, a broader reach of Plato's notion of justice. In short, Plato indicated that it is beneficial when one judges. He draws a link between acts of morality for the act of justice and concludes that such acts are meaningful. He inspires someone to understand deeds more than just good deeds. Thus, introspection of reason cannot be completely exempt from "participation" in the ruling dimension. Therefore, Plato's greatest contribution to politics is his argument that it is fundamentally the partisanship that the system of justice entails that makes it a powerful system.

Plato (427–347) Law:

Plato had significant contributions in the field of legal and political science. His last and longest dialogue, the law, is highly important. As an argument between an Athenian, a Spartan, and a Cretan, Plato outlined a "second-best" state ("law state") in painstaking detail. The law aims at a more attainable goal, a community based on the principle of moderation, while assuming some idealism of the republic. As a result, Plato replaced the communal living system of the Republic with private property and allowed citizens a voice in the management of public affairs. He also repealed the famous "mixed" or "balanced" constitution, noting that democracy should be combined with the state. His emphasis on creating, modifying, and teaching laws is a silent admission that the "imperial science" of philosophers should give way to known and systematic rules. In contrast, Plato's interest in existing institutions and appreciation for

imperfect regimes serve as a bond for Aristotle's more empirical and realist politics. It has been evaluated that Plato's political philosophy, which originates from his literature, is very prominent in the history of Western political theory. Plato was the first organized political theorist and the study of Western philosophy of tradition begins with his masterwork, the Republic. Jowett clearly articulated Plato as the father of philosophy, politics, and literary idealism. Plato's involvement in Western political thought is very high. He gave it a direction, a base and a vision. Political idealism is Plato's capacity for Western political philosophy. He adapted novel ideas and skillfully integrated them into a political system. Their bigotry lies in the fact that their rulers have the comforts and luxuries of men without property. In the Republic, Plato presented a role model of an ideal order. Plato first allowed women to become rulers and legislators. The framework of collective houses, temporary marriages and common children was accepted by the socialists of the 18th and 19th centuries as a necessary condition for the emancipation of women. The main objective of Plato's political thought was the well-being and development of the masses.

Plato described four types of political governance including honor-oriented time-order, wealth-oriented oligarchy, freedom-oriented democracy and individual-exploitation-oriented tyranny. These rules differ from the ideal cause-based regime (aristocracy), as the mixture of these two is based on communism sentiment, oligarchy on hunger and democracy. Plato explains the cyclical changes of these arrangements considering changes in the value structure, emphasizing the importance of values and ideas on political change.

In the contemporary political landscape, Plato and modern social theory have many common issues, such as the importance of division of labor. He considers such people as social individuals who should live in a complex and interdependent social life. Although he accepts social class as a result of division of labor, he rejects class wars and class-based economic inequality. Their understanding of this division, with its vertical and disciplinary structure, also differs from liberal social relations in terms of agreement or social contract (George Sabine, 195).

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Additionally, he emphasizes gender equality, as one's class membership depends only on merit, which in turn is based on the quality of soul and education. For example, as "a man and a woman doctor have spirits of the same nature," they are the same (Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*),

Plato also contributed to developing political theory by describing, generalizing, and organizing psychological and sociological issues. The Republic's main contribution to politics emphasized the role of ideas, values and morality in politics. He values ideas and is not intelligence restricted by custom rather than physical / historical structural factors. Plato's political views were caught under criticism when analyzing the relationship between theory and practice.

Socio-political issues exist in a dynamic structure and always face change. Therefore, even if parents acquire knowledge, the effect of change on time and space may render their knowledge obsolete. Socio-political problems cannot be solved by crossing them because ignoring some facts does not change external realism. Plato seeks continued peace and stability to prevent competition in politics, economics and other fields of activity. Furthermore, he seeks to harmonize through social homogeneity. Since the essential purpose of political theory is to solve real-life problems, it should "make a general rule in terms of differences" rather than eliminate social diversity.

Another criticism was that power is necessary to interpret knowledge in practice, and only a strong source of power can liberate people from the pressure of another source of power. Plato did not offer specific methods to resolve this agile cycle and subjected power to knowledge.

The other problematic aspect of *The Republic* is its authoritarian political ideology, which is neither necessary nor appropriate for realizing Plato's ideal people and ideal city (based on justice and knowledge). In his book, Plato favors instruction and social engineering rather than social contracts and agreements. There are several serious problems in such a totalitarian system, which is mentioned below:

It extinguishes the private sector (such as the family), uses a ban to prevent any place for personal freedom, and violates basic human rights.

Furthermore, as the Soviet Union proved, it destroys citizens' motivation, creativity, and efficiency.

A system that classifies people into three definite groups (gold, silver and bronze) denies multiple identities and is also the result of discrimination. It is very important for parents to leave politics. Since it affects human life, ordinary citizens should be able to intervene in politics and set their own interests and goals.

A guardianship regime makes it impossible for people to recover their rights from manipulative dictators. The only way is revolution, which is made more difficult by the systemic brainwashing achieved in public schools.

It is difficult to find rulers who accept authority not out of personal aspiration but out of fear that they may "rule worse than anyone." (Plato, *The Republic*) In this regard, Plato's philosopher-king can be very dangerous, "Power corrupts and corrupts absolute power completely." (Robert Dahl, 1987) While disciplinary education may be appropriate in quasi-voluntary situations (monastic orders) or parent-child relationships for a short time, it can be terrible if applied to society for a long time is done.

In contrast, Plato's non-democratic views include some beneficial factors used in modern political systems. Modern democracies, for example, typically have representatives, leaning towards the oppression of the majority rather than the direct diversification of Athens. The modern judiciary system, including constitutional courts and judges, represents the dominance of the quality of knowledge over the quantity of the majority. Additionally, the mainstay of bureaucratic meritocracy of a democratic state refers to officials elected on merit, like Plato's notion.

These contributions are currently very important because today the main problem is the reconciliation of the classical objective of politics which enables human beings to live good lives and live in a political community with modern demands of social thinking, which is to gain scientific knowledge. Is the functioning of society?

8.4.1 History Of Ancient Politics

In short, Plato is one of the most prominent figures in Western philosophy. He was an influential Greek philosopher, scientist, historian and political theorist. He excelled in the fields of astrology, geometry and became acquainted with the principles of the Greek leaders. Because he was a close follower of Socrates' teachings, most of his views about the system of justice and his belief in how the system operates in society directly represent the people of Socrates. Thus, his relationship with Socrates inspires him to learn the art of creating and shaping theories that identify with his own personality. Because his creations are so important to the political arena, he is credited as the most eminent Greek moralist. His early efforts to maintain and define the justice system brought him fame in the political arena.

However, revealing the truth between right and wrong led to the notion that justice is demarcated by an act of goodwill rather than by the individual's selfishness. Plato argued that the rational notion of justice is so powerful that the validity of its political principles is eternal in human history.

8.4.2 Cultural

Within Western analytical philosophy, culture has not been a major topic of discussion. It sometimes appears as a subject in the philosophy of social science, and in continental philosophy, there is a long tradition of "philosophical anthropology", which is somewhat related to culture.

Within the core areas of analytical philosophy, culture has most frequently appeared in discussions of moral relativism, radical translation, and perceptual plasticity, although little effort has been made to critically examine the impact of culture on these domains. Cognitive science has also neglected culture, but in recent years, it has begun to change. A great in-depth example is the attempt to empirically test the impact of culture on mental processes. This entry surveys the ways in which the emerging cognitive science of culture informs philosophical debates. Culture is that, "the whole which encompasses knowledge, belief, art, law, morality, customs, and any other abilities and habits

acquired by man." Members of the society has "Subsequent authors have expressed concern that Tyler's definition is too much, lumping psychological objects (e.g., belief) together with external objects (e.g., art). From a philosophical point of view, this would be particularly problematic for those who hope that culture can be portrayed as a natural type and thus as an appropriate subject for scientific inquiry. Other definitions often try to choose between external and internal options in Tyler's definition.

According to Geertz (1973, 89), culture is "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols." Culture, on such an approach, is like a text - which needs to be interpreted through the examination of symbols. For Geertz, the interpretation involves the production of "thick descriptions", in which the observed behaviors are described in enough detail to detect possible associations between observational descriptions. It is not enough to refer to a celebrated ritual as "marriage". One must understand that ripe rites are very different in social groups and should be described. Ideally, the anthropologist can present a culture from the point of view of its members.

Check Your Progress-2

Q.3 What is culture according to Western?

Q.4 Definition of justice and morality by Plato.

8.5 ANCIENT POLITICS MAJOR REPRESENTATIVE

In giving birth to philosophy, Polis also gave rise to a tension about what Aristotle would describe as two lives: the life of politics and the life of philosophy. A flaw between ethics and politics, closely linked in an ancient culture with flourishing (eudemonia) and virtue (betel nut), opened here. Should philosophers act politically (and if so, should they

engage in general politics in the current regime, or work to establish new ones), or should they live a life of pure contemplation should stay away from politics? A question likewise was whether philosophers should think politically: were human matters worth thinking about the broader perspective opened by the study of nature and the gods? With questions of rhetoric, virtue, wisdom, and justice, Socrates' philosophical life had remained politically connected even before his death (his trial and execution at the hands of the Athenian democratic regime) entangled him. But for his student Plato and Plato's student Aristotle, even practicing human affairs such as politics and even less divine than the extensive study of truth about natural and divine realms, and so less commendable were. Philosophy may have to address the political, but its highest calling has risen above it. If Socrates' political fortunes were part of the stimulus for Plato, to invent a new metaphysics and epistemology to clarify the alternative realm of political possibility, Plato's dialogues alone concerned Socrates with the bonds of political subjects on those subjects indicate independence.

This specific Greek - and especially Platonic - outlook must position any historical understanding of the development of ancient political philosophy.

8.5.1 By Socrates, Plato And Aristotle

Socrates seems to have been the first philosopher to treat ethics — as opposed to cosmology and physics — as a specific field of inquiry. In Plato's apology stating that "an unfamiliar life is not worth living," he pressed for definitions of qualities or greatness that were widely recognized and claimed by his peers, but which were difficult to explain. As indicated by Plato, the search for such definitions became a concern forever with the knowledge of how to live best, not only as one of the traditional virtues (as knowledge) but also of underpinning. In form, even all of them. The growth of knowledge, in turn, prompted Socrates against the rhetoric of rhetoric and judgment, which animated Athens's political institutions — the law-courts, the Assembly, and the Council. Instead he claimed existential, or at least likely, political expertise, (in Plato's

Gorgias) to be a man in Athens who at least tried to pursue such a true political outlook, A complex notion that can be understood as meaning politics as a type of professional expertise. The notion of political knowledge, limited to one or a few experts, is limited in the form of knowledge and opposition created and exercised by the entire Demos of Athens in their decisions and political roles on the whole campus of Athens, the central campus of Athenian democracy and Greek politics. Those have been attacked generally (in the oligarchs, rather than knowledge was the relevant criterion for money governance; in atrocities). Thus, the nature of Socrates' concern with morality led him directly to political philosophy. The connection between politics and knowledge, the meaning of justice as a virtue, the value of military courage that all Greek cities prized among their citizens, all seemed to be central themes of Socratic conversation.

In the historical trend of political philosophy, Aristotle made a distinct position and contributed a lot through his great ideas. Aristotle (b. 384 - d. 322 BCE), was a Greek philosopher, logician, and scientist. His cataloging of constitutions is still used in understanding constitutions relatively. He considered political science as the master science, studied human beings in a political society suggesting that a human being can lead an eloquent life only as a member of a state. Aristotle described politics as a "practical science" because it deals with making citizens happy. His philosophy is to find the supreme purpose of life, virtue as he puts it. One of the most important roles of a politician, though, is to make laws or constitutions. With this task, it is believed that Aristotle wanted the citizen's wellbeing and livelihood to be contemplated before any laws were made permanent. After the laws are put into place the politician's job is to make sure that they are abided by. Aristotle believes that with the same constitution citizens will be the same over time, but if the constitution is ever changed so will the citizen.

Aristotle was inclined to study the nature of politics and deeply normative in his approach to politics. He was more empirical and scientific in his technique, writing treatises instead of dialogues and often

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handling his materials with considerable detachment. The result in *Politics* is a far-reaching and often penetrating treatment of political life, from the origins and purpose of the state to the nuances of institutional arrangements. While Aristotle's comments on slavery, women, and laborers are often uncomfortable to modern readers, his analysis of government types (including the causes of their preservation and destruction) remains of perennial interest. His discussion of "polity" a fusion of oligarchy and democracy has been of particular significance in the history of popular government. Finally, his argument that a constitution is more than a set of political institutions, but also exemplifies a shared way of life, has shown a productive insight for succeeding thinkers such as Alexis de Tocqueville.

The most important text of Aristotle's political philosophy is *Politics*. However, it is also important to read *Nicomachean Ethics* to fully recognize Aristotle's political project. Aristotle believed that ethics and politics were strongly related and that in fact, the ethical and virtuous life is only available to someone who participates in politics, while moral education is the main purpose of the political community. He conferred in *Nicomachean Ethics* at 1099b, "The end (or goal) of politics is the best of ends, and the main concern of politics is to provoke a certain character in the citizens and to make them good and disposed to perform noble actions." Most people living today in Western societies like the United States, Canada, Germany, or Australia would disagree with both parts of that statement. We are likely to regard politics (and politicians) as aiming at immoral, selfish ends, such as wealth and power, rather than the "best end", and many people consider the idea that politics is or should be primarily concerned with creating a particular moral character in citizens as a dangerous interruption on individual freedom because we do not agree about what the "best end" is. People in Western societies generally ask from politics and the government is that they keep each of us safe from other people (through the provision of police and military forces) so that people can choose and pursue their ends, whatever they may be. This has been the case in Western political philosophy at least since John Locke. The development of individual character is left up to the

individual, with help from family, religion, and other non-governmental institutions.

Aristotle had written about 150 philosophic treatises. His works can be categorized under three heading:

1. Dialogues and other works of a popular character.
2. Collection of facts and materials from scientific treatment.
3. Systematic works.

Among his writings of a popular nature, on the polity of the Athenians is an interesting text. The works on the second group include 200 titles, most in fragments. The systematic treatises of the third, group are marked by a plainness of style. Aristotle's political theory is founded mainly in politics although there are references to his political thought in the Neoplatonic Ethics. According to Prof. William Edelstein, "politics lacks the fire and poetic imagery of the Republic, but it is more systematic and analytical and after twenty-three hundred years it is still an introductory textbook to the entire fields of political science." In his kinds of literature Aristotle presented much regard for popular opinions and current practices, he was essentially a realist philosopher. His works are on the justification of existing institutions like family, state and slavery or is calculated to suggest cures for the ills of the body politics of the city-states.

Theory of state: According to Aristotle, man is, by nature and necessity, a social animal. To determine the nature of the state, and how it varies from other communities, Aristotle analyses it into its parts and studies it in its historical origin. He conferred that two basic instincts are instrumental in bringing people together. The first of these is the reproductive instinct which leads men and women to unite and the second is that of self-preservation, which causes master and slave to come together for their mutual benefit. Out of these two relationships, the first thing to arise is the family. The family is the association established by nature for the supply of men's everyday wants. The family, then, is the first stage in the formation of the state.

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In simple terms, he discovers the origin of the state in the innate desire of an individual to satisfy his economic needs and racial instincts. For the realization of this desire the male and female on the one hand and the master and slave on the other, come together, live together and form a family, i.e., a household that has its moral and social use. It is in the household that the three elements originate and develop which are essential to the building of a state, namely fellowship, political organization, and justice.

Aristotle opens the politics with two important ideas: the state is a community and that it is the highest of all communities, 'which embraces all the rest, aims at good in greater degree than any other, and at the highest good' the first thesis came naturally to a Greek of the classical period: his polis was city-state with a small area and population. Aristotle was the first to define the state a community clearly as such, and thus he laid the foundation for the organic conception of the state, one of the two major types into which all political theories of the state may roughly be divided.

Aristotle stated that state is a natural community, an organism with all the attributes of a living being. Aristotle conceives the state as natural in two ways. First, he concisely delineates the evolution of social institutions from the family through the village to the city-state; in the historical sense, the state is the natural and final stage in the growth of human relations. However, the state is also considered by Aristotle to be actually in a logical and philosophical sense: "The state is by nature clearly before the family and the individual, since the whole is of necessity before the part". Aristotle upholds that the state is not only a community, but it is the highest community aiming at the highest good. The family is the first association, lowest in the chain of social development and lowest on the rung of values, because it is established by nature for the supply of men's every day wants. The village is the second type of association, genetically more complex than the family, and targeting at something more than, the supply of daily needs. The third and highest in terms of

value and purpose: whereas family and village exist essentially for the preservation of life and comforts of companionship, the state exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only, and political society exists for the sake of principled actions, and not of mere companionship. It is well established that the state is the highest form of association, not only in terms of the social and institutional value but in terms of man's nature.

He stated that "at the beginning of this work when we distinguished household-management and master-ship, we also stated that by nature man is a political animal. Hence men have a desire for life together, even when they do not need to seek each other's help. Nevertheless, common interest to is a factor in bringing them together, in so far as it contributes to the good life of each. The good life is indeed their chief end, both communally and individually; but they form and continue to maintain a political association for the sake of life itself. in the law-courts In Plato's account, after countering the religious accusations, Socrates acknowledged this abstention from public affairs but claimed to have had a more significant mission laid on him by the god Apollo when his oracle at Delphi declared that no man was wiser than Socrates: his mission was to stir up the city like a gadfly, discussing virtue and related matters, and benefiting each person by "trying to persuade him" to care for virtue rather than wealth for himself and the city . He went so far as to claim that as a civic benefactor, he deserved not death but the lifelong publicly provided meals commonly awarded to an Olympic champion. Socrates here depicts himself as a new kind of citizen, conceptualizing the public good in a new way and so serving it best through unprecedented actions, in contrast to the conventionally defined paths of political contest and success.

While depicting himself in his defense speeches in Plato's *Apology* as a new kind of virtuous citizen, Socrates makes three remarks which have in modern times been seized upon as indications of the principled limits which he might have put on the requirement to obey the law. The first two recalled political incidents: while serving on the Council, he had

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voted against an illegal proposal; and under the brief oligarchical domination of “The Thirty”, he had disobeyed an order of the ruling body to arrest a democratic partisan for execution. The third is a hypothetical remark. If he imagines, the jurors were to say to him, “we acquit you, but only on condition that you spend no more time on this investigation and do not practice philosophy, and if you are caught doing so you will die,” his reply would be: “I will obey the god rather than you, and as long as I draw breath and am able, I shall not cease to practice philosophy” (both quotations excerpted from longer sentences. Particularly in twentieth-century Anglophone scholarship, these remarks have engendered a view of Socrates as endorsing civil disobedience in certain circumstances, and so have framed the question of civil disobedience and the grounds for a political obligation as arising in Plato. A significant debate on these matters took shape in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s at the time of widespread civil disobedience relating to civil rights and the Vietnam War: see for example Konitz 1964, Woodley 1972.

That debate has had to confront the fact that Socrates did not disobey his death sentence with which his trial concluded: when the time came, he drank the poisonous hemlock as prescribed by the jury. Before that moment, Plato imagines Socrates being visited in prison by his friend Crito (in a dialogue which bears the latter’s name) and urged to escape for the sake of his friends and family, a practice which was frequently tolerated in Athens so long as the escapee fled into exile. Socrates is not persuaded by Crito’s arguments. He begins his examination of them by recalling principles to which he and Crito had in the past agreed, including the principle that it is better to suffer injustice than to commit. He then goes on to ventriloquize a series of speeches against escape, which he ascribes to the “Laws of Athens”. These speeches articulate a set of special connections between Socrates and the Laws of Athens which, depending on one’s reading, either flesh out the principle that it is better to suffer injustice than to do it (by dramatizing reasons for which it would unjust for Socrates to escape), or else stand in tension with it by invoking absolutist grounds with implications more extensive than such a

principle would authorize. On any reading, it is important to bear in mind that Socrates is choosing to obey a jury verdict that has commanded him to suffer what is arguably an injustice, but not to commit one, so that one of his fundamental ethical principles here as elsewhere in Plato (that it is better to suffer an injustice than to commit one) is at least compatible with his acceptance of the jury's sentence.

The "Laws of Athens" appeal to a kind of social contract made between themselves and Socrates. The contract is unequal: the "Laws" compare themselves to parents and slaveowners, and Socrates to child and slave. Obedience to them is owed, they claim, because the "Laws" have provided the whole basis for Socrates' education and life in the city, a city in which he has notably chosen to remain, never traveling abroad except on military service. But the "Laws" also speaks of the opportunity they afford to Socrates to "persuade or obey" them. The meaning of this clause and its relevance to civil disobedience is again much debated (Kraut 1984 remains a landmark). Nevertheless, the image of Socrates tried, convicted, and made to die (by his hand) at the city's command has come to be a vivid and powerful symbol of tension in the relationship between political philosophy and political authority.

8.5.2 Law In Ancient Indian

The judicial system deals with the administration of the laws through the agency of the law gives or the courts. The system provides the machinery for the resolving of the disputes on account of which the aggrieved.

Nothing rankles in human heart more than a brooding sense of injustice. No society can allow a situation to grow where the impression prevails of there being no redress for grievances.

India has a recorded legal history starting from the Vedic ages (ca.1750–500 BCE) and some sort of civil law system may have been in place during the Bronze Age in India that is around 3000 BCE and the Indus Valley civilization, which is the period between 2600 BCE and 1900 BCE. Law as a matter of religious prescriptions and philosophical discourse has an illustrious history in India. Emanating from the Vedas, the Upanishads and other religious texts, it was a fertile field enriched by

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practitioners from different Hindu philosophical schools and later by Jains and Buddhists. Secular law in India varied widely from region to region and from ruler to ruler. Court systems for civil and criminal matters were essential features of many ruling dynasties of ancient India. Excellent secular court systems existed under the Mauryas (321-185 BCE) and the Mughals (16th – 19th centuries) with the latter giving way to the current common law system. The Modern Indian Judiciary is partly a continuation of the British Raj legal system established by the British in the mid-19th century based on a typical hybrid legal system known as the Common Law System, in which customs, precedents and legislative is all components of the law. The subject matter is not a part of the curriculum in the top law colleges in India but is of immense importance for all law students of top law colleges in India.

So, the History of Judicial system in India can be classified in to three stages, as follows

- Judicial System in ancient India that is Pre-Islamic invasion
- Judicial System in Medieval Age
- Judicial System in British Rule.

The scope of our discussion in this article we shall take the first stage.

India has the oldest judiciary in the world. No other judicial system has a more ancient or exalted pedigree. History of Indian judicial system takes us to the hoary past when Manu and Brihaspati gave us Dharam Shastras, Narada the Smritis, and Kautilya the Arthshastra. A study of these memorable books would reveal that we in ancient India had a fairly well developed and sophisticated system of administration of justice. In broad outlines there is considerable similarity between the system then in vogue and the system now in force.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA

In the early Vedic times, we do not find any reference as regards the establishment of judicial procedure. The jurisprudence of Ancient India

was shaped by the concept of 'Dharma', or rules of right conduct, as outlined in the various manuals explaining the Vedic scriptures such as 'Puranas' and 'Smritis'. The King had no independent authority but derived his powers from 'Dharma', which he was expected to uphold. The distinction between a civil wrong and a criminal offence was clear. While civil wrongs related mainly to disputes arising over wealth, the concept of sin was the standard against which crime was to be defined. The Maurya Dynasty, which had extended to substantial parts of the central and eastern regions during the 4th Century, B.C., had a rigorous penal system, which prescribed mutilation as well as death penalty for even trivial offences.

The Manusmṛti or "Laws of Manu", Sanskrit Manusmṛti मनुस्मृति; also known as Mānava-dharmaśāstra मानवधर्मशास्त्र, is the most important and earliest metrical work of the Dharmaśāstra textual tradition of Hinduism written by the ancient sage Manu prescribes ten essential rules for the observance of Dharma: Patience (dhṛiti), forgiveness (kshama), piety or self-control (dama), honesty (asteya), sanctity (shauch), control of senses (indraiya-nigraha), reason (dhi), knowledge or learning (vidya), truthfulness (satya) and absence of anger (krodha). Manu further writes, "Nonviolence, truth, non-coveting, purity of body and mind, control of senses are the essence of Dharma". Therefore, dharmic laws govern not only the individual but all in society. Sir William Jones assigned Manusmṛiti to a period of 1250 BCE. Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel assigned it to 1000 BCE. In present form, Manusmṛiti is commonly dated to 5th century BCE. Some scholars have estimated to be anywhere between 200 BCE and 200 CE. The Manu smṛti shows the obvious influence of previous Dharmasutras and Arthashastras. In particular, the Manusmṛiti was the first to adopt the term vyavaharapadas. These eighteen "Titles of Law" or "Grounds for Litigation" make up more than one fifth of the work and deal primarily with matters of the king, state, and judicial procedure. The dharma classes of texts were noteworthy because they did not depend on the authority of Vedic schools, becoming the starting point of an independent tradition that emphasized dharma itself and not its Vedic origins. The Manusmṛti recognized assault and

other bodily injuries and property offences such as theft and robbery (Pillai 1983; Griffith 1971; Thapar 1990; Raghavan 2002). So, the concept of Dharma ruled Indian civilization; from the Vedic period up to Muslim invasion from King to his last servant everyone was bound by Dharma.

The word Dharma is derived from “dhr” to mean to uphold, sustain or nourish. The Seers often use it in close association with ‘rta’ and ‘satya’. **Sri Vidyaranya** also known as **Madhava Vidyāranya** is variously known as being a kingmaker, patron saint and high priest to Harihara Raya I and Bukka Raya I, the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire, born in 1268 CE and was the 12th Jagadguru of the Sringeri Sharada Peetham from 1380 to 1386 A.D defines ‘rta’ as the mental perception and realization of God. The Taittiriya Upanishad also uses it with ‘satya’ and ‘dharma’. It exhorts students to speak the truth and practice dharma (Satyam vadha: Dharmam chara). According to Sankara Bhagavatpada ‘satya’ means speaking the truth and ‘dharma’ means translating it (Satya) into action.

8.5.3 Governances And Political Power

Owner stems from inequalities of knowledge relationships present in families; as one member of the family has a greater knowledge, perceived or actual, of a subject, the unequal nature of the division forms a hierarchy based on power. This structured hierarchy and power is found throughout social relations from the family to global governance. Foucault writes, “...the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups, and institutions, are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole”. It is precisely these relationships and cleavages in global governance that fosters inequalities and divisions that enables power to flourish thereby establishing hierarchy and making global governance incapable of ever being truly representative. Using a Foucauldian concept of power and hierarchy, this essay seeks to explore the representativeness of global governance. First, however, it is necessary to define the central terms

used throughout the essay. Since the mid-20th century, global governance has gained prominence because of the increased global interconnectedness between actors. Rosenau writes that “in an ever more interdependent world... what happens in one corner or at one level may have consequences for what occurs at every other corner and level”. As actions, and their effects, have become globalized, actors have sought forms of governance to address the economic and political issues fostered by an interdependent world. Barnett and Duvall write, “The intensifying connections between states and peoples...are now frequently presumed to create the need for governance and rulemaking at the global level”. Global governance, therefore, can be defined “as efforts to bring more orderly and reliable responses to social and political issues that go beyond the capacities of states to address individually” Power, another concept critical to this essay, has been studied extensively in International Relations ranging from realist conceptions of power with tangible coercive force at its core to ‘softer’ concepts of power that focus on the ability to attract through persuasion Beyond these broader conceptions, Barnett and Duvall dissect the notion of power into interactive power and constitutive power. Constitutive power, on the other hand, proceeds “the social or subject positions of actors and... constitute them as being social beings with their respective capacities and interests”. In other words, the concept of constitutive power focuses on the effect of social relations on defining “who the actors are and what practices they are socially empowered to undertake” These various notions underline the point that power is dynamic and can be applied at varying degrees through different strategies and tactics writes, “...power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society”. As this quote illustrates, power stems from the unstable social relations between actors. This understanding of power makes obvious the innate inequalities that are present in social relations who seem naturalize a sense of societal hierarchy. In global governance, as in all of society, actors are varied in their capabilities and power. Kelson recognized this point during the formative years of the United Nations (UN) when he wrote that “States

differ very much from each other with respect to their actual capacity”.
The varied capabilities and capacities of actors create an unequal distribution of power and influence in global governance.

8.6 LET US SUM UP

As we can understand in unit the unit talks about the law, rule, society and guidance. The result is that justice is defined as primarily a condition of one’s soul or city as a whole, not as any specific just action; yet if the soul or city is so ordered, the individual will have no cause to engage in the paradigmatically unjust action of *pleonexia* or grasping for more than one’s fair share. A just soul will indeed reliably issue in traditionally just actions, such as refraining from theft, murder, and sacrilege (contra Sachs 1963, who argues that Plato has simply abandoned the usual domain of justice). But what makes its ‘justice’ count as such goes beyond these actions and omissions, lying in the health and orderliness of such a soul contrasted with the chaotic or even tyrannical character of an unjust soul. To be a truly effective, because wholly unified, agent, one must be just, moderate, courageous and wise. The just person enjoys psychic health, which is advantageous no matter how he is treated (fairly or unfairly) by gods and men; correspondingly, the just society enjoys civic unity, which is advantageous in being the fundamental way to avoid the assumed supreme evil of civil war. In contrast, all other cities are characterized as riven by civil war between the rich and the poor; none of them counts as a single, unified city at all.

8.7 KEYWORDS

1. **Paradigmatically:** Linguistics Of or relating to the set of substitutional or oppositional relationships a linguistic unit has with other units, such as the relationship between.
2. **Constitutive:** The word constitutive describes an essential part of a whole, especially physical makeup.

3. **Global governance:** Global governance is a movement towards political cooperation among transnational actors, aimed at negotiating responses to problems that affect more than one state or region.
4. **Judicial System:** The system of law courts that administer justice and constitute the judicial branch of government.
5. **Perversions:** Perversion is a type of human behavior that deviates from that which is understood to be orthodox or normal.

8.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- Mention the difference between ancient and today's judicial.
- Governance and political power role.
- Describe and study the nature of politics?
- What are the three basic principles that are the same as a citizen- or "citizen"?
- What was the flaw between ethics and politics?

8.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

1. Sabine and Thorson, A history of Political theory
2. Michael Freeden, Ideologies and Political theory: a conceptual approach
3. L. Gane, Introducing Nietzsche.
4. C.B. Macpherson, The Political theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke
5. Leo Strauss, Thoughts on Machiavelli
6. David McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx.

8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1 "Politics" and whether "political" emerged as part of a broader set of sociopolitical practices, most notably and most well documented in

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Athens, while "philosophy" was invented by a relatively small number of self-philosophical "philosophers" "Was done by thinkers. Thus, while the invention of "political philosophy" as a genre can be understood as a deliberate challenge to "political" existing practices and concepts, the challenge was directed specifically, though not exclusively, specifically.

Q.2 Ancient political philosophy is understood here to mean ancient Greek and Roman thought in the fifth century BC until the end of the Roman Empire in the west, except for the development of Jewish and Christian thought in the fifth century BC and politics during that period. Political philosophy as a genre was invented by Plato in this period and, in fact, reinforced by Aristotle: it incorporates reflections on the origins of political institutions, concepts of justice and equality of political life, such as the interpretation of relationships and Used to organize Purpose of the nature of ethics and politics, and the relative merits of various constitutional arrangements or arrangements.

Q.3 Western analytical philosophy, culture has not been a major topic of discussion. It sometimes appears as a subject in the philosophy of social science, and in continental philosophy, there is a long tradition of "philosophical anthropology", which is somewhat related to culture. Within the core areas of analytical philosophy, culture has most frequently appeared in discussions of moral relativism, radical translation, and perceptual plasticity, although little effort has been made to critically examine the impact of culture on these domains.

Q4. His work is a major political discovery of the truth of right and wrong. The system of justice can be interpreted in different ways but mainly its political theory shows that a strong hold on the weak is a universal truth. However, revealing the truth between right and wrong led to the notion that justice is demarcated by an act of goodwill rather than by the individual's selfishness. Plato argued that the rational notion of justice is so powerful that the validity of its political principles is eternal in human history.

UNIT-9: POLITICAL SYSTEM AND SOCIAL COMMUNICATION

STRUCTURE

9.0 Objectives

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Political System Authoritarianism, Monarchy, Communication, Society

9.2.1 Difference between Political System and Authoritarianism,

9.2.2 Power and Right

9.3 Monarchy in political science

9.3.1 Types of monarchy

9.3.2 Law of monarchy

9.3.3 Theory and practice

9.4 Social Communication

9.4.1 What is social political science?

9.4.2 Role of social communication in political science

9.4.3 Framework of Political and social communication

9.5 Role of media in Social communication

9.5.1 The role of mass media

9.5.2 Fundamental function of communication

9.6 Impact on society

9.7 Let Us Sum Up

9.8 Keywords

9.9 Questions for Review

9.10 Suggested readings and References

9.11 Answer to check your progress

9.0 OBJECTIVES

- The power balance system is similar to the 'power balance theory' prevalent in the 18th and 19th centuries. It lacks a political vice.
- There are two types of actors: essential workers and other small workers. Important essential national workers are;

- Such as America, Russia, France, Britain, China, etc. Other small workers may include small shows.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Political system is the set of formal legal institutions constituting a "legal" or "state". This is the definition adopted by many studies of the legal or constitutional system of advanced political orders. Defined more broadly, however, the term connotes real as well as prescribed forms of political behavior, not only the legal organization of the state but also the reality of the actions of the state. Still more broadly defined, the political system is seen as a subsystem of "processes of participation" or social systems interacting with other non-political subsystems of the social system. This indicates the importance of informal sociopolitical processes and emphasizes the study of political development. Traditional legal or constitutional analysis, using the first definition, has produced a vast body of literature on governmental structures, several specific terms that are part of the traditional terminology of political science, and several didactic classification schemes. Similarly, empirical analysis of political processes and attempts was identified the underlying realities of governmental forms have yielded a rich repository of data and an important body of comparative theory. The third definition has inspired much scholarly work that employs new types of data, new terms, and some new concepts and categories of analysis. Discussion on all three approaches to the study of political system.

9.2 POLITICAL SYSTEM, MONARCHY, AUTHORITARIANISM, COMMUNICATION, SOCIETY

It has already been pointed out that what is political system.

Authoritarianism the doctrine of rendering blind to authority was proceeding, as opposed to individual freedom of thought and action. In government, Authoritarianism refers to any political system that focuses power in the hands of a leader or small elite who is not constitutionally responsible for the body of the people. Authoritarian leaders often

exercise arbitrary power regardless of existing bodies of law, and they generally cannot be replaced by citizens choosing freely among various contestants in elections. The freedom to form opposition political parties or other alternative political groups with which to compete for power with the ruling group is either limited or non-existent in authoritarian regimes.

The **monarchy** system was adopted in its time. Kautilya discussed the origin, nature and function of the kingdom. In relation to the origin of the state, he accepted the principle of social cohesion. There was injustice everywhere in the society.

Therefore, Manu was chosen as the ruler. The Indian religious epic was considered the first Indian king. People decided to pay 1/6 of their crop, 1/10 of their business and some with gold. Kautilya did not think of the monarchy. He could only use this money for the welfare and safety of the people. Thus, the idea of Kautilya was used for social cohesion. In this context, Dr. Shamasastri says, "The principle of social contract was not unknown.

Chanakya, Kautilya did not speculate about the origin of the kingdom. Like Machiavelli, he was concerned with the kingdom of his time. He was not interested in the question of how the kingdom under Chandragupta Maurya's occupation was brought into existence, but how the internal faced the more urgent problem of creating a powerful and vigorous one as well as external threats. At its best, the Mauryan prime minister could trace the origins of the Mauryan state to the misdeeds of Nanda. Although he gave an uncertain description of the formation of villages and various aspects of village and town life, there is no reference to the origin or development of the kingdom in Kautilya. There are two major sources for understanding Indian political thinking (a) Manu is another (b) his thoughts.

The evolution of **communication** for development (C4D) has mirrored broader shifts in theories and models of economic and social development. For much of the post-World War II period, C4D was informed by the 'modernization' paradigm, which sought to transform 'traditional' societies into modern, Western societies through the transmission of attitudes, practices and technologies. Correspondingly,

communication initiatives adopted a diffusion approach, which uses communication to carry out a transfer of information. This includes large-scale media campaigns, social marketing, and dissemination of printed materials, 'education-entertainment' and other forms of one-way transmission of information from the sender to the receiver. Three rival views of the nature of society are sketched: Individualism, Piety, and Systematize: The ontological and methodological components of these theories are constructed and analyzed. Individualism seeks no place for social relations or contingent qualities; Overall, to refuse to analyze both and to lose sight of the person. A system view is then sketched, and it is essentially this: a society is a system of interrelated individuals sharing an environment.

There are three main concepts of the nature of society:

- i. A society is simply a collection of individuals and each of its assets is the result or aggregation of the properties of its members (individualism, nuclearize, or lack);
- ii. A society is a totality transferring its membership and endowed;
- iii. With qualities that cannot be identified with either the properties of its members or subsequent interactions (holism or collectivism);
- iv. A society is a system of interrelated persons, that is, a system, while some of its properties are aggregations of the properties of its components; others derive from relations between the latter (systematics).

9.2.1 Difference Between Political System And Authoritarianism

The study of governmental structures must be approached with great caution, for political systems using the same type of legal system and the same type of governmental instruments often act very differently. A parliament, for example, can be an important and effective part of a political system; or it may be no more than an institutional aspect of little practical importance. A constitution can provide the framework within

which the political life of a state operates; or it cannot be more than a piece of paper, its provisions have no relation to the facts of political life. Political systems should never be classified in terms of their legal framework: the fact that two states have similar structures with similar institutional provisions and legal requirements should never, on their own, lead to the conclusion that they represent the same type of political system.

To be useful, the study of governmental structures must always proceed hands-on to examine the real facts of the political process: the toilet needs the greatest caution in distinguishing between form and reality, and between prescription and practice. Thinking in this way, an examination of the ineffective system that governments undertake to make decisions and exercise power, can be an important tool of political inquiry theoretically, in a "pure" democracy, the majority cannot be limited in any way and should always be able to impose itself on the minority. On the other hand, totalitarianism is a political regime in which power is exercised in an authoritarian manner. Authoritarianism is the opposite of individualism in democracy, which is presented to the authority. In this system, political power is condensed into an authority figure who has uncontrolled power. Totalitarianism is when the person in power wants to control every aspect of public and private life.

Authoritarianism is a historically generated phenomenon in response to state crises of political order. Its main characteristic has been elitist dictatorship, with the occasional cult of personality. It is a response to democratic failure, social polarization, economic stagnation, and international instability. It generally exercises sovereign power through single party rule and may depend upon military forces to maintain order. In its extreme control over society, it may become a totalitarian monopoly. Authoritarian regimes often offer trade-offs between economic development and political democracy and have been the historical gateway to democratic systems when political order is well-established, and long-term economic progress is anticipated.

Authoritarianism is a theory and a system of government customarily linked with dictatorship, in contrast to democracy. It is a principle based on obedience to authority and opposes autonomy of individuals in

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thought and action. As a form of government, authoritarianism concentrates power in a leader or in a small elite not constitutionally accountable to the people. Unlike totalitarian systems, authoritarian governments usually lack a highly developed ideology. Also, the latter tends to tolerate a degree of pluralism in social organization, usually lacks the power to mobilize the nation for collective goals and exercises its power within limits. Leaders in authoritarian systems often exercise their power arbitrarily and consider themselves above existing law. Modern authoritarian systems usually operate through single, dominant parties, which control government and other key parts of society, including the economy, media, and education. They usually do not hold free elections, which could replace them with a competing party (example Political Parties). It is either difficult or impossible for citizens to create opposition groups or parties.

9.2.2 Power And Right

"Individuals" are one of two main classes that are the subjects of rights, powers and duties, the other being "citizens". Individuals can be "natural" or "corporate". "Citizens" are a subclass of "natural persons". Only individuals stand as parties under the due process. Every government has the power to determine that there is no "person" within its jurisdiction, subject to certain restrictions of the Common Law and the Constitution, the 15th amendment requiring that it be based on race, color, or previous but do not exclude anyone. Status of service. Under the common law existing at the time of the adoption of the US Constitution, "natural personality" was considered to begin at the natural birth and end of the heartbeat. But technology has created a new situation, expanding the definition, opening the way for a law or court decision and setting out the circumstances under which personhood begins and ends. "" Such as governmental entities, associations, trusts, corporations, or partnerships, moreover common law "natural" persons, but the "personality" of such corporate entities is not created by the government. Its corporate personality derives from the personality of its members. Corporate individuals should be a group of natural persons. Common law involves individuals as merely individual human beings

and combinations of them, but it provides a basis for including entities that are sufficiently indiscriminate in their behavior as humans for legal purposes, such as Whether aliens, Android or genetically. Cultured animals, which are interested, have the ability to reason and communicate. This, however, establishes other things as individuals, such as inanimate objects, which do not have the ability to represent themselves under the assigned process. The inclusion of such inanimate objects in the civil due process for the parties, as making them "individuals", has recently unconstitutionally found its way into rem proceedings in the US legal system through seizure / seizure law.

Check Your Progress-1

1. What is meant by Political system?

2. Discuss the study of governmental structures?

9.3 MONARCHY IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Monarchy is the system of governance in which a person (king) is the survey's head of governance. In the monarchy, the king ruled autocratic and committed many atrocities on the people. The king is not elected by the governed but is hereditary or defeats another king in battle to become king. The monarchy is the oldest and natural system of governance in the world. According to this system, only the son of the king or someone of the royal family could always sit on the throne, even if he was unfit. India's position is different with respect to the monarchy.

Despite being a monarchy in ancient India, the people were not oppressed. Umesh Sharma philosopher believes that the idea of a welfare king was enshrined in monarchy in Vedic literature. In the case of monarchy from 600BC to 400BC, the Brahmins said that the king is like a deity and not an ordinary human being. They were his advisors and without him the king could neither rule, nor perform the yajna-ritual. The king was the protector of society and religion and it was believed in the republics that the head could be chosen from the masses. For instance, the state was a potent instrument in the industrialization process by way of creating both internal and external conditions for economic growth, industrial expansion, providing supporting services and facilities to entrepreneurs, inventors, traders, modernizing artisans, etc., making the domestic and international conditions conducive to orderly functioning and expansion of economic activities, managing crises, distortions and contradictions. From ensuring cheap supply of inputs, including labor, to profitable sale of the output, protecting technology, ensuring access to profitable investment opportunities, providing markets for their expansion, protection against foreign competition, use of muscle power for ensuring access to cheap supplies, the state's benign presence was critical at every step in the rich industrialized economies. Obviously, the market forces too operated, but their deficiencies were made good and their strengths were encased by a careful and friendly government. For a variety of reasons, many mainstreams, development economists too recognize the critical part played by the state. In India where dozens of feuding monarchies were involved in fratricidal infighting, lacking any understanding of the emerging global challenges at around the time a new wave of internationalization was sweeping across continents under the influence of the nascent processes of modern industrialization, great historic opportunities were missed.

9.3.1 Types Of Monarchy

A government can be classified as either a monarchy or a republic. To be classified as a monarchy, the government must have some kind of royal family that attains their position of power. Various types of emperors exist. A monarchy can be a limited monarchy, a constitutional monarchy,

or an absolute monarchy. It is a constitutional government, where the monarchy is bound by the national constitution. Most constitutional monarchies have a parliamentary system in which a hereditary or elected king or queen is the head of state with executive power and the prime minister elected directly or indirectly is the head of government. This type of monarchy is also known as a limited monarchy.

The French Revolution was followed by constitutional monarchy in Europe. General Napoleon Bonaparte is considered the first emperor to declare himself the incarnation of the nation, rather than a divinely appointed ruler; This interpretation of monarchy is fundamental to continental constitutional monarchies. G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (1820), justified it philosophically, developing contemporary political theory and with a Protestant Christian view of natural law. Hegel predicted a constitutional emperor of limited powers, whose actions symbolized national character and constitutional continuity in emergencies according to the development of constitutional monarchy in Europe and Japan. In addition, the formal office of the President (such as European and Israeli parliamentary democracies) is a contemporary type of constitutional emperor (whether elected or appointed) of Hegel, yet, his prediction of a form of government suitable for the modern world is prophetic. Can be considered in Russian and French presidents, with their strong powers, may be Hegelians, which would be a power favorable to the national.

9.3.2 Law Of Monarchy

An emperor who exercises absolute or almost absolute and executive, legislative and judicial powers, which is unrestricted by constitutional or legal restrictions, is often referred to as "absolute monarchy". When the emperor's powers are effectively limited and restricted by law to respect people's freedom and needs and to curb oppression through taxation and other means, the system is commonly called a "constitutional monarchy" goes.

In ancient India the monarchy was sovereign over a region by the king, serving as its protector, a role that included both secular and religious

power. The meaning and importance of kings changed dramatically between the Vedic and later Vedic periods, and further development under the influence of Buddhism. Although there is evidence that in the Vedic period and later Vedic period, heredity was not hereditary, by the time of the creation of Brahmin literature, traces of alternative kings had already begun to disappear.

9.3.3 Theory And Practice

We know much about the kings of early modern Europe, but we know little about the monarchy, that is, the institution of the individual ruler. Until the French Revolution, the monarchy was generally given by Europeans. Since it was endowed with biblical touch stones and the truth written by Aristotle, some people thought of analyzing it further. Those who did, like Jean or Thomas Hobbes, were viewed with suspicion of a more alert mind. Adjectives that we employ to describe the types of monarchies of today, such as "absolutist," "divine right," or "constitutional", were not used in a systematic way before the eighteenth century because they were criminal.

The institutions that adopt all are conservative, and this was certainly the case with the monarchy. It was generally mistrust of political change. Nevertheless, the emperors could sponsor the boldest innovations, which became more acceptable because of their support. In fact, perhaps the most notable feature of modern European monarchy was its recurring mobility, its ability to create or adapt to new conditions. Unlike its counterparts in many other parts of the world between 1450 and 1800, the European monarchy was constantly changing in response to competition or crisis. By the eighteenth century, European kings associated far more effective means of communication and control with far superior military technology than their rivals. These advantages encouraged him to impose himself in other parts of the world. His systems of governance may not be the best, but his organization was, although it may still be wrong to us today. Thus, the transformation of the ruler in early modern Europe had global consequences.

9.4 SOCIAL COMMUNICATION

Social and political sciences come to life in the contemporary world through communication - with the inter-individual and community, and more broadly in society and the global public sphere. This cross-disciplinary course examines society, explores current issues, and questions the implications of change and progress in the global community. Students undertake professional studies as well as social, cultural and communication theory and practice so that they can ask questions, research issues, develop advocacy skills, and develop effective communication strategies. In recent years, social media is said to be sensitive to public discourse and dialogue. In particular, social media is increasingly used in the political context. More recently, micro-blogging services (e.g, Twitter) and social network sites (e.g., Facebook) are likely to grow in political parity. Whereas Twitter is an ideal platform for users, not just in general but also through their network, politically, for political institutions (e.g politicians, political parties, political founders, etc.) that have used Facebook pages Has started using. To encourage more political discussions aimed at entering direct dialogues. Pre-behavioral studies have shown that from the point of view of political institutions, there is a need to continuously gather, monitor, analyze, summarize, and visualize contextually relevant information from social media. Theories underlying social media analytics are considered to be different due to the large number of social media platforms, as well as the largemouth and complexity of information and data.

Systems — Attic tracking and analysis approaches — with the priestly scientist and methods and techniques still lacking in the political domain.

In recent years, social media are said to have an impact on the public discourse and communication in the society. In particular, social media are increasingly used in political context. More recently, micro-blogging services (e.g., Twitter) and social network sites (e.g., Facebook) are believed to have the potential for increasing political participation. While Twitter is an ideal platform for users to spread not only information in general but also political opinions publicly through their networks,

political institutions (e.g., politicians, political parties, political foundations, etc.) have also begun to use Facebook pages or groups for the purpose of entering into direct dialogs with citizens and encouraging more political discussions. Previous studies have shown that from the perspective of political institutions, there is an emerging need to continuously collect, monitor, analyze, summarize, and visualize politically relevant information from social media. These activities, which are subsumed under “social media analytics,” are considered difficult tasks due to a large numbers of different social media platforms as well as the large amount and complexity of information and data. Systematic tracking and analysis approaches along with appropriate scientific methods and techniques in political domain are still lacking.

9.4.1 What Is Social Political Science?

Politics is the most important activity in the organized life of society. Generally, if we try to tell that life is difficult without social or political thought, then at the level of totality, the answer will be given as soon as you are left. Why and how do people behave the way they do in their economic and political activities? It is necessary to study it properly. This is what the study of politics tries to do, and political behavior is almost entirely linked to economic and social behavior and there economic and social behavior to political behavior. These days, young people are often seen declaring with pride that 'I have no interest in politics. Where politics is the art of manipulation to gain a place in royalty for personal and party gains. Even in his working life, one has no desire to be called a 'politician'. The word has gradually become a name for abuse.

But as far as the concept of politics is concerned, the above concept is full of absolute ignorance and futility. In fact, we are all politicians. We are adopting a position in everything we say or do. Whether we like it or not, the situation is political. Reason, politics is related to everything in life. What education do we have to take and whether or not to take, what work we will get and what we will get or not, how much money we will need to pay for our expenses and to run the life of ourselves and our families, how much we can earn money or how much money we should

earn and from that how much do I need and how much should the state give in the form of taxes - all these questions are political questions. Should our education and preparation for life be the same as it is for everyone or should some other people besides us have opportunities than us? What we call our personal property is or should be privately ours or it ultimately belongs to the whole society and nation or should be or we can do whatever we have the right to do according to our will, these are also political questions. In other words, one's personal or collective liberty, equality, justice, rights and duties in relation to others are all part of the political sphere.

9.4.2 Role Of Social Communication In Political Science

Political communication is the process by which the leadership of a nation, the media and the citizenry exchange and convey messages that relate to the conduct of public policy. The distinguishing feature of political communication is that messages are broadly related to governance or the conduct of public policy, it is generally believed that political communication relates only to elections, but this is not the case. Politics largely determines that process; and related to it, by which society reaches consensus on policy matters. In this way, the basis of political communication is the 'narrative' of citizens, media and leaders regarding matters of broad relation between specific class or general public.

Political communication is a multi-disciplinary field of scholarly studies. In this, there are opportunities for graduates of communication, political science, psychology, social, management and philosophy disciplines. Students of political communication generally get education about the role of communication and media in shaping the general public's understanding of policy and governance matters. They gain knowledge of media support, drafting messages about political development and policies to promote political services. Communication is one of the main means in which political communication is used to understand the political environment by emphasizing every aspect of the political life of

a nation. In the political arena, communication is used to educate and train the public not to study and evaluate the nature and condition of the specific structures that affect all processes of political communication in society at large.

In most studies in the political development of developing countries, the main emphasis was given to the elaborate concept of communication functions as each broad aspect of political life. The study is mostly concerned with understanding the relationship between media institutions / channels and the method of political change basis of contemporary nation-building problems.

9.4.3 Framework Of Political And Social Communication

The field of political communication is vast. It gives communication students with a background in the humanities, including social sciences and communication, a great opportunity to study how the government optimally manages political communication activities in an interconnected society and facilitates political modernization. There is a specific deep connection in the political and communication process. Communication has a fundamental function in the field of politics. Some individuals may see in a direct way the order of influence — which comprise a small fraction of the political process; Humans should, instead, depend on the communication / media system to make them aware of the reality of politics at some particular time. A well-planned political communication effort enables individuals to make informed and relevant policy decisions through appropriate knowledge, instills in them the necessary skills and optimism, facilitates appropriate work through a changed mindset and changed behavior and Encourages In a country like India, where the majority of the population still lives in the villages and problems like illiteracy and poverty are still in the way of development, we need many such communication channels for access to such a community which is personal and Knowledge of political development in the form of good governance at the social level and be able to encourage them.

A broad understanding of the political, social, cultural and psychological systems of a society / nation with a degree or diploma in communication / media studies gives the person various communication opportunities to act as a liaison between government and public affairs. Those who can ensure the profounder pattern that common people can achieve the best results of good governance.

There is a lack of frameworks describing systematic approaches and appropriate methods and techniques required for tracking, monitoring and analyzing content from social media in political context. The goal of this paper is to propose such a framework, which outlines the most important politically relevant analyses from the perspective of political institutions and various methodologies from multiple scientific disciplines for conducting those analyses. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows related work regarding social media and political communication. The subsequent section addresses social media analytics and its relevance of political institutions. We then present and discuss our framework for social media analytics in political context.

9.5 ROLE OF MEDIA IN SOCIAL COMMUNICATION

Communication is central to all human activities and is an integral part of one's life. It is an essential dimension for meaningful coexistence and harmonious group living. Communication is a dynamic two-way process in which two or more people share or exchange ideas, information, knowledge, attitudes or feelings through certain signs and symbols. The functions it performs are many, but the primary ones are those of informing, educating, persuading and entertaining.

Communication is more than mere transferring or transmission of ideas or thoughts. It is not a static act as some of the earlier definitions suggest but it is a dynamic process of action and interaction towards a desired goal, as suggested by later definitions. Communication is, therefore, a process of sharing or exchange of ideas, information, knowledge, attitude or feeling among two or more persons through certain signs and symbols. By and large, mass communication messages are positive i.e.

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pro-communal harmony, pro-environmental pro-national, anti-drugs, anti-AIDS, anti-war, anti- terrorism, anti-social evils and so on. In fact, mass communication has helped in promoting national integration and knowledge of our cultural heritage and creating awareness among people about the socio-economic and political development of the country. The Press, for instance, has played a significant role in shaping public opinion against colonial rule and later in the development of independent modern India. Broadcasting, under the government control, has been used as an instrument of education, development, and social change. Even Bombay 'masala films', which are often accused of creating unhealthy social values, attitudes, and habits, have contributed a great deal in promoting national integration, common culture, and the national language of Hindi, throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The adverse effect of mass communication has been felt not so much from print media as from exciting media like television and satellite cable TV. The audiences of these electronic media, in the hope of getting lively entertainment at little cost, are lapping up all that comes through the 'open sky', without discrimination, without realizing their good or bad effects. In fact, they are becoming helpless victims of these pervasive media. The danger is from the programs made with a western perspective which are going to influence the world view and lifestyle in India and other Asian countries.

Despite limited reach, mass communication is so central to society that life seems inconceivable without mass media. They inform and shape our social life. Their influence is positive if they are able to fulfill the information and entertainment needs of people in accordance with the existing norms, values and culture in society; but what concerns us most is their negative influence. An overdose of foreign programs, excessive television viewing and advertising, exposure to violence, crime, sex, etc. can adversely affect people, especially children, in societies that are traditional.

9.5.1 The Role Of Mass Media

The growth of mass communication has made it possible for us to get far more information today than any time before. Information is indispensable in a complex, advanced society. We are an information-hungry society; we need an ever-increasing amount of facts in order to maintain and enhance our standard of living. Information today is a commodity we are willing to pay for. The mass media today is not only entertaining the masses; they are selling information as well. In this era of globalization, the media has emerged as one of the most powerful components of social management. The role of mass media in shaping the public opinion is well known. However, some communication experts and social scientists think that opinion leaders have more significant role in shaping the public opinion. But from the days of Capitalist revolution, the press was accorded the status of the fourth estate for no other reason than its power to influence the minds and thus accelerate the political process in favor of bourgeois democracy. The media is increasingly intertwined with the practice of democracy in various countries. Government officials and political candidates use the media to advance their agendas. People rely more and more on the media to judge how their leaders' campaign, govern, shape public policy, and communicate their ideas. Curiously, this increase in media influence corresponds to a decrease in voter participation. In order to be well-informed citizens and active participants in our democracy, people must understand both our governing processes and the role of the media in them. Common citizens have a great deal of exposure to the media in the realms of entertainment and culture, yet most do not understand how the media, politics, and public policy interact with each other and thereby affect their lives. What they need is to know these things in order to become more thoughtful "consumers" of media messages related to politics. How can we challenge them to explore the changing relationships between the media and democracy? These are some of the questions that educators, journalists, media leaders, and citizens must explore together. The modern democracies have witnessed the complex and increasingly critical relationship between media and public policy. In a society where a 24/7 news cycle bombards a fractured public, where 'infotainment' and the 'argument culture' often overshadow traditional

journalism, it has become more difficult to focus public debate and build political consensus necessary to shape, lead or change public policy. Polls, focus groups, talking points, sound-bitten debates, massive spending by special interests and corporate ratings/circulation pressures can distort and overshadow important issues.

9.5.2 Fundamental Function Of Communication

The field of political communication is vast. It gives communication students with a background in the humanities, including social sciences and communications, a great opportunity to study how the government manages political communication activities in an interconnected society and facilitates political modernization. There is a specific deep connection in the political and communication process. Communication is a fundamental function in the field of politics. Some people can see the order of influence directly - including a small fraction of the political process; Instead, one must rely on the communication / media system to make humans aware of the reality of politics at a time. A well-planned political communication effort enables individuals to make informed and relevant policy decisions through appropriate knowledge, provides them with the necessary skills and optimism, facilitates appropriate work through a changed mindset and changed behavior and Creates a majority in a country like India, where the majority population still lives in villages and problems like illiteracy and poverty still exist in the way we personally many who need a media to reach out to the community and knowledge of the political development of good governance to be able to social status and encourage them.

A comprehensive understanding of the political, social, cultural and psychological systems of a society / nation with a degree or diploma in communication / media studies gives the individual various communication opportunities to act as a liaison between government and public affairs which can ensure that the common people can achieve the best results of good governance.

There is a lack of a framework describing the systematic approaches and approvals — priestly methods and techniques needed for tracking, monitoring, and analyzing content from a social point of view. The goal

of this paper is to propose a reintroduction that outlines various analyzes from the perspective of politically most important political institutions and to analyze the various ways many scientific disciplines operate to conduct those analyzes. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Work related to social work and political communication. Subsequent sections have defined social media analytics and its relevance. We then introduce and discuss our framework for social media analytics in a political context. Four major functions are performed by communication. Communication performs four major functions in a group or organization: control, motivation, emotional expression, and information. Communication serves to control member behavior in many ways.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

Q3. Define the Role of communication in society.

Q4. What is social political science?

9.7 IMPACT ON SOCIETY

Modern communication tools, such as social media, promote the process of globalization. Communication also allows people to save time and money, leading to economic empowerment. According to Science Daily, communication technology improves visual skills, but limits analysis and critical thinking abilities whereas the communication has made positive and negative impact.

POSITIVE IMPACT

Organizations use electronic communication in day-to-day tasks, and individuals use it for personal tasks, such as banking, paying bills, and

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socializing. Communication technology has made long distance communication and mass communication easy and convenient. Negative communication can give rise to issues including incompetence, conflict, poor morale and even legal complaints.

- Low employee productivity. ...
- Negative communication can lead to employee conflict. ...
- Decreasing employee morale. ...
- Employee turnover increased. ...
- Complaint / Legal Action.
- Mass media constitutes a powerful and widespread force in our lives.

We come daily to bombard media messages. Most of the information we receive about our community, our state, nation and the world come to us through newspapers, magazines, television and radio. Information and ideas through these media have a great influence on our attitudes towards people, events and problems.

Mass media has led to a huge increase in the extent and amount of information available to the public. For example, a villager in India today can get an idea of what city life would be like by watching television and cinema. Mass media has made people aware of technical topics which are of their day to day use. For example, the use of automated machines, electronic equipment, pesticides, fertilizers etc. are also important. Mass media has affected our society both positively and negatively in the fields of family, marriage, religion, economy, education and politics. It has sorted our thoughts, what and how we dress and how we relate to each other, etc. Some of the pictures are shown on television influence children to abuse, neglect parents. Disobedience leads to destruction, which leads to teen pregnancy, drug abuse, etc. Mass media, on the other hand, can positively persuade young children: If you tune programs that inspire positive force.

Conclusions Overall, mass media does not directly involve the individual. It brings changes in the psychological domain on a large scale. It captures the audience's opinions, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge and value systems by changing them. In short, the mass media creates

impact by playing its role as a change agent, reflector and reinforce of key agents and perspectives in society, which significantly impacts the decisions of development planners, policy makers and legislators who influence development programs.

9.8 LET US SUM UP

The emergence of Information Technologies and the convergence of various communication technologies have changed the nature of media. The media, which earlier meant the press alone, now included radio, television and computers to make it much wider than ever before. However, the growing use of Information Technology has brought many new 'changes press. The information is readily available on the net, which has reduced the dependence of the readers or citizens on Newspapers. The Governments world over are now not only using internet for providing information to its citizens, but are promoting the use of the internet and other digital technologies to transact day to day business like submitting applications, filling the forms, issuing orders and notices, etc. It is this use of digital technology that is known as e-governance. The spread of the computers and the Internet is limited for the time being.

9.9 KEYWORDS

6. **Democracy:** A system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.
7. **Communication:** Communication is simply the act of transferring information from one place, person or group to another.
8. **Capitalist revolution:** Capitalist Revolution the Capitalist Revolution is the industrialists taking all the goods, services, innovation, inventions, markets, commerce and recourses and maximizing them to make more money.

- 9. Broadcasting:** Broadcasting is the distribution of audio or video content to a dispersed audience via any electronic mass communications medium, but typically one using the electromagnetic spectrum (radio waves), in a one-to-many model.
- 10. Reinforcer:** A reinforcer is something that increases the likelihood that a specific behavior or response will occur.

9.10 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- What are public policies, and what role do they play in the Development?
- How do media help in framing public policies?
- Analyze and differentiate the role of media in shaping public policies and public opinion.
- What is the impact of new media technologies on democracy and governance?
- How does the process of globalization influence development?

9.11 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- David McLellan, *The Thought of Karl Marx*.

9.12 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1 & 2

Q.1 Political system, the set of formal legal institutions constituting a "legal" or "state". This is the definition adopted by many studies of the

legal or constitutional system of advanced political orders. Defined more broadly, however, the term connotes real as well as prescribed forms of political behavior, not only the legal organization of the state but also the reality of the actions of the state.

Q.2 The study of governmental structures must always proceed hands-on to examine the real facts of the political process: the toilet needs the greatest caution in distinguishing between form and reality, and between prescription and practice. Thinking in this way, an examination of the ineffective system that governments undertake to make decisions and exercise power.

Q.3 The major in communication and society focuses on the cultural and social contexts of communication, particularly organizational and intercultural communication. It's a highly flexible program that has applications in business, government, media, nonprofit organizations, human services, and many other fields.

Q.4 Political science is the study of politics and power from domestic, international, and comparative perspectives. It entails understanding political ideas, ideologies, institutions, policies, processes, and behavior, as well as groups, classes, government, diplomacy, law, strategy, and war.

UNIT – 10: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

STRUCTURE

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Development, Scope, Nature of International Relation
 - 10.2.1 Types of International system
 - 10.2.2 Limitation of power
 - 10.2.3 Element of Tangible and Intangible
- 10.3 System of international Theories
 - 10.3.1 Institutional frame work
 - 10.3.2 Neo – Realist/ Idealist
 - 10.3.3 Neo – Idealist system
- 10.4 International and global problem
 - 10.4.1 International issues
 - 10.4.2 Contemporary issues in global affairs
 - 10.4.3 Cooperative or conflict manner
 - 10.4.4 Global security challenges
- 10.5 What does the international political economy means?
 - 10.5.1 Liberalism in international political economy
 - 10.5.2 Realism in international political economy
 - 10.5.3 Ethics
- 10.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 10.6 Keywords
- 10.7 Questions for Review
- 10-8 Suggested readings and References
- 10.9 Answer to check your progress

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit we can able to understand:

- A significant transformation of the postwar international economic order has occurred.
- The Bretton Woods system of trade liberalization, stable currencies, and expanding global economic interdependence no longer exists, and the liberal conception of international economic relations has been undermined since the mid-1970s.
- The spread of protectionism, upheavals in monetary and financial markets, and the evolution of divergent national economic policies among the dominant economies have eroded the foundations of the international system.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

A country full of diversity and plurality, its encounter with what is generally termed modernity occurred under the aegis of its colonial domination, based on political subjugation at the hands of Great Britain, the pioneer of modern industrialization which dominated the processes of modernization -industrialization for a long period of world history. Though India successfully liberated itself from the colonial rule by means of a mass, popular struggle for independence, it is still striving to be able to win for its more than a billion strong population a standard of living, dignity and empowerment commensurate with its resource endowment, rich heritage, democratic polity wedded to the highest values humanity has been able to articulate to this day and rich human element. It is this arduous struggle for achieving for her citizens what is their long denied due which constitutes the basic challenge for the political economy of development. Given the history of how India came to lag behind and lost valuable historical opportunities in an increasingly inter-twined world and its internal processes became dysfunctional and even counter-productive over time, the political economy of development of India has to be viewed and analyzed in the context of the global forces, processes and situation. The primacy of the internal dynamics of the Indian situation has to be constantly kept in view the spread of protectionism, upheavals in monetary and financial markets, and the evolution of divergent national economic policies among the dominant

economies have eroded the foundations of the international system. Yet inertia, that powerful force in human affairs, has carried the norms and institutions of a decreasingly relevant liberal order into the 1980s. The parallel existence and mutual interaction of “state” and “market” in the modern world create “political economy”; without both state and market there could be no political economy. In the absence of the state, the price mechanism and market forces would determine the outcome of economic activities; this would be the pure world of the economist. In the absence of the market, the state or its equivalent would allocate economic resources; this would be the pure world of the political scientist. Although neither world can ever exist in a pure form, the relative influence of the state or the market.

10.2 DEVELOPMENT, SCOPE, NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Poverty, unemployment, disease, squalor, frequent disasters, crime and vast inequities are openly visible but vary widely in different parts of the spaceship earth, including India. Though no part of the globe is entirely free from these avoidable problems, in over two-thirds of the world billions of human beings constituting the global majority face this grim fate to a disconcertingly large extent. Even in the rich, or high income countries, like the ones which are parts of the OECD, despite their very high average incomes, there are pockets of extreme poverty, frequent and often rising unemployment (along with a certain percentage considered by some to be irreducible), increasing inequalities of income, wealth, socio-economic power, rather high degree of social insecurity and rampant problems of alienation and anomie. These problems are very acute and can be considered the defining, main characteristics of hundreds of countries, of course, including India, often variously described as underdeveloped, developing, less developed, industrializing or backward or third world countries. The usual, official exchange rate based on per capita income statistics is misleading and a better picture is captured by the international comparative data based on estimates of purchasing power parity.

10.2.1 Types Of International System

All realists characterize the international system as anarchic. No authority exists above the state, which is sovereign. Each state must therefore look out for its own interests above all.

Polarity: system polarity refers to the number of blocs of states that exert power in the international system.

There are three types of polarity:

Multipolarity: if there are a number of influential actors in the international system, a balance-of-power or multipolar system is formed. In a balance-of-power system, the essential norms of the system are clear to each of the state actors. In classical balance of power, the actors are exclusively stating and there should be at least five of them.

If an actor does not follow these norms, the balance-of-power system may become unstable. When alliances are formed, they are formed for a specific purpose, have a short duration, and shift according to advantage rather than ideology.

Bipolarity: in the bipolar system of the Cold War, each of the blocs (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO, and the Warsaw Pact) sought to negotiate rather than fight, to fight minor wars rather than major ones, and to fight major wars rather than fail to eliminate the rival bloc. Alliances tend to be long term, based on relatively permanent, not shifting, interests. In a tight bipolar system, international organizations either do not develop or are ineffective. In a looser system, international organizations may develop primarily to mediate between the two blocs.

Hegemony: one state that commands influence in the international system.

Immediately after the Gulf War in 1991, many states grew concerned that the international system had become unipolar, with no effective counterweight to the power of the United States.

Changes in either the number of major actors or the relative power relationship among the actors may result in a change in the international system. Wars are usually responsible for changes in power relationships. An example of a system change occurred at the end of World War II. The war brought the demise of Great Britain and France, and signaled an

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end to Germany's and Japan's imperial aspirations. The United States and Soviet Union emerged into dominant positions; the multipolar world had been replaced by a bipolar one.

Robert Gilpin sees another form of change, where states act to preserve their own interests and thereby change the system. Such changes occur because states respond at different rates to political, economic, and technological developments.

Exogenous changes may also lead to a shift in the system. Advances in technology not only have expanded the boundaries of accessible geographic space, but also brought about changes in the boundaries of the international system. With these changes came an explosion of new actors.

Nuclear warfare has had more of an impact of on the international system more than any other technological change. Although these weapons have not been used since 1945, the weapons remain much feared, and efforts by nonnuclear states to develop such weapons, or threat to do so, has met sharp resistance. The nuclear states do not want a change in the status quo and do not want them in the hands of rogue states.

In the view of realists, international systems can change, yet the inherent bias among realist interpretations is for continuity.

10.2.2 Limitation Of Power

Radicals seek to describe and explain the structure of the system in terms of stratification: the uneven division of resources among different groups of states. The system is stratified according to which states have vital resources.

From the stratification of power and resources comes the division between the haves, characterized by the North, and have-nots, positioned in the South. Economic disparities are built into the structure and all actions are constrained by this structure.

The Implications for Stratification:

When the dominant powers are challenged by those states just beneath them in terms of access to resources, the system may become highly

unstable. The rising powers seek first-tier status and are willing to fight wars to get it. Top powers may begin a war to quell the threat. For Marxists, crippling stratification in the system is caused by capitalists. Capitalism dominates international institutions whose rules are structured by capitalist states to facilitate capitalist processes, and MNCs whose headquarters are in capitalist states but whose loci of activity are in dependent states. Radicals believe that the greatest amount of resentment will be felt in systems where stratification is most extreme. The call for the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the 1970s was voiced by radicals and liberal reformers in most developing countries. They sought changes such as debt forgiveness, how commodities were priced, and controls on multinational corporations (MNCs).

10.2.3 Element Of Tangible And Intangible

According to the classic version of realism, power in the international system is still concentrated in the hands of states. But the distribution of power in the international system is not fixed. Power relationships between states are subject to change. Empires and great powers rise and fall. Hegemons or dominant powers in the international system may decline. The power and influence of states in the international system are based upon a number of different elements. Tangible and intangible elements of national power Elements of national power can usually be divided into two categories: tangible and intangible. For example, an important element of national power consists of geography Natural Resources.

Geography: Amongst the elements of National Power, geography is the most stable, tangible, permanent and natural element. Its importance as a factor of national power can be judged from the fact that Geo-political scientists, like Moodie, Spy man, Haushofer, Mackinder and others, regard Geography as the determinant of international politics. While describing -the importance of geography in international relations Napoleon, observed. "The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography." Geography is, however neither an independent

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determinant of national power nor of foreign policy. It is just an element of National Power.

Nature and Role of Geography as an Element of National Power:

Maps are always geographical in nature. These are sometimes used by nations to justify a particular course of policy or action as well as to reject the views of other nations. “Observers of international relations always need an atlas showing population, raw materials, communication routes and other data and the ability to interpret maps.” —Paddleford and Lincoln. The Sino-Indian dispute has been a dispute of maps regarding McMahon Line. Maps are used as instruments for justifying a particular demand or action of a nation. These are used to influence decisions in ones favors. However, size can be both a helping as well as a hindering factor. A large size with inadequate natural resources, inaccessible mountains and forests, unhealthy climate and topography can be a hindrance in the way of national power. It can also pose a defense problem.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

Q1. What is Limitation of power?

Q2. Discuss the role of United Nations.

10.3 SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL THEORIES

A Theory of International Relations is a set of ideas that explains how the international system works. Unlike an ideology, a theory of international relations is (at least in principle) backed up with concrete evidence. The two major theories of international relations are realism and liberalism.

NATIONAL INTEREST:

Most theories of international relations are based on the idea that states always act in accordance with their National Interest, or the interests of that particular state. State interests often include self-preservation, military security, economic prosperity, and influence over other states. Sometimes two or more states have the same national interest. For example, two states might both want to foster peace and economic trade. And states with diametrically opposing national interests might try to resolve their differences through negotiation or even war.

Realism: According to Realism, states work only to increase their own power relative to that of other states. Realism also claims the following:

- The world is a harsh and dangerous place. The only certainty in the world is power. A powerful state will always be able to outdo—and outlast—weaker competitors. The most important and reliable form of power is military power.
- A state's primary interest is self-preservation. Therefore, the state must seek power and must always protect itself
- There is no overarching power that can enforce global rules or punish bad behavior.
- Moral behavior is very risky because it can undermine a state's ability to protect itself.
- The international system itself drives states to use military force and to war. Leaders may be moral, but they must not let moral concerns guide foreign policy.
- International organizations and law have no power or force; they exist only as long as states accept them.

LIBERALISM

Liberalism emphasizes that the broad ties among states have both made it difficult to define national interest and decreased the usefulness of

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military power. Liberalism developed in the 1970s as some scholars began arguing that realism was outdated. Increasing globalization, the rapid rise in communications technology, and the increase in international trade meant that states could no longer rely on simple power politics to decide matters. Liberal approaches to international relations are also called theories of complex interdependence.

IDEALISM

Idealism is a specific school of liberalism that stresses the need for states to pursue moral goals and to act ethically in the international arena. Idealists believe that behavior considered immoral on an interpersonal level is also immoral in foreign policy. Therefore, idealists argue that dishonesty, trickery, and violence should be shunned. In the United States, idealism has usually been associated with the Democratic Party since World War I.

10.3.1 Institutional Frame Work

- Allows comparison and contrasts between systems.
- Comprehensiveness: it enables scholars to organize the seemingly disjointed parts into a whole.
- Systems theory is a holistic approach. Although it cannot provide descriptions of events at the micro level, it does allow plausible explanations at the more general level. For realists, generalizations provide fodder for prediction. For liberals and radicals, these generalizations have normative implications.
- In consequence, the discipline lagged significantly behind the study of Economics which used a sophisticated methodology drawn from the natural sciences to test specific hypotheses, develop general law and predict human behavior. Proponents of the scientific approach attempted to build a new theory of international politics, some for the sake of better explanation and higher levels of predictive accuracy, others in the belief that science held the key to understanding how to transform international politics for the better

10.3.2 Neo – Realist/Idealist

The term, 'International Relations', actually signifies. Its most obvious meaning is the analysis of relations between nations – more accurately, states, but this is the approach taken by realists and neo-realists and rejected or substantially qualified by exponents of competing perspectives, some of whom think the term 'global politics' or 'world politics' is a better term for describing what the subject should study in the contemporary age (Baylis and Smith 2005). Though far from exhaustive, the following list summarizes some disciplinary preoccupations in recent times here are few:

- **Dominant actors** – traditionally this was the sovereign state but the list now includes transnational corporations (TNCs), transnational classes and 'casino capitalists', international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Amnesty International, new social movements including women's and ecological movements and international terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda
- **Dominant relationships** – strategic relations between the great powers traditionally, but also in recent years trade relations between the advanced industrial societies, the 'liberal peace', relations of dominance and dependence between the core and periphery in the capitalist world economy and forms of solidarity within 'global civil society'
- **Empirical issues** – the distribution of military power, arms control and crisis management but also globalization, global inequality, identity 12 Introduction politics and national fragmentation, the universal human rights culture, the plight of refugees, gender issues, environmental conservation, transnational crime and the global drugs trade and HIV/AIDS.
- **Ethical issues** – the just war, the rights and wrongs of humanitarian intervention, the case for and against the global redistribution of power and wealth, duties to nature, to future generations and to non-human species, respect for cultural differences and the rights of women and children.

10.3.3 Neo-Idealist System

The 'idealists' argued that a more peaceful world order could be created by making foreign policy elites accountable to public opinion and by democratizing international relations. According to Bull (quoted in Hollis and Smith 1990: 20): the distinctive characteristic of these writers was their belief in progress: the belief, in particular, that the system of international relations that had given rise to the First World War was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just world order; that under the impact of the awakening of democracy, the growth of the 'international mind', the development of the League of Nations, the good works of men of peace or the enlightenment spread by their own teachings, it was in fact being transformed; and that their responsibility as students of international relations was to assist this march of progress to overcome the ignorance, the prejudices, the ill-will, and the sinister interests that stood in its way. Bull brings out the extent to which normative vision animated the discipline in its first phase of development when many thought the First World War was the 'war to end all wars'. Only the rigorous study of the phenomenon of war could explain how states could create a world order in which the recurrence of such a conflict would be impossible. Crucially, then, the discipline was born in an era when many believed that the reform of international politics was not only essential but clearly achievable. Whether or not the global order can be radically improved has been a central question in the study of international relations ever since.

10.4 INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL PROBLEM

International theory, many of which are not constrained by the problem of state survival or by the apparent absence of a vocabulary with which to theorize global politics. How did this change come about, and where does it leave earlier discussions about the possibility or impossibility of progress in international relations?

Liberal theories of interdependence and the later 'neo-liberal institutionalism' analysis of international regimes argued that the economic and technological unification of the human race required new forms of international cooperation. To those influenced by the socialist tradition, however, international interdependence was a misnomer. The reality was a system of global dominance and Introduction dependence which divided the world between 'core' and 'periphery'. It is necessary to examine background assumptions because all forms of social analysis raise important questions about the moral and cultural constitution of the observer. It is important to reflect upon the cognitive interests and normative assumptions which underpin research. The point here is to become acutely aware of hidden assumptions, prejudices and biases about how the social and political world is and what it can be. According to various 'critical' perspectives, it is futile or unrealistic to attempt to dispense with these assumptions. Indeed, postmodern approaches Scott Burchill and Andrew Link later have called for the celebration of diverse experiences of the world of international relations while maintaining that all standpoints should be subject to forms of critical analysis which highlight their closures. We cannot define a problem in global politics without presupposing a certain basic structure consisting of the significant kinds of entities involved and the form of significant relationships among them.

10.4.1 International Issues

The EU is the most successful regional organizations of the world. Other regions have been inspired to emulate the EU, but no other regional organization has been able to match its achievements. It is a role model for other organizations. It will be no exaggeration to say that regionalism in international relations owes a lot to the European efforts at integration. It has also led to the end of the age-old rivalry among the European nations, particularly between France and Germany- the two main proponents of the European Union.

In the first process it has underestimates the influence of supranational actors such as the European Commission, the European Court of Justice

and transnational actors and processes such as European firms, interest groups and policy networks in the European integration process. A number of empirical studies demonstrate that these actors have played a significant role in inducing integrative momentum; in effecting political behavior of states through non-setting and supplementary legislation and also in shaping integration outcomes. Further, a closer look at EU also makes it clear that power and authority in EU is dispersed rather than concentrated in any one unit.

Second, states' supposed rationality is overplayed and impact of actual decision rules, institutional preference, ideology, belief and symbolism are down played. Third, it emphasizes too much on formal and final stages of integration such as Treaty reforms and denies due place to the informal integration which impacts the former. In fact, these are very often responsible for upgrading the existing level of integration. Fourth, the "state" is presented as an unproblematic entity and in pursuing "objective" analysis, the complex issues pertaining to the historical evolution and direction of the states, its nature, purpose and utility are not adequately dealt with. In reality, the "state" itself is a contested concept and there is no consensus even within domestic spheres about the nature of the state and "national interest" that state pursues. The state-centric theory overlooks these aspects. Therefore, despite commendable work on evidence gathering and refinements, neo-realism remains narrowly focused and fail to grasp the subtleties and nuances of the integration process.

10.4.2 Contemporary Issues In Global Affairs

Contemporary is not a meticulous theory but a framework that represents a variant form of inter-governmental. It argues that the relationship between the Community and state is a limited but meaningful partnership that safeguards national autonomy through a consensual form of governance. It lays premium on the "unity in diversity" principle; but, at the same time it points to the limits rather than possibilities of regional constitutionalizing and community building process.

Structurally, nonfederal is different from federalism. While the latter stresses on units within a state, nonfederal represents a "contractual

union of states" in which member states voluntarily decides to band together by way of 'mutual agreement' and the set up takes the shape of common but not identical features of a state. In this set up the Union government is subordinate to regional (member states') government and the Union can only act on those areas authorized by member states. Union government cannot encroach on the jurisdiction of the member states. Yet the confederation could possess "legal personality" which has the potentiality to develop "real personality" of its own. Therefore, a nonfederal set-up allows for setting up of a special regional order without depriving units of their identity, functions or sovereignty and each unit, if it wishes, can secede from the Union. Confederation enables joint exercise of power for mutual benefits and prevents hegemony of monopoly or power.

10.4.3 Cooperative Or Conflict Manner

A large number of scholars and statesmen in European history as well as in contemporary time have envisaged the construction of Europe on federal lines as a way out to meet the requirement of the time. Many in Europe felt that the nation state had outlived its utility and alternative arrangements have to be devised looking beyond the confines of nation state. International law and transnational (European) institute were advanced as an effective mechanism to prevent nationalistic conflicts and to sustain democracy against authoritarian regimes in Europe. Such a line of thought existed earlier as could be seen in the works of Coundenhove – Kargil war-time leaders, resistance movements and many others. But this came to be advanced forcibly after the end of the Second World War although opinions were divided on the precise nature of such institutional arrangements and modus operand. Functionalists too had envisaged such institutional arrangements. But federalists unlike functionalists who stressed on 'process' rather than end form, considered formal enumeration of institutional/constitutional arrangements as a prerequisite for transformation in the political order.

Federalism is supported by many both as a political movement and ideological prescription to overcome the evils of narrow nationalism,

which had led Europe to two world wars, and loss of glory. Federalism also appealed to those who supported institutionalized pluralism and cultural diversity as well as pacifists who with a deep sense of humanism opposed domination in any form. Therefore, federalism presented its case on the premise that popular participation and harmony among diverse interests in Europe can be better organized by a new institutionalized democratic arrangement at the European level serving "higher political purpose" of all European countries.

Nevertheless, the ambition to construct Europe on federal lines was not an easy task. It received a set back with the defeat of European Defense Community (EDC) proposal in 1954 which had envisaged a federal set-up in its European Political Cooperation (EPC) component. Undaunted, federalists like A. Spinelli began to pursue their agenda within the European Community and they were able to contribute significantly on the debate on the future of Europe despite the jolts received from leaders like French President Charb-s de Gaulle and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Today a large number of elected Members of the European Parliament and a section of academia have become great supporters of federalism in Europe.

10.4.4 Global Security Challenge

Critical of the emphasis of Realism on power and military security, the interdependence line of thought as expounded by Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye argued that the growth of interdependence would compel states to re-examine the concept of "national interest" and states now understand that their interests are better protected by building common positions with other states. These close ties would be facilitated by the international institutions which themselves are the creations of interdependence. The Treaty of Maastricht gave the European Council certain operational responsibilities in relation to foreign and security policy as well as the economic and monetary union. It functions essentially along intergovernmental lines. It deals with difficult issues that the Council of Ministers has failed to agree upon. However, because of the increasing reliance on Qualified Majority Voting in the Council of Ministers, the Council does not really often work as the final court of

appeal, but functions more in terms of providing policy guidelines and taking initiatives. The Council discusses contemporary world problems. It seeks to speak with one voice on international issues, developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Common Foreign and Security Policy: The EU is working to develop a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). But foreign policy, security and defense are matters over which member states retain their sovereignty. They have not pooled their sovereignty in these areas, so European Parliament and Commission play only a limited role in this field.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

Q3. State the major security challenge?

Q4. Describe the importance and uses of integration theories.

10.5 WHAT DOES THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY MEANS?

Robert Keohane and Stanley Hoffman too argued that the European community is a mechanism for pooling of sovereignty in order to maximize national benefits through intergovernmental cooperation in the context of changing global political economy. The dense networks established here are just limited arrangements entered into freely for mutual convenience and self-interest rather than realizing supra-national goal. So, to the neo-realist's regional integration confined to the demarcated areas was intrusive of sovereignty only in a limited sense and states' discretion is always retained even while acting within the larger framework.

The neo-liberal institutionalize variant of neo-realist doctrine, while upholding the realist understanding of international anarchy, national interest and power, acknowledged the positive consequence of international institutions as a way of mitigating stressful effects of

anarchy. This account without discounting states as principle actors see international institutions in utilitarian terms. The notion of institutions as facilitators of positive sum bargaining for national benefit is well established in the perceptive works of A. The framework termed as "liberal inter-governmentalize" seeks to explain on the one hand interactions between states and international organization's; and on the other, the relationship between national preference formation, coalition behavior and interstate bargaining. The former (interaction) is relative to the latter (relationships) as the framework is built on three assumptions, viz.

- (1) states act rationally;
- (2) state goals are shaped by domestic pressures and interactions which in turn are conditioned by economic (transnational) interdependence; and
- (3) key role of governments in effecting interstate relations and policy outcomes depending upon relative bargaining powers and advantages foreseen.

Thus, establishing a link between domestic and regional politics through state executives, Moravcsik contends that the Community regime "has developed through a series of celebrated intergovernmental bargains, each of which sets agenda for an intervening period of consolidation" and, the primary source of integration lies in the interest of states themselves.

10.5.1 Liberalism In International Political Economy

A simple answer is that IPE is concerned with the way in which political and economic factors interact at the global level. More specifically, political economists usually undertake two related kinds of investigations. The first concerns how politics constrains economic choices, whether policy choices by governments or choices by actors or social groups. The second concerns how economic forces motivate and constrain political choices, such as individuals' voting behavior, unions' or firms' political lobbying, or governments' internal or external policies.

An example of the first kind of investigation is provided by the European Union's policies protecting domestic agriculture and restricting trade in agricultural products. The EU's resistance to the liberalization of such trade, as demanded by agricultural exporting countries, may stem from the political organization of farm lobbies, the sympathy of urban consumers for the plight of national farmers (which may in turn stem from a concern to protect a national identity or way of life), a desire to promote "food security," or perhaps other factors. The political economist's task is to investigate which of these factors matter in explaining the EU's stance in negotiations over trade in agriculture. An example of the second kind of investigation is provided by the claim that growing financial integration between countries has constrained the political choices of left-of-center governments more than those of right-of-center governments. Global financial integration makes possible the movement of capital to environments investors find most congenial. Has the threat of capital flight encouraged such left of-center politicians?

10.5.2 Realism In International Political Economy

The neo-realist's emphasis on structured international system does not negate the role of states in any way and the 'state-centric approach is the hallmark of neo-realism. As Alan Milward argued European integration represented the adoptive response of Europe's major but war-ravaged states daunted by global pressures in the aftermath of the Second World War. In these challenging circumstances, they cooperated with similarly positioned states rather than compete in order to pursue and maximize their interests within the new international order. This was a way of rescuing the nation states rather than surrendering. The structure of the international political system is vital rather than in domestic politics or in economic theory. Indeed, the main theories in early IPE were drawn from scholarly orientations familiar to IR researchers, such as realism, liberalism, and Marxism. Economic issues became increasingly important in part because of the emergence of superpower detente, which apparently reduced the threat of major war and nuclear catastrophe. Another source of interest in economics was the growing contradiction between international economic interdependence on the one hand and

national political sovereignty on the other, with the demand for national stabilization that the latter produced for realists.

10.5.3 Ethics

We have discussed some of the theories that are provided as a background to the process of European Integration. These theories are based on different knowledge domains. Some of them attempt to conceptualize the organizational nature of the EU; others on ground theorizing of the nature of the integration and some others focus on particular aspects of the operation of the E.U. These theories include: Federalism, Intergovernmentalism, Consociationalism, Neo-Functionalism, Neo-Realism, Con-federalism and Interdependence.

10.5 LET US SUM UP

The success of the EU depends upon the success of its institutions. If this criterion is adopted, we can say that institutions of the EU have succeeded in attaining the goals for which they were created. They have also smoothened and expedited the process of European integrationist and have provided a mechanism to promote the welfare and prosperity of the European citizens.

10.6 KEYWORDS

- 1) **Integrations:** political integration appearing in the theory of neo-functionalism.
- 2) **Inter-govern mentalism:** existing or occurring between two or more governments or levels of government.
- 3) **Sovereignty:** Sovereignty, in political theory, the ultimate overseer, or authority, in the decision-making process of the state and in the maintenance of order.
- 4) **State-centric:** State-centric Security concepts, including traditional security paradigm.

- 5) **Liberalization:** The primary goals of economic liberalization are the free flow of capital between nations and the efficient allocation of resources and competitive advantages.

10.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the origins and evolution of the European Union. Is it a fortress?
2. Critically discuss the future prospect of the European Union. Will it succeed to meet the aspirations of the European people?
3. Discuss inter-govern mentalism as a theory of European integration.
4. Critically examine the neo-functionalist theory of European integration.
5. Discuss the idea of European integration as mooted by the European scholars and statesmen.

10.8 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. The dominant powers are challenged by those states just beneath them in terms of access to resources; the system may become highly unstable. The rising powers seek first-tier status and are willing to fight wars to get it. Top powers may begin a war to quell the threat.

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Q2. The United Nations does this by working to prevent conflict; Parties that help in conflict make peace; Peace setting; And to create conditions for peace and to flourish. These activities often overlap and must be reinforced in order to be effective. The United Nations Security Council has primary responsibility for international peace and security. The General Assembly and the Secretary-General play prominent, important and complementary roles with other offices and bodies of the United Nations.

Q.3 The Commission acts as "guardian of the treaties". The Commission together with the Court of Justice is responsible for making sure that EU law is properly applied in all the member states. If it finds that an EU country is not implementing an EU law and therefore not meeting its legal obligations, the Commission adopts corrective measures. First it launches a process called the 'infringement procedure'. This involves sending the government an official letter, stating why the Commission considers the country is infringing EU law and setting a deadline for sending the Commission its reply. If this procedure fails, the Commission must then refer the matter to the Court of Justice, which has the power to impose penalties.

Q.4 The Interdependence theory points out that increased interactions and interdependence does not necessarily lead to integration. But at the same time states would not also pursue closed nationalistic policies in ways contemplated by realism. States cooperate and coordinate to pursue beneficial policy framework in order to "manage" affairs and pressures of global economy. In this process, policy outcomes are important than models of governance and institutionalization. Governments aided and constrained by non-state actors achieve policy coordination rather than integration. So, the focus is shifted from formal institution building to managing the problems arising from the conditions of market forces and global economy.

UNIT: 11 POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

STRUCTURE

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.2 The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relation

11.2.1 What is Foreign Policy?

11.2.2 Decision – making

11.2.3 Determinants of Foreign Policy

11.2.4 Determinants of domestics Foreign Policy

11.3 International power structure

11.3.1 International law

11.3.2 International organizations

11.4 Press and public opinion relationship

11.4.1 Personality and character leaders

11.4.2 Political parties and interest group

11.4.3 Press and public opinion conclusion

11.5 Law of Foreign Policy

11.5.1 Alliance

11.5.2 Culture and history

11.5.3 Ideology

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Keywords

11.8 Questions for Review

11.9 Suggested readings and References

11.10 Answer to check your progress

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit we can able to know:

- To know the conflict arose from the fact that the two concepts, viz., state and society, were all encompassing.
- To discuss the Political scientists pointed to the fact that the state has sovereignty, i.e.,

- To know about the legitimate supreme authority over all persons and institutions within its boundaries.
- To discuss the notion of society was equally all-embracing.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Political sociology is a border field between political science and sociology, and the term encompasses the overlap between these two neighboring disciplines. It denotes the analysis of the inter-relationship between the social and the political, social structures and political institutions, between the society and the state. There is no stable consensus of what counts as political sociology in contrast to sociology and political science proper. There have been great variations over time in the popularity of political sociology and in the tendencies to emphasize it as a genuine field of its own. Nevertheless, a common element is that political sociology is related to the distinction between the social and the political. Political sociology differs from the political science in which it is involved and often focuses on the civil society side of the equation rather than emphasizing the state and / or political elites. The main areas of research include state formation and change, forms of political governance, major social policies, political institutions and challenges to them (including reform-oriented and revolutionary social movements), political parties and social bases of political attitudes and behavior, class / Power relations, and the political consequences of globalization.

11.2 THE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Foreign Policy decision-making is agreed to be one of the greatest instruments at a state's disposal to pursue its national interests. It is considered as a full political activity of states. A good Foreign Policy would obviously lead a state in fulfilling its national interests and acquiring rightful place among comity of nations. As such the study of Foreign Policy forms an important part of International Studies. However, the first problem that one faces in the study of Foreign Policy

is the problem of definition or clear meaning of the term. When used, it is either out of context or entails a different meaning. As such, it becomes a “neglected concept” as most people dealing with the subject have felt confident that they knew what foreign policy was. This neglect has been one of the most serious obstacles to providing more adequate and comprehensive explanations of Foreign Policy. This article, seeks to provide a comprehensive meaning about the concept of Foreign Policy, and also look into some of the things that determines the foreign policy decision-making of a country. This work, will give many students, researchers and policy makers a good idea of what foreign policy entails and how such policy decisions are being made.

11.2.1 What Is Foreign Policy?

International system has witnessed an increasing growth in the development of nation states. The international system has seen growth enhancing the development of nation states. End product of this development follows, creating a dialogue between the two country states. In addition, the establishment of the United Nations and The process of disintegration that has freed many states into sovereignty Institutions have given further impetus to interrelationships States. This happened as a result of the formation of 'foreign policies'. Together decisions, strategies, and the purpose of determining and identifying end of interaction of one state with another. Foreign policy is defined in various ways. Scholars; However, they are certain that it is related to behavior from one state to another. For example, Harman, defined foreign as policy "discrete purposeful action that arises from political Level judgment of an individual or group of individuals. This is observable artwork of a political level decision. This is not a decision, but a product of decision. "By this, it can be seen that Harman defines foreign policy as the behavior of states. The policy should shed light on the ways that states try to change, and successful in changing behavior of other states only those aspects of policy intended to change the existing the behavior of states as the primary objectives of foreign policy. However, foreign policy is not only about change, but also of continuity behavior in different times. This concerns both with change and status as long as

they serve the national interest. For example, the Gambia's decision has to cut diplomatic relations with Taiwan. (2013)

11.2.2 Decision – Making

The external determinant factors, scholars agree that the internal environment of state also influence the nature and course of its foreign policy. Countries are different in size, socioeconomic development and political regime but also different in their political institutionalization and societal structures, military and economic capabilities, and strategic cultures. In the same vein, public opinion, national role conceptions, decision making rules and personality traits of political leaders vary from one state to another. The foreign policy is making process and foreign policy decisions.” By this, the stuff of foreign policy derives from issues of domestic politics as well as foreign relations.” At a minimum, it determines the amount of social effect which can be devoted to foreign policy.” Therefore, we shall now look into those domestic factors that may shape the foreign policy formulation and implementation of states.

11.2.3 Determinants Of Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of every state is influenced by mainly two determinants; international or external and domestic or internal. These are considered as factors which help in shaping and molding foreign policy. However, the linkage between international and domestic determinants has long been a widely debated topic in the field of international relations and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) in particular. While others argue that domestic politics and foreign policy are two ‘independent’ arenas of issue, others are of the view that foreign policy and domestic politics are ‘interdependent’ and could spill over into each other. While both school of scholars made convincing arguments, however, the level of influence between domestic and international determinants of foreign policies varies from state and the political environment in which these states exist. In some cases, international factors play a major role, whereas in other cases, domestic determinants are more important.

11.2.4 Determinants Of Domestic Foreign Policy

The relation between international and domestic determinants has long been a widely debated topic in the field of international relations and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) in particular. While others argue that domestic politics and foreign policy are two 'independent' arenas of issue, others are of the view that foreign policy and domestic politics are 'interdependent' and could spill over into each other while others argue that domestic politics and foreign policy. There are two 'independent' issues, others to see that Foreign policy and domestic politics are 'interdependent' and can Spreading over each other's political organizations and institutions also greatly affects the foreign policy of that country.

In general, under totalitarian or totalitarian forms of government, easy and fast foreign decisions are possible because decision-making power is assisted by a person, assisted by his faction. He is the only decision maker and as his decisions are made without hindrance, his foreign policy decisions may be conflicting. It has also been observed that decision making under such a closed system does not, if not always, lead to the country's isolation in international politics as it did with the regime in North Korea and Myanmar.

On the other hand, democratic system, in a foreign policy state, implementation falls short compared to hard and slows an authoritarian structure. Citizens can express themselves freely in this system and give your opinion about domestic as well as foreign policies of country are influencing the policies of his government. Democratic leaders respond to these public demands and formulate a foreign policy within it.

11.3 INTERNATIONAL POWER STRUCTURE

At the international level and thus it plays an important role in shaping and shaping the foreign policies of those negotiating states.

Establishment of friendly and cooperative relations between states are related with it. The purpose of a sound foreign policy has been discussed.

Notes

Foreign policy is essentially shaped by one's relative power within the international system. The world is constantly changing, new events and personalities create new foreign policy problems for all concerned. To select events at Random, growth of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, increase Communist power in China in 1949, rise of de Gaulle in power. France and Hitler in Germany, and the rise of new states in Asia and Africa; Significant changes were made in the power structure and this affected foreign policy of many states. A prevailing framework of world politics plays a decisive role. To decide the foreign policy of a country it is very important to discuss the theory with practice. Such as foreign policies of the state varies with it in the international power structure and mechanism.

In the traditional multi-polar system was easy to switch states to achieve maximum interest on both sides and sides. Italy has used this strategy tactfully and interchangeably to gain its share in the colonial system after World War during the 1980s, the international system was characterized by Bi-polar system during the Cold War and now as a unipolar witness with the US as the only odd power. Events happen Restructured the power system and at an important the etc. Foreign Policies of States during the bipolar world system, it was not easy for states to switch sides as easily as conceptual fault lines were clearly marked. The demise of the Soviet Union and the advent of the unipolar world (American hegemony) have its own system of dynamics, such as Bush's "either with us or against us". Declaration has made many states from the margins of the system to come forward and play action active roles, most notably the so-called Global War on Terror. Therefore, at this point, every type of power structure at the international level has its own special dynamics and has an impact on the foreign policies of the states.

11.3.1 International Law

The European Union is based on the concept of rule of law. This means that everything that it does is derived from treaties, which are agreed on voluntarily and democratically by all Member States. Previously-signed treaties have been changed and updated to keep up with developments in society the most recent one the draft. Treaty for establishing a

Constitution for Europe, aims to replace all the existing 'Treaties with a single text and is the result of the work done by the Convention on the Future of Europe and an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC).

Whereas international law is generally defined as a set of rules that regulate relations between states. Cali defined it as “a system of rules created deliberately and explicitly by states. Where states have expressly necessary to be bound by the rules. The existence of international law and international norms limits the freedom to maneuver of states in the system. It is constituted by interstate agreements and treaties and thus, does not entirely favor every interest a state may have. It limits a state in one way or another. That had been said; international law regulates the foreign policy of states, and has a binding function in foreign policy as it a legal framework through which states should interact. By foreign policy in this sense, is defined as the objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interaction with other states. It is believed that states actually obey and comply with international law because its constraints the making and enacting of their foreign policy. However, there is much debate among International Relations theorists about the consequences of international law. Whether states really comply with or observed international law and norms or not and to what extent they do obey international rules; because it is clear that some international norms are obeyed while others are ignored. One side of the debate, proponents of Realism, argue that international law has little or no independent act on foreign policy. On the other hand, against this skeptical view, liberal institutionalist argues that international law can be profoundly significant assert that when states sign a treaty or agreements, it allegedly becomes costlier to take actions the law forbids and less costly to pursue policies the law condones that is, treaties in the other words “tie the hands of current and future leaders by increasing the cost of renegeing.” According to the Positivist view, international law is a set of rules that regulates and constraints state behavior. States are constrained to respect international norms if they do not want to face sanctions and avoid ‘naming and shaming’ by international activists (i.e., human rights activists) the Constructivist approach of international law

in foreign policy can illustrate the fact that it regulates and gives a roadmap to state's behavior, enable them to enter in relationship with each other (thereby limiting their actions); because they are legally bind by customary law and they decide to have legally binding obligations through treaties. In sum, international law defines the status, the rights, the responsibilities, and obligations of the nations in foreign policy. Thus, it is the responsibility of every state to observe the norms and laws, failure to which there are consequences.

11.3.2 International Organizations

Currently, there are over 68,000 International Organizations (both active and inactive) in the world. Many International Organizations (IOs) play an enormous role in the current international system. It is hard to imagine how world affairs would operate without international bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and its affiliates, international financial institutions, such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Such organizations are considered as active actors in the field of International Relations, as they facilitate the interaction between states at the global level. A state's foreign policies is thus, open selected by its membership of international, regional and sub-regional organizations, since they surrender partially their sovereignty to these organizations. As their operations will be guided by the constitution of the organization; the policies of member states will undoubtedly be affects by the nature of the particular institution. Nevertheless, scholars of international relations still disagree about the role IOs play in the foreign policies of states. The realist approach in the international politics has generally had less confidence in the efficacy\ of international organizations. The argue, for example that the United Nations and 0most other international bodies have no way to implement their decisions and that nation states have all the real power in the international system. Mearsheimer for instance, argued that international institutions "are basically a reflection of the distribution of power in the world. These are based on the self-interested calculations of the great powers, and they have no independent eject on state behavior." IOs are considered as only a marginal factor in world politics. He is otherwise regarded as the 'bottom-up' perspective; i.e.,

how the foreign policies of states impact international organizations. However, the Constructivist and liberal institutionalist account, took a different view; the 'top-down' perspective. How international organizations impact the foreign policies of states. In the constructivist account, international organizations to a larger extent serve as modifiers of state behavior and as independent actor. Yet this have profound impact on the determination of the foreign policy of the member states realization of mutual independence, has given birth to a large number of international and regional organizations, arrangements, agreements, and trading blocks. As European Union, ASEAN, African Union, OPEC, ECOWAS and several others have been major players in the international system. Hence, it is obvious that the foreign policy of every state is now becoming conscious of these organizations, trading blocks, and economic and trade agreements. Thus, international organization constitutes a determinant factor in the foreign policies of states.

11.4 PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION RELATIONSHIP

The domestic sources of foreign policy are widely recognized and include interest groups, mass public opinion, and the printed and electronic media.” Tomz et al, distinguished two pathways through which the public could shape policy outcomes: selection and responsiveness. “First, the public could exert influence by selecting parties or candidates whose foreign policy positions best match their own. Second, politicians take office, leaders may respond to public opinion out of concern that rebuffing the public could be politically costly.” With strong experimental evidence, their study concluded that public opinion affects foreign policy in democracies, both by shaping who is elected and by influencing leaders once they take office. Leaders in countries with advance democracy, consider opinion poll before making any crucial policy decision. In 2003 Iraq war for instance, was initially supported by the American public, which the United States used as an excuse for the invasion despite the international outcry of the unjust nature of the war. The Bush administration had to make a decision by

going to war or face the exit door of the white house. At this point, it is worth knowing whether public opinion matter in non-democracies as much as in democracies. The media is agreed by many scholars to play a significant role in influencing the policies and decisions leaders make. The role of 'social media' (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube etc.) in foreign policy implementation, argued that the social media as it becomes more accessible, becomes one means by which people, non-state actors and governments can share their foreign policy priorities in an effort to receive feedback, engage in diplomacy, educate people, and attempt to influence foreign policy outcomes. It denotes that the media plays a profound role in setting the public agenda and eventually influencing foreign policy decisions.

11.4.1 Personality And Character Leaders

Leadership in general, personality of a leader in plays in particular an intensive role in foreign policy making. Role of personality Includes, and assumes cognitive processes in foreign policy Decision making is the result of individual 'human agency'; That is to say, after all, it is the 'person' who decides, not the 'states'. Personality can be important in connecting our understanding.

Foreign Policy Practices

However, its relevance, some scholars argue, rests on the constraints of the international system as well as on the domestic political structure. Rosenau stated, "A leader's confidence in the international arena and the goals he has for them, to analyze and make decisions about their peculiar intellectual strengths and weaknesses, to the extent of their previous background and their relevance To reach. " The role needs, his emotional needs, and most of the other personality traits are, but there are some passive factors that can affect the planning and implementation of foreign policy. However, governmental structure and social realities are considered. The character of a leader, during crisis times, the leader shows the way for the government and society.

11.4.2 Political Parties And Interest Group

Political parties are important for modern political settings. It runs an important role in shaping representative democracy in a country. They says more and more in the foreign policies of their countries give voice to their interest directly or through interest groups. Under multiparty systems and coalition governments, political parties (i.e., opposition parties) always have conflicting views and interests, which can change the formulation of foreign policy. Scholars of neoliberalism perspectives in international politics (e.g. Keheh), pronounce the decisive influence of organized interest Group on Foreign Policy. From this point of view, the leader or government official bargaining with foreign policy authorities with domestic policy groups.

They use their members' votes, campaign contributions, labor strikes or other means and give cost advantage to elected officials to choose alternative policies. Kehne and Milner, for example, explore the impact of well-organized and financed groups targeted government subsidies and trade protection; While Defense policy is characterized by controlling coalition policies. Organized labor and Professional corporations have significant resources to pressure policy makers. Galson said that with the mission, as protecting the jobs and benefits of its members, "Labor leaders have spoken foreign relations. Also, due to increased interconnection and faster Growth of globalization, more interest in pressure groups Foreign Policies of States. Influence these policies Interaction with states internationally and domestically.

11.4.3 Press And Public Opinion Conclusion

Foreign policy decision-making entails series of processes and involves different actors. It plays an enormous role in the international affairs of a state. Without a properly formulated foreign policy, a state is tended to lose its position and prestige in world affairs and will eventually lead to a decline in achieving its national interest, whereas the opposite is true of countries with well formulated foreign policies. Thus, fully understanding the meaning and concept of the term foreign policy is quite important for policy makers, students and researchers. The foreign policy of every state is influenced by mainly two determinants;

Notes

‘international’/external and ‘domestic’/internal. These are considered as factors which help in shaping and molding foreign policy of a country. However, the linkage between international and domestic determinants has long been a widely debated topic in the field of international relations and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) in particular. While others argue that domestic politics and foreign policy are two ‘independent’ arenas of issue, others are of the view that foreign policy and domestic politics are ‘interdependent’ and could spill over into each other. Since foreign policy in general is about the interaction of a state with another, this interaction only takes place at the ‘international’ level and as such, cannot be ignored in analyzing the foreign policy of any state. Hence, the international system or power structure, international law, international organizations, alliances, and military strength or arm race, all influence foreign policy implementation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

Q1. Point out the work Foreign Policy decision-making.

Q2. Discuss the importance of international law.

11.5 LAW OF FOREIGN POLICY

International law and norms or not and to what extent they do obey international rules; because it is clear that some international norms are obeyed while others are ignored. One side of the debate, proponents of Realism, argue that international law has little or no independent on foreign policy. Henkin, for instance argued that one of the major purposes of foreign to “maintain international order so that states can pursue national interests.” Thus, in a realist view, states have the

tendency to give priority to their national interests and then sometimes violate legal norms when fundamental interests are at risk. In the area of International Law, which comprises of the international instruments and guides the working of different international institutions, more has been done by way of codification in recent decades than in all previous history on human rights, universal standards have been elaborated, and covenants, which enjoy broad support, have come into force. This can be seen as a major step forward, if we consider that never before have states acknowledged the legitimacy of international concern in this area. The awareness of the global problems and of interests common to all humanity has become widespread. On matters of major global concern such as safeguarding the natural environment and dealing with demographic trends, commonly agreed programs have been developed on a multilateral basis. In many other areas; study consultation and planning have taken place within the multilateral institutions. Despite these substantial achievements, there is also evidence of a decline in confidence in multilateralism and disillusionments with the UN approach to solve world's problems. It can be attributed to a combination of factors. The emergence of more than a hundred new independent countries has made multilateralism more complicated and, with the change in majorities. More to be that is subject of controversy. Disagreement among members of the UN Security Council had prejudiced the system of collective security provided in the Charter. Today, the way the United States has used or rather misused or when unable to bring to it to its own terms just ignored it. putting the entire UN system to anarchy, and that too using the entire UN system for the fulfillment of its selfish motives or to show to the world as to who wield the power, has also led to a great amount of passionless both within the UN system and without. The requirements of an equitable global economy have not yet been met in full. The gap between the countries of the North and the countries of the South seems to be growing wider day by day. This has discovered over trading arrangements and treaties like IVPT seem to be dominating the international arena today. Moreover, the possibility of a renewal of a Cold War this time between the various trading blocs does not seem to

be a far reality. There are problems to be recognized and, to the extent possible, to be overcome. They must not, however, obscure the value of the UN as it should be clearly understood that international problems cannot be dealt with any more by unilateral means. The great human goals of peace, justice and prosperity are now understood to require ever cooperative effort for their achievement. A new array of problems of undeniable global dimensions that are beyond the ability of any single country or group of states to solve may arise. Moreover, the community of the tasks undertaken has forced the international institutions and the world community to acquire a new realism-awareness that they have embarked.

11.5.1 Alliance

Alliance formulation is considered to be one of the most curious aspects of international relations. It is regarded as the cornerstone of security policy; however, conventional wisdom holds that such commitment is notoriously unreliable. Alliance formation is considered as a strategy that states use in the formulation and implementation of their foreign policies. Clinton and Palmer examined the consequences of alliance formation for other foreign policies of a state, including defense spending and the initiation of militarized disputes, using a theory of foreign policy that is based on several assumptions. First, states pursue two goods—change and maintenance—through their foreign policy. Second, states select a portfolio of policies designed to produce the most preferred mix of the two goods. All foreign policy behavior including alliance requires resources. Fourth, states are rational in their allocation of resources. Together this implies that an observed alliance must have been the most efficient mechanism available for acquiring the most desired and achievable foreign policy portfolio and have implications for the observation of foreign policy substitutability. This added that alliances provide capability on which the state can draw, thereby providing greater opportunity to pursue both maintenance and change. Alliances in their dictum “are the results of agreements that both entail some commitment and allow for increased foreign policy activity.” Finally, they see alliances as part of a state’s foreign policy portfolio, in which the alliance may constrain the state in some areas while allowing it freedom to act in

others. Alliances like international law do shape the foreign policies of states, because the member parties to the alliances have to respond to the requests and demands of their allies and refrain from formulating policies or taking actions which are sensitive to the alliance partners. Like many scholars in international relations, Dinesh asserted that, alliances serve as instruments of foreign policies. “The extensive and intensive system of alliances that emerged in the post-1945 period had a big impact on the foreign policies of all the nations. During 1945-90, both the United States and USSR, recognized and used alliances as the means for consolidating their respective positions.

11.5.2 Culture And History

Culture provides people with ways of thinking, seeing and interpreting the things around them. It shapes our ideas and serves an instrument for us in analyzing everything happening around us. Everything from our racial features, to the food we eat, the way we dress, the language we speak, the music we listen to, and where we live, all form a part of culture. “the cultural side of foreign policy is a vast and treacherous area.” However, a heated debate exists among scholars on whether and how culture impacts and shapes a state’s foreign and security policy in particular as well as international relations in general. Nevertheless, many scholars of international relations argued vividly that the way we think (i.e., our culture) has an effect on the policies we make. Vlahos argued that “pattern of thought and behavior are shaped by culture; they are not the product of mere nationalism.” Forde again asserted that cultural diplomacy has deep root and can easily be found in the archives of foreign ministers. A nation inherits a style and culture which in turn influence and decide the course of actions, the nation has to follow in relation to other sovereign states. Again, the external affairs of a state are to a large extent the legacy of its history and cultural heritage. That approach of a nation to the foreign problems is determined by its traditional values and beliefs which have emerged on periods of years. Historical experiences, like culture and traditions of a state, exert influence on its foreign policy. In general, states with unified culture and common history find it easier to formulate effective and consistent

foreign policy. In such a case, overwhelming majority of people, who share similar experiences and common perceptions of historical events, support the state's foreign policy.

11.5.3 Ideology

During the bipolar world system, it was not easy for states to switch sides easily as the ideological fault lines were clearly marked. The demise of the Soviet Union and the advent of the unipolar world (US hegemony) have its own system dynamics, such as Bush's "either with us or against us". The declaration has made many states from the margins of the system to come forward and play effective roles, especially in the so-called Global War on Terror. At this point therefore, every type of power structure at the international level has its own particular dynamics and has an impact on the foreign policies of states. The profound ideological difference; between these two camps were problematic, which eventually had an effect on the international system.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

3. What is the global concept of culture and history?

4. State the Personality and character of leaders.

11.6 LET US SUM UP

During the last more than fifty years secret international cooperation in solving economic, socio-cultural and humanitarian problems has grown. The core of international relations as they existed different nationless of the world, has taken place. Countries have joined hands within multilaterals institutional to improve human condition in a way never

before attempted. These multilateral institutions produced numerous instruments to eglomise and regulate their working. Guided by those instrumental these institutions plunged themselves headlong and participated in major program me in support of the economic development and worked together within the United Nations to assist millions of the most helpless and vulnerable of the worlds. people-refugees, victims of natural disasters, women; and children where the need has been greatest In the area of International Law, which comprises of the international instruments and guide the working of different international institutions, more has been done by way of codification in recent decades than in all previous history On human rights, universal standards have been elaborated, and covenants, which enjoy broad support, have come into force. This can be seen as a major step forward, if we consider that never before have states acknowledged the legitimacy of international concern in this area. The awareness of the global problems and of interests common to all humanity has become widespread. On matters of major global concern such as safeguarding the natural environment and dealing with demographic trends, commonly agreed programs have been developed on a multilateral basis. In many other areas; study consultation and planning have taken place within the multilateral institutions. Despite these substantial achievements, there is also evidence of a decline in confidence in multilateralism and disillusionments with the UN approach to solving world's problems. The emergence of more than a hundred new independent countries have made multilateralism more complicated and, with the change in majorities more subject to controversy. Disagreement among members of the UN Security Council had prejudiced the system of collective security provided in the Charter. Today, the way the United States has used or rattler misused or when unable to bring to it to its own tens just ignored it. putting the entire UN system to anarchy, and that too using the entire UN system for the fulfillment of its selfish motives or to show to the world as to who wield the power, has also led to a great amount of passionlessly both within the UN system and without. The requirements of an equitable global economy have not yet been met in full. The gap between the countries of the North and South seems to be growing wider

day by day. Discords over trading arrangements and treaties like IVPT seen to be dominating the international arena today. Moreover, the possibility of a renewal of a Cold War this time between the various trading blocs does not seem to be a far reality. There are problems to be recognized and, to the extent possible, to be overcome. They must not, however obscure the value of the UN as it should be clearly understood that international problems cannot be dealt with any more by independent means. The great human goals of peace, justice and prosperity are now understood to require ever cooperative effort for their achievements. A new array of problems of undeniable global dimensions that are beyond the ability of any single country or group of states to solve may arise.

11.7 KEYWORDS

- 11 **Hegemony:** Hegemony is a way to describe people or ideas that become—and seek to remain—dominant in society.
- 12 **World affairs:** affairs between nations.
- 13 **Communist:** the philosophical, social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of the communist society
- 14 **Alliance:** a union or association formed for mutual benefit, especially between countries or organizations.
- 15 **Neo-liberalist:** a modified form of liberalism tending to favor free-market capitalism, “social and political issues surrounding neo-liberalism.

11.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1 What are the major failures of the UN in political field?
- 2 Discuss the role of the UN peacekeeping operation.
- 3 Explain major instruments that helped in the resolution of problems of peace and security.
- 4 Discuss the efforts for managing the problem of global disarmaments.
- 5 Analyze the role of the World Bank and IMF in the management of global economy.

11.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- David McLellan, *The Thought of Karl Marx*.

11.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Foreign policy is essentially shaped by one's relative power within the international system. The world is constantly changing, new events and personalities create new foreign policy problems for all concerned.
2. The European Union is based on the concept of rule of law. This means that everything that it does is derived from treaties, which are agreed on voluntarily and democratically by all Member States. Previously-signed treaties have been changed and updated to keep up with developments in society the most recent one the draft.
3. Culture provides people with ways of thinking, seeing and interpreting the things around them. It shapes our ideas and serves an instrument for us in analyzing everything happening around us. Everything from our racial features, to the food we eat, the way we dress, the language we speak, the music we listen to, and where we live, all form a part of culture. "the cultural side of foreign policy is a vast and treacherous area.
4. Personality of a leader in plays in particular an intensive role in foreign policy making. Role of personality Includes, and assumes cognitive processes in foreign policy Decision making is the result of individual 'human agency'; That is to say, after all, it is the 'person' who decides, not the 'states'

UNIT 12: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

STRUCTURE

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 The conflict
 - 12.2.1 Colonialism and anti - colonialism
 - 12.2.2 Social revolution
 - 12.2.3 Critical examine
- 12.3 The Nature of international relation
 - 12.3.1 Scope of International relation
 - 12.3.2 Nature of international law
- 12.4 Research Methodology
 - 12.4.1 Ideology
 - 12.4.2 National Interest
- 12.5 Scope of development
- 12.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 12.7 Keywords
- 12.8 Questions for Review
- 12.9 Suggested readings and References
- 12.10 Answer to check your progress

12.0 OBJECTIVES

According to H.J. Morgenthau, “International Politics include analysis of political relations and problems of peace among nations. Further he writes, it “is struggle for and use of power among nations.”

- To know the Sovereign States are its chief Actors.
- To discuss the Protection of National Interest is the Objective.
- To discuss the International Politics is struggle for power.
- To discuss Power is both a means as well as an end in international Politics.
- To discuss Conflicts are condition of international Politics.

- To discuss International Politics is a process of conflict resolution among Nations.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The scope of international Politics is not yet well settling. It is continuously expanding. H. Morgenthau holds that struggle for power among Nations forms the scope of international politics. Whereas, Burton holds that besides other things, the study of International Relations includes all conditions and factors which influence the behavior more than one state. These views highlight the diversity that prevails among scholars regarding the scope of International Politics. In fact, international politics has been a developing subject and as such its scope has been continuously developing. The term international politics is used with the terms 'world politics' or 'global politics'. Definitions for each of these terms are often not useful and there is a tendency to confuse a person as well. International politics deals with the practical realities of how one state treats another state or several other states. On the educational front, it emphasizes using the principles of international relations and applying them analytically to contemporary issues in the international system. Thus, issues in the international system also play a large role in international politics. More importantly, it is important to understand the concept of power in international politics. Students of international politics are well aware that power can be both a means and an end. In addition, the power can be either hard power or soft power. Power means military and economic power while soft power is more indirect power. International politics essentially studies how and why states use them.

Political sociology is a border field between political science and sociology, and the term encompasses the overlap between these two neighboring disciplines. It denotes the analysis of the inter-relationship between the social and the political, social structures and political institutions, between the society to them (including reform-oriented and revolutionary social movements), political parties and social bases of

political attitudes and behavior, class / Power relations, and the political consequences of globalization.

12.2 THE CONFLICT

Conflict has been defined in various ways in economic terms; it has, been interpreted as a phenomenon that implies scarcity. It has been seen as incompatibility between the preferences goals of two or more parties or as the existence of incompatible activities. For some writer's conflict is inevitable in human life, eliminating it is impossible at the international level. For some conflict is dynamic phenomenon, as Increasing interdependence and communication between societies, the continuing level of inter-state tensions, unsuccessful attempts by nations to resolve conflicts, rising significance of unconventional security issues like environment degradation, have all exacerbated the importance of the conflict resolution model in international politics. The most important cause and issue in international conflict is the issue of boundary control. The current debates on boundary management in international politics emphasize the role of modern interstate boundaries as effective tools that states can use to manage their sovereign territorial authority. The solutions posited by various scholars are varied but all are meant to optimize security and efficiency at state borders via top-down policies. The actual success of a border in facilitating economic exchange preventing the passage of extremists, or restraining escalation is a by-product of these deliberate policies from above. The examples of conflict: The disputes between India and China and India and Pakistan regarding the borders have been simmering for the past six decades and is again in focus in the latter half of 2009 after a renewed aggressive stand by the Chinese Government on the issue of the Line of Actual Control and the 2008, Mumbai attacks by Ten Terrorists of Lashkar-e-Taiba a Pakistan based militant group killing over 173 and wounded 308 persons and continuing 32 cross boarder infiltration from Pakistan and ceasefire violations by Pakistan across the line of actual control and international borders. Two types of relations normally exist between states: conflict and Cooperation derives from a particular combination of conflict parties, inconsistent positions on specific issues, disputes, hostile

attitudes and certain types of diplomatic and military actions. Although conflict and dispute are often considered synonymous, in the emerging literature on conflict resolution, these terms have different meanings. Disputes include negotiable interests. Whereas confrontation is seen to be related to issues that are related to human needs and identity that cannot be compromised.

12.2.1 Colonialism And Anti - Colonialism

In the general context, colonial expansion in any given geographic setting typically involved key modalities on the ground, subsequent to military, strategic and economic planning (planning that was often more ad hoc than systematic). These include: military conquest and occupation; the establishment of new legal registers to ensure that colonial violence, economic expropriation and dispossession of property were carried out through the law; the mapping of the various lands to be colonized; and the settlement of colonists in new spaces to forge new political, economic and cultural enterprise. All of these colonial mode operandi were not of course always utilized, nor was there any set chronological sequence for colonialism's diverse geographical practices in multiple geographic contexts. However, once established via various mechanisms, colonial order subsequently relied on a networking of power that facilitated legal, military and political control. Colonial power of course was resisted all over the world. Anti-colonialism typically emerged on a counter-ideological level that initially focused on envisioning the recovery of territory. As Edward said notes that the political and cultural imagination of anti-colonialism centers on geography: For the native, the history of colonial servitude is inaugurated by loss of the locality to the outsider; its geographical identity must thereafter be searched for and somehow restored. Because of the presence of the colonizing outsider, the land is recoverable at first through the imagination (1993:271).

12.2.2 Social Revolution

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“Social” revolutions introduce large-scale changes that go beyond the mere turnover of political power., "Social revolutions are rapid, basic transformations of a society's state and class structures; and they are accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below" (1979, 4-5). They thus overturn existing patterns of rule and social structures quickly and replace them with new patterns of order. Skocpol examines how revolutions ultimately reconstitute state power in a new form, which exceeds the ability of prerevolutionary regimes to control and direct society. Skocpol's theory of revolution is not one that rests primarily on a relative assessment of discontent in society, but instead gauges the state's capacity to keep subaltern classes under the control of the state and the ruling class. Revolution only occurs when the repressive apparatuses of the state are sufficiently weakened to the point where the lower classes can disregard the commands of the state and its rulers. Only then can discontent and rebellion overturn the ancient regime. The precipitant for such events, however, lies in the international system. The three countries studied in *States and Social Revolutions* all faced challenges from "more economically developed military competitors" (1979, 41). Further, all three revolutions occurred in great powers in which the state was not fully modern, and in which the aristocracy, rather than a modern state bureaucracy, played the dominant role in maintaining the political and social order. The contrast between reform and revolution does not consist in the application of force in one case and not in the other. Every juridical and political measure is a force measure which is carried through by the force of the State. Neither do any particular forms of the application of force, as, for example, street fights, or executions, constitute the essentials of revolution in contrast to reform. These arise from particular circumstances, are not necessarily connected with revolutions, and may easily accompany reform movements. The constitution of the delegates of the third Estate at the national Assembly of France, on June 17, 1789, was an eminently revolutionary act with no apparent use of force. This same France had, on the contrary, in 1774 and 1775, great insurrections for the single and in no way revolutionary purpose of changing the bread tax in order to stop the rise in the price of bread.

12.2.3 Critical Examine

However, critical theory reimburses and, in some ways, delineates Kantian and Marxian themes, both authors remaining on the basis of the theory's lineage. Through critical philosophy, Kant discusses the conditions in which we make claims about the world and asserts that the increasing interplay of his time opened the door to more cosmopolitan (i.e., supernatural) political communities. Marx's critical approach was based on a desire to understand social development in industrial societies, including the inherent contradictions in capitalism that fueled its downfall, the suppression of labor exploitation, and the establishment of a more equitable system of global social relations. In this way, the writings of Kant and Marx demonstrate that what happens at the level of international relations is important for human liberation and the achievement of global freedom. Consequently, tracing is tangible which social and political possibilities or change (those from within existing practices and institutions), a decisive narrative of the plot of critical ideas that entered IR through writers of Marxist and Kantian themes during the twentieth century. Became a specialty of unifying these perspectives are two themes that show the connective glue within the critical theorist family. First, they both evaluate emancipation as a principle or society, and the global political system. Second, they both explore the possibilities of liberation developing within the historical process, but consider that this may not be inevitable. Paradigms of redistribution and recognition Nancy Fraser (1995) termed two main axes of contemporary political conflict. While redistributing conflicts directly refer to class struggles and Marxist themes of social liberation, recognition conflicts have to do with aspirations for freedom and justice associated with gender, sexuality, race, and national recognition. Therefore, while Cox concentrates on contemporary redistributing conflicts, Link later poses questions of identity and community more important than economic relations in today's quest for liberation.

12.3 THE NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Due to the increasing human activities, relations between different states are changing and due to these constant changes in international relations, the meaning, nature and scope of international relations are changing. There are many factors that affect the nature of international relations such as the development of new nations, technological development, nuclear research, the rise of the multipolar world, the rise of the new order, non-state organizations, global problems, etc.

Due to the changing nature of international relations, it is very difficult to explain the nature of international relations. However, these are the following important points explaining the nature of international relations;

There is no single definition of international relations. Unfortunately, to date, no universally accepted definition of international relations has been coined because of its constantly changing nature.

Operations in the natural system: International relations operate in a chaotic system. There is no single organization to regulate relations between states. Michael Nicholson writes "International relations are the study of aspects of anarchy, although anarchy that is not necessarily chaotic.

INTER-DISCIPLINARY SUBJECT: International relations is an inter-disciplinary subject. In 1998, UNESCO cited international relations as a sub-field of political science as scholars of international relations analyze political relations, economic relations, social relations and cultural relations, etc.

Relations with Global Issues: International relations relate to major issues that concern public global interest. As Goldstein and Pavese wrote in their book "International Relations", international relations revolve around a major problem: how to balance the interests of international states with global interest?

For example - every country has an interest in stopping global warming, a goal that can only be achieved by many countries working together.

Yet each country has a personal interest in burning fossil fuels to sustain its economy.

He proposed three theories in the context of the problem of mass objects. These are the three core principles - dominance, reciprocity and identity. These three individuals provide potential solutions to this main problem without the central authority to cooperate for the common good so that they can do so.

Dominance is the principle of dominance solves the problem of collective goods by establishing a hierarchy that has control at the top of the bottom. Therefore, instead of constantly fighting to obtain more scarce resources, group members may fight for a better position in the hierarchy. Then social conflicts such as the resource giver are resolved automatically in favor of a higher-class actor.

The advantage of the dominating solution to the problem of mass goods is that it can establish order and provide stability in the international system while its disadvantage is that it oppresses small and weak countries as well as the top monarchy within them. There is resentment against the place countries system.

Reciprocity. The principle of reciprocity addresses the problem of collective goods to the behavior that contributes to the group and punishes behavior that advances selfishness at the expense of the group.

Reciprocity is very easy to implement without any central authority, giving individuals a strong way to cooperate for the common good. But reciprocity operates both ways; Positively (अप you scratch my back and I will scratch you) and negatively ("eye for eye, tooth for tooth"). The disadvantage of the reciprocal solution is that it can create a downward spiral as each side punishes what it considers negative acts by the other. This promotes an arms race as each side reacts to the other's buildup weapons. But it also allows for hand control agreements and other step-by-step conflict-resolution measures.

Recognize is this third solution to the problem of mass goods lies in the identity of participants as members of a community. Unlike members of dominance solutions and reciprocal solutions, members of an identity

community care about the interests of the community sacrificing their own self-interest to benefit others.

In international relations, identity communities play an important role in overcoming difficult collective goods problems, including the issue of who contributes to development aid, world health, or UN peacekeeping operations.

12.3.1 Scope Of International Relation

Due to the increasing human activities, relations between different states are changing and due to these constant changes in international relations, the meaning, nature and scope of international relations are changing. There are many factors that affect the nature of international relations such as the development of new nations, technological development, nuclear research, the rise of the multipolar world, the rise of the new order, non-state organizations, global problems, etc. Due to the changing nature of international relations, it is very difficult to explain the nature of international relations. However, these are the following important points explaining the nature of international relations; A single version. There is no single definition of international relations. Unfortunately, to date, no universally accepted definition of international relations has been coined because of its constantly changing nature. Operations in the natural system: International relations operate in a chaotic system. There is no single organization to regulate relations between states. Michael Nicholson writes "International relations are the study of aspects of anarchy, although anarchy that is not necessarily chaotic.

INTER-DISCIPLINARY SUBJECT: International relations is an inter-disciplinary subject. In 1998, UNESCO cited international relations as a sub-field of political science as scholars of international relations analyze political relations, economic relations, social relations and cultural relations, etc.

Relations with Global Issues: International relations relate to major issues that concern public global interest. For example - every country has an interest in stopping global warming, a goal that can only be achieved by many countries working together. Yet each country has a personal interest in burning fossil fuels to sustain its economy. He proposed three theories in the context of the problem of mass objects. These are the three core principles - dominance, reciprocity and identity. These three individuals provide potential solutions to this main problem without the central authority to cooperate for the common good so that they can do so. The advantage of the dominating solution to the problem of mass goods is that it can establish order and provide stability in the international system while its disadvantage is that it oppresses small and weak countries as well as the top monarchy within them There is resentment against the place countries. System Reciprocity is the principle of reciprocity addresses the problem of collective goods to the behavior that contributes to the group and punishes behavior that advances selfishness at the expense of the group. Reciprocity is very easy to implement without any central authority, giving individuals a strong way to cooperate for the common good. But reciprocity operates both ways; positively and negatively ("eye for eye, tooth for tooth"). The disadvantage of the reciprocal solution is that it can create a downward spiral as each side punishes what it considers negative acts by the other. This promotes an arms race as each side reacts to the other's buildup weapons. But it also allows for hand control agreements and other step-by-step conflict-resolution measures. Recognize. This third solution to the problem of mass goods lies in the identity of participants as members of a community. Unlike members of dominance solutions and reciprocal solutions, members of an identity community care about the interests of the community sacrificing their own self-interest to benefit others. In international relations, identity communities play an important role in overcoming difficult collective goods problems, including the issue of who contributes to development aid, world health, or UN peacekeeping operations.

Currently, there are over 68,000 International Organizations (both active and inactive) in the world. Many International Organizations (IOs) play

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an enormous role in the current international system. It is hard to imagine how world affairs would operate without international bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and its affiliates, international financial institutions, such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Such organizations are considered as active actors in the field of International Relations, as they facilitate the interaction between states at the global level. A state's foreign policies is thus, open selected by its membership of international, regional and sub-regional organizations, since they surrender partially their sovereignty to these organizations. As their operations will be guided by the constitution of the organization; the policies of member states will undoubtedly be affected by the nature of the particular institution. Nevertheless, scholars of international relations still disagree about the role IOs play in the foreign policies of states. The realist approach in the international politics has generally had less confidence in the efficacy of international organizations. They argue for example that the United Nations and most other international bodies have no way to implement their decisions and that nation states have all the real power in the international system. Mearsheimer for instance, argued that international institutions "are basically a reflection of the distribution of power in the world. These are based on the self-interested calculations of the great powers, and they have no independent effect on state behavior." IOs are considered as only a marginal factor in world politics. This is otherwise regarded as the 'bottom-up' perspective; i.e., how the foreign policies of states impact international organizations. However, the Constructivist and liberal institutionalist account, took a different view; the 'top-down' perspective. How international organizations impact the foreign policies of states. In the constructivist account, international organizations to a larger extent serve as modifiers of state behavior and as independent actor. Yet this have profound impact on the determination of the foreign policy of the member states realization of mutual independence, has given birth to a large number of international and regional organizations, arrangements, agreements, and trading blocks. As European Union, ASEAN, African Union, OPEC, ECOWAS and several others have been major players in the international system. Hence, it is obvious that the foreign policy of every

state is now becoming conscious of these organizations, trading blocks, and economic and trade agreements. Thus, international organization constitutes a determinant factor in the foreign policies of states.

12.3.2 Nature Of International Law

A basic move is to distinguish which ones are and which are not compatible with cosmopolitan duties already enshrined in international law and upheld by many people and organizations in different societies. A second move is to promote civic initiatives capable of consolidating fairer and more balanced relations (solutions to the ‘crisis’) between those who seek refuge from harm and those who are in a position to guarantee protection from harm. Solutions must be sought in open dialogue, resorting to rational arguments that take into consideration everyone’s concerns and interests. Leaving solutions to national governments alone is not an option due to their rather strict position on national interests. On the contrary, a more balanced position would result from the active involvement of civil society, local authorities, European authorities and refugees themselves. After all, Europe is a pertinent case here as it is the home of the European Union – a project that united the bulk of European states in a supranational, and relatively open-bordered, union in which all citizens are legally free to work and live wherever they please within the Union. Clearly, there is an existing framework within European politics to work with to reach a more just solution to the migration ‘crisis’ than the one advanced by those nations who closed their borders. The reward for someone following a critical line of inquiry is therefore to understand to the full that theory is always implicated in practice and that the way we conceive the refugee ‘crisis’ shapes the kind of solution we envisage for it. From a critical perspective, then, there is only a true solution to this ‘crisis’ when political actors embrace cosmopolitan criteria that balance the whole range of interests and respect the rights of everyone involved. All states are equal under international law in spite of asymmetries of inequality in areas like military power, geographical and population size, levels of industrialization and economic development. Transposing this principle into actual practice, especially in decision-making systems in

international organizations presents problems. If all states are equal, should it also mean equality of influence in law creation in international organizations? With treaties being one of the main sources of international law, if states do not have equal influence in treaty based international organization's this would mean that the will of the mighty would prevail over the weak. Juridical equality is therefore empty if cannot translate into effective equality, at least at the level of law creation in international organizations. The above stated issues are considered in detail in this article. There are four main sections in this article. The first section takes a brief look at the definition of sovereign equality especially within the United Nations (UN) system and its concomitant application in international law. The second and third sections discuss the concepts of state sovereignty and equality of states in international law and present brief historical accounts of the development of these two concepts. The fourth section and the conclusion present an overview of the implications of the concept of sovereign equality of states in the decision-making systems of state constructed international organizations.

12.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

There are three main elements that portray the state of the art and the intellectual progress of an academic field. The first element is the set of empirical phenomena and questions being studied; the second criterion is the development of theory, and the third is the ways in which methodology is used to evaluate theoretical claims and their empirical implications. This book focuses on methodology but the authors also discuss the first two elements and how methodology affects both empirical debates and theoretical issues. The links between theory and methodology are complex and deserve some deliberation. Theory is defined by the American Heritage Dictionary as systematically organized knowledge applicable in a relatively wide variety of circumstances, esp. a system of assumptions, accepted principles, and rules of procedure devised to analyze, predict, or otherwise explain the nature or behavior of a specified set of phenomena this Theory provides clear and precise

explanations of important phenomena. It focuses scholarly attention on important puzzles that set the research agenda for students of the field. Ideally, theory should also offer a set of testable and falsifiable hypotheses thus encouraging systematic re-evaluation of its main arguments by a variety of methods. Methodology refers to systematically structured or codified ways to test theories. Methodology is thus critical in facilitating the evaluation of theory and the evolution of research. It is particularly useful in the context of a progressive research program where hypotheses lend themselves to falsification (Lakatos 1986). In these cases, methodology, especially case studies and quantitative analysis, can assist in testing existing theories. Methodology also helps in generating or expanding the scope of received theories as can be seen sometimes in formal modeling. Given a range of assumptions about the properties of actors and their interactions, various hypotheses can be deduced and, ideally, corroborated – or rejected – by empirical case studies or in quantitative research. Formal models can also be used to probe and cast doubts on the internal validity of theories ideally, theories would be supported by studies that use different methods. Theory and methodology are most beneficial when they accompany each other for the advancement of knowledge. While theory provides explanations for particular phenomena based on specific assumptions, purely axiomatic knowledge, turned into theories, is rarely useful in explaining real “world politics”. Theoretical arguments have to be augmented with systematic methods of testing that can also help guard against chance and selection bias. Besides formal models, it is mainly case study research, which can help generate new hypotheses to advance theory building.

12.4.1 Ideology

Self-protection is the first right of individuals and countries. The task of maintaining the country, however, is more complex than the individual duty of self-preservation, as the nation must command citizens' attachment to the community as well as to protect themselves from external violence. As Thomas Hobbes asserted, civil war is the greatest threat to governments, as it represents the disintegration of "the power of

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power". In modern terms, civil war refers to the fact that the government has lost one of the basic qualities of political authority: monopoly. His control is over the use of force and violence. In a fundamental sense, political rights can be protected from the threat of civil war only when there is an agreement on the basic principles of governance in the political community. Such consensus is the result, inter alia, of a shared "ideology" that gives fellow citizens a sense of communalism and recognizes interlocking values, interests and beliefs. Ideology can, in this sense, be the product of many different forces. Sometimes it is associated with ancient customs, sometimes with religion, sometimes with fierce dislocations or due to general necessity, which lead to the formation of many nation-states, and sometimes one Fear of common enemy. The ideological commitment people call patriotism is usually the product of many of these forces. Whereas states' supposed rationality is overplayed and impact of actual decision rules, institutional preference, ideology, belief and symbolism are down played. , it emphasizes too much on formal and final stages of integration such as Treaty reforms and denies due place to the informal integration which impacts the former. In fact, these are very often responsible for upgrading the existing level of integration. The "state" is presented as an unproblematic entity and in pursuing "objective" analysis, the complex issues pertaining to the historical evolution and direction of the states, its nature, purpose and utility are not adequately dealt with. In reality, the "state" itself is a contested concept and there is no consensus even within domestic spheres about the nature of the state and "national interest" that state pursues. The state-centric theory overlooks these aspects. Therefore, despite commendable work on evidence gathering and refinements, neo-realism remains narrowly focused and fail to grasp the subtleties and nuances of the integration process.

12.4.2 National Interest

'National interest' is an important concept in international relations. All nations are always in the process of achieving or achieving the goals of their national interests. Every nation's foreign policy is formulated based on its national interest and it always works to achieve its goals. It is a

universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. A state always tries to justify its actions on the basis of its national interest. The behavior of a state is always linked to and governed by its national interests. Therefore, it is necessary for us to know the meaning and content of national interest. China justified its border dispute with India and Soviet Union in the name of efforts to secure China's national interest. Now P-5 countries talk of non-proliferation and arms control in the context of national interests of all nations.

All these and many more examples can emphasize the ambiguity that surrounds the concept of national interest. This ambiguity hinders the process of formulating universally accepted definitions of national interest. However, many scholars have tried to define the national interest. Definition of national interest:

- (1) National interest means: "the common, long-term and sustained purpose which the state, nation and government provide to all as a service to itself." -Charles Lerche and Abdul
- (2) National interest is: "What a nation considers necessary for its security and welfare ... The national interest ends in a general and continuous way for which the nation works." - Brookings Institutions
- (3) "National interest is that which the states seek in relation to each other for protection or attainment. It means desires from the sovereign states." - Vernon von Dyck
- (4) "National interest means existence - protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states". -Morgenthau
- (5) National interest means: "the values, desires and interests which one seeks to protect or gain in relation to each other" "desires from sovereign states". -V.V. The dam, National interests can be defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands, and interests that a nation always seeks to protect, protect, protect and secure relations with other nations. These are those interests in respect of which no nation can compromise. It includes the preservation of physical, political

and cultural identity against possible encroachments by other states. A state has to defend these at all costs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

Q1. What do you understand by the Nature of international law?

Q2. Discuss the importance of ideology.

12.5 SCOPE OF DEVELOPMENT

The world has shrunk a lot as a result of scientific and technological development. As a result, events in one part of the world have an immediate impact on the rest of the world. Therefore, states maintain regular relations with other states of the world. There is nothing akin to a single person, a state is nothing without the other state and in the present complex life, and one state cannot survive without a relationship with another. Materialistic needs, religion, economic requirements, industrialization, security matters and trade etc. brought states together. Inter-state wars produced post-war treaties, economic and friendly agreements, and international organizations. All these things are studied by international relations.

International relations are an old subject and can be traced to the older tribes. It was used by the Greeks and Romans in their relations. As a regular subject, international relations began in World War I and specifically because of the Second World War, the Cold War between the United States and the USSR, the disintegration of the USSR, the New World Order (NWO) of the USA, the North Atlantic The global role of the International Organization of Treaty Organization (NATO) and the emergence of diplomatic relations etc. developed the subject to a great extent.

First, scholars have entered new issue areas of international relations, including international environmental politics, international ethics, and globalization. Second, new methods have emerged within the study of international relations (e.g., two-tiered game analysis and spatial analysis), and the scope of the methodology over the last decades to make more use of rational alternatives analysis and statistical methods Has become widespread. Finally, aiming for a more accurate understanding of complex interactions between players at the international level, students in the field have developed more expertise within key subfields and both Methodological approaches. These developments have undoubtedly enriched international relations research and attracted more attention in additional fields of study such as compliance with international treaties and interpretation of civil wars.

At the same time the combination of new disciplines of research, wider scope of methodology, and more and more specialization within the subfields have overcome the general methodology concerns of the students of the field. While the general course on research Methodology has become part of the standard curriculum in political science at both the advanced undergraduate level and graduate level, with serious discussion of methodology problems still common for international relations analysis.

The purpose of this section is to fill in by presenting theoretical and empirical studies that deal with central methodological issues in the study of international relations, examining recent debates in the field.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

3. What are the scope developments in international relation?

4. State National interest.

12.6 LET US SUM UP

Notes

The international system is chaotic: there is no higher central authority that can impose rules on individual states. Given this context, states operate on the basis of self-help: they operate for the purpose of survival and their interactions with other states reflect their desire to survive. The structure changes only when great powers take action that will lead to change. Most states have no power to change the structure. Given this context, states will try to balance against each other as they try to increase their chances of survival. Balance can take two forms: internal and external. Internal balance refers to the investment of military power to reconcile with other states. External equilibrium refers to the nexus of states to counter a stronger power, or hedge. States will choose the weak of available alliances because of the understanding that the stronger side is a threat to their security. The structure of the system is mainly based on the distribution of power. In other words, the distribution of power is the main (and sometimes sole) determinant of international outcomes. Since states are concerned with their security, they try to maximize their relative power with respect to other states.

The study of International Relations: case studies, quantitative analyses, and formal methods. The use of these methods is evaluated in the context of different substantive sub-fields of International Relations (e.g. international security, international political economy). The authors also engage in a discussion of how the different methods have influenced central debates in International Relations such as whether and why democratic countries are unlikely to fight each other, and what determines the effectiveness of international regimes.

12.7 KEYWORDS

International relations: International relations are an academic discipline that focuses on the study of the interaction of the actors in international politics, including states and non-state actors, such as the United Nations (UN).

National interests: National interests are topics that are of significant economic, political or social interest to a nation.

Axiomatic: axiomatic obviously true and therefore not needing to be proved

State sovereignty: State sovereignty is the concept that states are in complete and exclusive control of all the people and property within their territory it also includes the idea that all states are equal as states.

Dominance: A dominant-party system, or one-party dominant system, is a system where there is "a category of parties/political organizations that have successively won election victories and whose future defeat cannot be envisaged or is unlikely for the foreseeable future.

12.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- Critically examine the neo-functionalist theory of European integration.
- Define the term Political sociology
- Explain the term nature of international relations?
- What is international conflict?
- State the role of International development?

12.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- Chrysochoou, Dimitris N., Theorizing European Integration, London: Sage, 2001.
- Groom, A.J.R. and P. Taylor, eds., Frameworks for International cooperation, London: Pinter, 1994.
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12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Notes

1. Leaving solutions to national governments alone is not an option due to their rather strict position on national interests. On the contrary, a more balanced position would result from the active involvement of civil society, local authorities, European authorities and refugees themselves. After all, Europe is a pertinent case here as it is the home of the European Union – a project that united the bulk of European states in a supranational, and relatively open-bordered, union in which all citizens are legally free to work and live wherever they please within the Union.
2. "ideology" that gives fellow citizens a sense of communalism and recognizes interlocking values, interests and beliefs. Ideology can, in this sense, be the product of many different forces. Sometimes it is associated with ancient customs, sometimes with religion, sometimes with fierce dislocations or due to general necessity, which lead to the formation of many nation-states, and sometimes one Fear of common enemy. The ideological commitment people call patriotism is usually the product of many of these forces. Whereas states' supposed rationality is overplayed and impact of actual decision rules, institutional preference, ideology, belief and symbolism are down played.
3. In international relations, the meaning, nature and scope of international relations are changing. There are many factors that affect the nature of international relations such as the development of new nations, technological development, nuclear research, the rise of the multipolar world, the rise of the new order, non-state organizations, global problems, etc. Due to the changing nature of international relations, it is very difficult to explain the nature of international relations.
4. National interest means: "the values, desires and interests which one seeks to protect or gain in relation to each other" "desires from sovereign states". -V.V. The dam, National interests can be defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands, and interests that a nation always seeks to protect, protect, protect and secure relations with other nations. These are those interests in respect of which no nation can compromise.

UNIT 13: THE SOCIAL COMMUNICATION OF POLITICAL EXPERTISE

STRUCTURE

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Social Research- Its Nature and Types

13.2.1 Difference of subject and sciences

13.2.2 Characteristics of a community

13.3 Modern Indian political thought

13.3.1 Issues and Problem of Modern Indian political thought

13.3.2 Salient Features of Modern Indian political thought

13.4 Modern and Extremists

13.5 Research Methodology

13.6 Let Us Sum Up

13.7 Keywords

13.8 Questions for Review

13.9 Suggested readings and References

13.10 Answer to check your progress

13.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit we can able to discuss:

- The ability of citizens to make discriminatory decisions is related to the capacity for intentional democracy in relation to the political expertise of other individuals.
- If people are unable to make such decisions — if there is communication of political expertise,
- For example, fundamentally compromised by political bias — then the objective basis of political communication and deliberation among citizens is called into question.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

A primary building block of social communication in politics is the cozy relationship between two citizens. Through political discussion, information is conveyed to the extent that it is an important link to nationwide exchanges that educate and inform voters about politics. But not all relationships are important to all citizens, and some relationships are more important than others. In this paper we are primarily concerned with interest, expertise, and agreement as factors that can accelerate the flow of information between individuals. We examine these dyadic exchanges of information as a function of two primary sets of factors: the characteristics of citizens in the Dyadic relation and the characteristics of the larger networks within which the Dyad is located. Furthermore, we compare political communication in Germany, Japan, and the United States of America in many different national contexts. We are particularly interested in how politically expert citizens assume influential roles in the communication of public opinion. In this context, several questions prompt analysis. What are the characteristics of citizens and social relations that encourage high levels of political communication between and among citizens? In particular, how important are personal levels of personal interest and expertise in stimulating high levels of political discussion within dyads? How important is the presence or absence of shared political priorities? Social science research deals with social phenomena and attitudes of human beings as members of a society under different circumstances and situations. Social science research helps every nation in the formulation of legislations and policies, schemes and programs on socio-economic issues and has been an extremely essential tool for the government and the people. Let us take an example of a social problem which can be solved through research. The problem is the low level of literacy in the country. If the literacy level is low in the country, the country is not expected to flourish. Low levels of literacy will lead to lower levels of employment and lower incomes. Families with lower incomes have a tendency to send their children to work as child labor. Children who work and earn incomes are not able to go to school, and, hence remain illiterate. Illiteracy results in unemployment and unemployment causes

poverty. Social science research will help in finding out causes to problems of illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, etc., thereby, assisting the government to formulate legislations and policies, schemes and programmes for the eradication of illiteracy. Social science research is oriented toward building knowledge. It describes the methods by which results are known; it sets up the inquiry process so that evidence from all sides of a problem can be examined; it generalizes knowledge more broadly beyond the specific instances that are examined. Research is one possible way through which knowledge can be generated.

13.2 SOCIAL RESEARCH - ITS NATURE AND TYPES

Social science research can be conducted, for example, in a school setting where absenteeism is a major issue. What are the causes because of which: children remain absent from school; teachers are very strict with students; teaching in the school is not up to the mark; the principal of the school is not able to handle the teachers well; the school is very far off from most of the children's homes; there are no proper toilet facilities for girls in the school? These are some of the issues that could be addressed by research on absenteeism. The solutions for absenteeism can also be found from the findings of the research. Research can, thus, be an important tool in bringing about major policy changes in the school.

What does Social Science research actually mean? This is not a very easy question to answer. At one level, such research deals with social sciences – Sociology, History, Geography, Psychology, Political Science, Economics, etc., and, thus, all research based on these disciplines are social science research. For example, a study of living conditions of tribal communities is research in Sociology. Similarly, a study of the life during the time of Ashoka is research related to History; voting patterns of new eligible voters in a parliamentary election is research in the Political Science; a study on the behavior of adolescents during parties is Psychological research; and, a study of income and expenditure patterns of middle class urban households during the phase of inflation is research related to Economics. Research, in itself, is designed as a method of

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enquiry into issues concerning human beings. According to Globes Publishers, the social science research is a systematic method of exploring, analyzing and conceptualizing human life in order to extend, correct or verify knowledge of human behavior and social life. In other words, Social Sciences Research “seeks to find explanations to unexplained social phenomena, to clarify the doubtful and correct the misconceived facts of social life”. Research is not an arbitrary activity, but follows certain rules and procedures. Some of the factors of social science research are as follows:

- a) social science research is a method of enquiry to gain further knowledge or enhance existing knowledge;
- b) social science research is essential to understand issues of human concerns;
- c) social science research involves time and money;
- d) social science research is useful for the formulation of legislations, policies, schemes, and programs.

13.2.1 Difference Of Subject And Sciences

Social sciences include the study of Economics, Geography, History, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology. They are a group of subjects that deal with humans, both as individuals and as interacting groups. Natural Sciences include the study of Astronomy, Biology, Chemistry, Earth Sciences, Physics, etc. Briefly, social sciences are the study of humans and their interactions, and the natural sciences are the study of the universe and how it works. Perhaps the best way to explain the difference between the two sciences is through the following example. Natural science is when something happens with no help from man whatsoever. It just happens naturally. Social science is when there is some cause to what happens. May be a tree falls down mysteriously and you realize that it was the work of a windstorm; that would be natural science. If you discover that the cause of the tree falling down was that somebody had cut it down, that would be social science. Within the Social Sciences (Sociology, History, Geography, Psychology, Political Science and Economics) there are differences in research methods. Social Science research has differences as well as some similarities with

research in the field of natural sciences (Physics, Chemistry, and Biology). Most of the research pertaining to the natural sciences is completely different from social science research in terms of the entire approach to research, the methodology used for conducting the research, etc. Natural science research is purely experimental in nature, for example, the study of atoms and molecules, the study of the solar system, or the reaction of a particular gas with another gas or solution is research based on experimentation. Many natural science research studies take several years to complete, while many take much less time. The nature of natural science research is mainly scientific and such research often involves huge costs as well. On the contrary, social science research is based on human behavior and the interrelationship between human beings in a social set up. The methodology of social science research is generally not as complicated as the methodology used in natural science research. Social science research is based on surveys, interviews, focus group discussions, etc., unlike natural science research, which is based on experimentation. The distinction between natural science and social science research is not always very clear and there are areas where both types of researches overlap. For example, when research is carried out on animals, much of the research is biological in nature, where the methods used are those applied in natural science research. However, since such research is also based on animal behavior, the methodology of research is also those applied in social science research. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that when it comes to the focus of research, the activities of social researchers differ from those working within the natural sciences. Much of the difference between natural science research and social science research comes to the question of how we actually conduct our research. This is the subject of considerable debate, and some of this revolves around the question of methodology. On one hand, there is a group of social researchers who would argue that when undertaking research projects, we should borrow approaches, designs and methods that are commonly used within the natural sciences, such as experiments. Others would argue that the social world is different from the natural world, and if it is to be investigated effectively, social science research

needs to design its own approaches, designs and methods that are more relevant and fit for the purpose.

13.2.2 Characteristics Of A Community

It can be a person, a single incident of a person's life, a family; a crisis a family has gone through, an incident (for example the tsunami in a particular year), etc. An excellent example of the case study research approach is a study on child abuse where girls from a particular community who have been constantly abused. The information provided by these girls from the same community helps in drawing conclusions about the nature and extent of abuse faced by the girls and on various other dimensions of child abuse. A descriptive approach would be based on the following steps statement of the problem – for example, labor disputes in the factory resulting in lower productivity identification of information needed to solve the problem – for example, grievances of factory workers selection or development of instruments for gathering the information – interview technique/focus group discussion, etc. identification of target population and determination of sampling procedure – all members of the population, or only a few members to be selected through a proper sampling technique design of procedure for information collection – who will collect information and how will the information be collected analysis of information – how will the information that has been collected be used and analyzed conclusions – what is to be concluded and how the conclusion can be used to solve the problem. The descriptive approach is also based on survey studies, which assess the characteristics of whole population of people or situations. School Surveys - used to gather data concerned with internal or external characteristics of a school system Job Analysis - used to gather information to be used in structuring a training program for a particular job Documentary Analysis - closely akin to historical research; deals with documenting present situations Public Opinion Surveys - used to enhance the decision making process by government officials Community Surveys - used to gather data concerned with internal or external characteristics of a community

13.3 MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

The beginning of the 19th century, the procedure of colonization of India was complete. Henceforth, the foremost concern of colonial rulers was the consolidation of the gains, i.e., the maintenance of colonial rule. For this they needed supporters from in the middle of the subjected which could be achieved only by cultural and ideological hegemony. The making of a class of landlords and the educated urban middle class, mainly of who were absorbed by colonial administrative system and other colonial organizations, were steps to meet the needs of British Colonialism. The colonial education and other cultural undertakings geared towards the establishment of ideological hegemony. This was the social and ideological context in which the political thought throughout the early colonial rule urbanized. A dissimilar conception of colonial rule also urbanized throughout the course of the nineteenth century. It was based on an appreciation of the traditional organizations and practices. Rammohun Roy sharp critique of several degrading features of Indian society was almost certainly what made him appreciate the advantages of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation like the British. Keshab Chandra Sen too held that British rule which appeared at a time of grave social and moral crisis was a divine dispensation and not a mere accident. God willed it so. He even held that the temporal sovereign was God's representative and sedition, so, was not only a political offence but a sin against God. The Indian Renaissance and Social Reform movement challenged age-old traditions and customs which bound the Indian people in chains of servitude and bondage. The burning questions of caste-oppression, child marriage, Sati and so on became the focal point of several a reform movements. Attacks on idolatry and superstition were also a significant characteristic of these reforms.

13.3.1 Issues and Problem of Modern Indian political thought

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There are two major perspectives on the origins and basis of nationalism, one is the primordialism perspective that describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and perceived evolutionary tendency of humans to organize into separate grouping based on an affinity of birth; the other is the modernist perspective that describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural circumstances of contemporary society, in order to exist. There are several definitions for what constitutes a nation, though, which leads to many dissimilar strands of nationalism. It can be a belief that citizenship in a state should be limited to one ethnic, cultural, religious, or identity group, or that multi-nationality in a single state should necessarily comprise the right to express and exercise national identity even by minorities. The adoption of national identity in conditions of historical development has commonly been the result of a response by an influential group or groups that is unsatisfied with traditional identities due to inconsistency flanked by their defined social order and the experience of that social order by its members, resulting in a situation of anomie that nationalists seek to resolve. This anomie results in a society or society reinterpreting identity, retaining units that are deemed acceptable and removing units deemed unacceptable, in order to create a unified society. This development may be the result of internal structural issues or the result of resentment by an existing group or groups towards other societies, especially foreign powers that are or are deemed to be controlling them.

13.3.2 Salient Features Of Modern Indian Political Thought

We call broadly divide modern Indian thought into two phases. The first phase was that of what has often been referred to as the phase of 'Social Reform'. Thinkers of this phase, as we shall see, were more concerned with the internal regeneration of indigenous society and because its first effervescence occurred in Bengal, it was often referred to as the 'Bengal renaissance'. Nationalist historians of course, even started referring to it as the Indian renaissance, but this will be an inaccurate description for reasons that we will see shortly. The second phase, more complex and textured in many ways, is the phase that we can designate as the

nationalist phase. The concerns in this phase shift more decisively to quest oils of politics and power, and of freedom from colonial rule. It is important to remember that what we are calling the 'nationalist phase' is merely a shorthand expression, for there were precisely in this period, many more tendencies and currents that cannot simply be subsumed under the rubric of 'nationalism'. At the very least, there are important currents like the Muslim and Dalit, that mark the intellectual and political 'search for the Self' in this period. Before we go into the specific features of the thinkers of the two broad periods that we have outlined, it is necessary to make a few clarifications. Though most scholars have tended to see these as two distinct phases or periods, this way of looking at the history of modern Indian political thought can be quite problematic. The periodization's can only be very broad and tentative ones, made for the purpose of convenience of study; on no account should they be rendered into fixed and hermetically sealed periods. In fact, we can more productively see them as two broad currents which do not necessarily follow one after the other. As we shall see, there are many social reform concerns that take on a different form and continue into the nationalist phase. In fact, the nationalist phase itself reveals two very distinct tendencies in this respect. On the one hand, there is the dominant or hegemonic nationalism, represented in the main by the Indian National Congress, where the social reform agenda is abandoned in a significant way; on the other there are other contending narratives that insist on privileging the reform agenda much to the discomfort of the nationalists. We shall soon see why. We shall also have the occasion to note that, in this respect, Gandhi remains almost the one figure within this hegemonic nationalism, who keeps trying to bring in the reform agenda into the nationalist movement. The case study method studies a cohesive unit and it may be an individual, a family, an institution, a cultural group, or an entire community, or even an abstract thing; for example, a set of relationships (husband-wife, brother sister, mother-daughter, and father-son) friendship formation, etc. It can be a person, a single incident of a person's life, a family; a crisis a family has gone through, an incident (for example the tsunami in a particular year), etc. An excellent example of the case study research approach is a study on

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child abuse where girls from a particular community who have been constantly abused. The information provided by these girls from the same community helps in drawing conclusions about the nature and extent of abuse faced by the girls and on various other dimensions of child abuse. Another example of case study research approach could be a study on drug addicts. The nature of the problem of drug addiction and various other dimensions of drug addiction could be reflected from the case studies.

Some of the salient features of the case study methods or approach are given below.

1. It studies a unit – an individual, a family, a community, a society, a nation, etc.
2. It undertakes an in-depth study of the whole unit.
3. The unit identified for the case study has to be a cohesive and homogenous unit.
4. The method is qualitative in character as it highlights the qualitative aspects of the case by going deep into the issue of concern.
5. The case study method also provides knowledge of the behavioral pattern of the case.

Case studies are used in social sciences research for several reasons. For example, a case study is appropriate when there is one or only a few cases available to study, perhaps because a phenomenon occurs very rarely. An example of something occurring rarely can be the tsunami which affected parts of southern India. A case study of people affected by the tsunami can be an interesting subject matter of research. Another example could be India's Independence Day, which is celebrated on 15th August. How India achieved independence, and why the British were forced to leave India can be another interesting area.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

Q1. Point out the work Foreign Policy decision-making.

Q2. Discuss the importance of international law.

13.4 MODERN AND EXTREMISTS

While Moderates and Extremists constant contrasting viewpoints, their contribution to the freedom struggle in its early phase is nonetheless significant. Moderates like Dadabhai Naoroji, Suretidra Nath Banerji, Pherozechah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gouale, M. G. Ranade, were uncritical admirers of Western political values. They held the concept of equality before, law, of freedom of speech and press and the principle of representative government as : inherently superior to their traditional Hindu polity which they defined as 'Asiatic despotism'.³ So emphatic was their faith in the British rule that they hailed its introduction in India as 'a - providential mission' capable of eradicating the 'mis-rule' of the past. Given the reluctance of the Crown to introduce representative institutions in India, Dadabhoy Nao roji lamented that the British government in India was 'more Raj and less British'. What he meant was that though the British rule fulfilled the basic functions of Hindu kingship in preserving law and order in India, its reluctance to introduce the principle of representative government was most disappointing. So, despite their appreciation of British liberalism their administration hardly influenced the Raj in changing the basic nature of its rule in India. The nationalist movement was articulated differently in different phases of India's freedom struggle. Apart from ideological shifts, there were noticeable differences in the social background of those who participated in the struggle against the British. For instance, the Gandhian phase of Indian nationalism, also known as the phase of mass nationalism, radically altered the nature of the constituencies of nationalism by incorporating the previously neglected sections of the Indian society. the Moderates identified specific roles for the Congress that sought to mobilize people in accordance with what was construed as the most appropriate goal in that context. The guiding principle was I to avoid friction with the ruler. In fact, this is how G. K. Gokhale explained the

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birth of the Indian National Congress. According to him 'no Indian could have started the Indian National Congress.... if an Indian had come forward to start such a movement embracing all India, the officials in India would not have allowed the movement to come into existence'. Secondly, the philosophy stemmed from an uncritical faith of the early nationalists in the providential mission of the British and hence the British conquest of India was not 'a calamity' to be lamented but 'an opportunity' to be seized to 'our advantage'. So, it was not surprising in contrast with the Moderates who pursued a policy of reconciliation and compromise with imperialism, the Extremists demanded time-bound programs and policies harming the British interests in India. This new school of thought represented an alternative voice challenging the 'Moderates' compromising policies of conciliation with imperialism. Disillusioned with the Moderates, the Extremists believed in 'self-reliance' and sought to achieve Swaraj through direct action. So, there were two levels at which the Extremist critique had operated. At one level, they questioned the Moderate method of 'mendicancy' that, for obvious reasons, appeared 'hollow' when an imperial logic of the state prevailed over other considerations. In other words, the failure of Moderates in obtaining concessions for the Indians indicated, 'the changing nature of the colonial state that had shown its true color as soon as its political control in India was complete. So, it was a level in which the Extremist articulated their view to uncritically appreciate the British nation that came into existence 'by ages of struggle and self-discipline which illustrates better than any other contemporary power the supremacy of the reign of law'. This is what differentiated the British government from other, colonial powers which endorsed different systems of law for the colonies. The British nation, 'therefore 'inspires hope and confidence in colonies and dependencies of Great Britain that whatever temporary perturbation may cloud the judgment, the reign of law will assert itself in the end'.

13.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

International Relations (IR) is a field of study with a rich genealogy of methodological contestation that draws upon diverse traditions of research in the social sciences. From IR's emergence as an academic field of inquiry in the early 20th century, it has drawn inspiration from a number of diverse disciplines: law, economics, political science, history, and sociology, to name a few examples. Importantly, IR also incorporated methodological traditions, and research methods, from these disciplines. At times the traditions of some of these disciplines, such as economics, made a deep imprint upon IR scholarship. Yet, this cross-disciplinary engagement, which gave us the diverse toolbox of research methods presented within this book, should not be interpreted as suggesting that IR is a discipline where 'anything goes' in terms of research practice. Indeed, although Stephen Walt (2011) points out that we should avoid attempts to impose a single method or theoretical perspective on the field as this would limit research agendas to a narrow scope of questions that could be addressed by the popular method of the day, we should also strive to produce methodologically rigorous research that meets the standards of inquiry within the methods and methodological traditions with which we engage. To be sure, far from IR scholarship lacking methodological rigor, we, as students or scholars of IR, are confronted with the task of reconciling a field of study that welcomes methodological plurality while also adhering to rigorous standards in methods. Meanwhile, although the general focus of theoretical contestation within IR migrates over time: from liberalism to realism, to neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism, to constructivism and beyond, the underlying methodological contestations between those who embed their research within an empiricist natural science tradition and those who embed their research within a more reflexive interpretive tradition endure. This enduring rivalry between these two broad traditions, which will be elucidated in greater detail shortly, is reflected across the diverse array of subfields in IR with which students of IR are likely to engage with during the course of their undergraduate or postgraduate studies. These subfields include, for example, international security, international political economy, foreign policy analysis, international organizations, and comparative politics. In part because of

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the theory-focused nature of major debates within IR, starting a research project, for either an undergraduate essay or postgraduate dissertation, can appear a daunting task as students are faced with the initial problem of reconciling their interest in international politics with scholarly debates in the field. Students of IR have long sought to respond to questions that attempt to either explain or understand the world around us. In fact, the discipline of IR itself emerged from an attempt to understand the causes of war and peace in international politics. Recall that fundamental questions, such as those which sought to elucidate these determinants of war and peace, launched IR as a field of study in the aftermath of the First World War, when the first Chair of International Relations was established in 1919, and it remained a focus of inquiry throughout the Cold War as IR scholars sought to mitigate the risk of a nuclear conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union through deterrence theories grounded in rationalist assumptions regarding superpower behavior.

When surveying existing literature in IR, it is immediately apparent that IR scholarship is far from monolithic in terms of approaches and methods. In fact, for the purpose of simplicity, it can be argued that IR scholarship can be grouped into two broad epistemological traditions that advance competing claims as to what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge within the field: empiricism and interpretivism. This dichotomy replicates a divide that is evident across the social sciences and coalesces around the question of what knowledge is of disciplinary value and what knowledge should we strive to produce. Two broad responses have been advanced to these discipline-defining questions. One approach argues that natural science methods should be applied to study the social world, while the other posits that the social world is not amenable to study through scientific methods and experimentation. These two responses can be grouped under the labels of empiricism, empirically grounded explanatory research in IR, and interpretivism, reflexive research that rejects the application of natural science methods to the social world and instead interrogates ideas, norms, beliefs and values that underlie international politics. Thus, despite the wide body of research that falls within the scope of IR, most research can be situated in

one of these two traditions. The aforementioned dichotomy does not neatly correspond to theoretical divides within dominant approaches to IR, such as between Realism and Liberalism or Constructivism. For example, there is a broad body of IR Constructivist research that falls within an explanatory empiricist tradition. It is therefore instructive to take a step back from the theoretical debates, which students are likely to attempt to engage with in their own research essays, and approach questions of methodology and methods from the perspective of research purpose, as opposed to theoretical approach. This will in turn guide the formulation of a research question, and later research design. However, before moving on to research purpose, let us first establish the core features of empiricism and interpretivism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

3. Describe the methodological process.

4. Different between Realism and Liberalism.

13.6 LET US SUM UP

It would be however historically inaccurate to dismiss the Moderate and Extremist efforts as futile simply because of the historical role they discharged in conceptualizing nationalist struggle in an organized manner. With a well-defined political agenda, the Congress leadership of both varieties identified the true nature of the principal political contradiction in a colony between the ruler and the ruled. There were various counts where the efforts were neither well-tuned to the requirement nor well-directed involving the people regardless of religion, caste and clan. In fact, the failure of the Congress in its formative years to address the social contradiction between the Hindus and Muslims led

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to the growth of the Muslim League in 1906 as the sole champion of the Muslims socio-political interests in British India. From now on, a significant section of Indian Muslims asserted a separate identity vis-à-vis Congress and the government. Given the class bias of the Hindus, the chasm between these two principal communities had grown bigger in course of time. If this was one side of the coin, the other side provided the foundation for a qualitatively different experiment in organized politics, conducted by Gandhi through nonviolence in the post-war period. Redefining the Extremist method of Swadeshi, boycott and strict non-cooperation in the changed environment when the imperial power became more brutal than before, Gandhi easily mobilized the masses in the anti-British campaign. The Congress in the Gandhian phase of nationalist struggle was completely transformed into a movement that had its tentacles even in remote villages. So, Gandhi's success as a leader of a gigantic mass movement against perhaps the most organized imperial power was largely due to the organizational backing of the Congress that remained a mere platform for annually ventilating grievances against the British as well as settling scores against the fellow congressmen.

13.7 KEY WORDS

Dichotomy: a division or contrast between two things that are or are represented as being opposed or entirely different.

Grievances: something has made them feel dissatisfied, and they believe it is unfair and/or unjust on them. These are the most common examples of employee grievances.

Moderate: Voters who describe themselves as centrist often mean that they are moderate in their political views, advocating neither extreme left-wing politics nor extreme right-wing politics.

Imperialism: A broader definition of imperialism is the extension or expansion usually by the use of military force of a nation's authority or rule over territories not currently under its control.

Renaissance: The Renaissance was the period in Europe between the 14th and 17th centuries when there was a surge of interest in and production of art and literature.

13.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- What are the major failures of the UN in political field'?
- Discuss the highly contentives role of the UN peacekeeping operation.
- Explain major instruments that helped in the resolution of problems of peace and security.
- Discuss the efforts for Realism and Liberalism.
- Analyze the role of the World Bank and IMF in the management of global economy.

13.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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13.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Foreign policies consist of aims and measures that are intended to guide government, decisions and actions with regard to external affairs, particularly relations with foreign countries managing foreign relations calls for carefully considered plans of action that are adapted to foreign interests and concerns i.e. goals. Foreign policy decision-making, an approach to international relations, is aimed at studying such decisions.

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2. The main role of international law is to promote global peace and prosperity. Ideally, international law and its accompanying institutions act as a balm to smooth over opposing interests that nations may have. There are three types of international law: public international law, private international law, and supranational law.
3. Methodological contestation that draws upon diverse traditions of research in the social sciences. From IR's emergence as an academic field of inquiry in the early 20th century, it has drawn inspiration from a number of diverse disciplines: law, economics, political science, history, and sociology, to name a few examples.
4. Realism and Liberalism or Constructivism. For example, there is a broad body of IR Constructivist research that falls within an explanatory empiricist tradition. It is therefore instructive to take a step back from the theoretical debates, which students are likely to attempt to engage with in their own research essays, and approach questions of methodology and methods from the perspective of research purpose, as opposed to theoretical approach.

UNIT 14: INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

STRUCTURE

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 What is Foreign Policy?
 - 14.2.1 Determinants of India
 - 14.2.2 Principles of India
- 14.3 Foreign Policy India and the Global Economic
 - 14.3.1 International development
 - 14.3.2 Non-alignment movement
- 14.4 Political Regimes
- 14.5 Changing Relations with the US and Russia during
 - 14.5.1 Critical analyses
 - 14.5.2 Ideology
- 14.6 India and china after cold war
 - 14.6.1 India China Relations
 - 14.6.2 Major challenges
- 14.7 South Asian States Security Challenges of India
- 14.8 Regional Organizations – EU, ASEAN, SAARC
- 14.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 14.10 Keywords
- 14.11 Questions for Review
- 14.12 Suggested readings and References
- 14.13 Answer to check your progress

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit students will be able to understand:

- What has been the outcome of policy process in the last fifty-six years after the independence?
- In India, from an ordinary citizen to the Prime Minister and in abroad from foreign government officials to informed public have been characterizing the Indian foreign policy as Non-Aligned.

- But even today, in the absence of an alternative policy framework, the Indian political class has been describing Indian foreign policy within the framework of non-alignment.
- Describe the power of India and global economics.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

We have so far studied policy decision-making at the institutional level in the government as well as shaping of policy at the social and political level. With intense interaction between the government, institutions and socio-political level actors ultimately the Indian foreign policy is made. The outcome of the policy process, “foreign policy” is the concrete policy directed towards a foreign nation or external policy issue. In the early years of independence, the Indian Foreign Policy was described as 'neutral' foreign policy by some people, because India wanted to keep herself away from the two blocs, i.e., the Western and the Soviet blocs. But neutrality is a legal concept, and India has never been 'neutral' in that sense. In fact, it expressed its opinion on all important international issues, judging each on its merits. Hence, the foreign policy of India should be called an independent foreign policy, not neutral. The term 'non-alignment' got currency in the post- Conference (1955) phase, and the first conference of the non-aligned group of countries was held in 1961 in Belgrade. It was a bi-polar world when the principles of Indian foreign policy were first taken place. The two camps, led by the United States and the Soviet Union, vied with each other for influence respective all over the world. In fifties and sixties, on several international issues—much to the dislike of the super powers—India sought to take a position not always similar to that of the either.

14.2 WHAT IS FOREIGN POLICY?

British colonial rule was there in India until 1947. A newly independent India was plunged into the world affairs when the external environment was of the Cold War between the two super powers—the United States

(US) and the Soviet Union (USSR)—both were on the winning side in the Second World War. Even before the independence in August 1947, an interim government under Nehru's leadership had been put in place in September 1946. The first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was in a dilemma. Though western educated, he was personally attracted to the Marxist thought. But any alignment with the one or the other bloc would have meant loss of newly won independence. Loss of India's independence in the decision-making even slightly was an unacceptable proposition to him. Thus, he opted to keep India away from both the power blocs, and follow an independent foreign policy. This came to be known as the policy of non-alignment. He had formulated the basic policy outlines in a broadcast from New Delhi on 7 September, 1946 in which he laid out certain foreign policy goals. He was then only an interim prime minister, as independence had not even been announced. These goals included: end of colonialism and racism, independence from power blocs and close ties with China and Asian neighbors. In his own words: "We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation.... We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races." Thus, non-alignment with either of the military blocs was Nehru's answer to the dilemma he and the nation faced. Non-alignment was an intellectual coup on the part of Nehru. It was in sense learning from history. Soon after the independence the first American president George Washington had asked his countrymen while laying down his office in 1796: "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world....". Instead, he advocated that the new Republic should cultivate "just and amicable feelings toward all" nations. Primarily by non-alignment Nehru meant not getting entangled with any military alliances. Soon after the end of the Second World War, there were military alliances floated by the United States and the Soviet Union. The US promoted North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Soviet Union had to counter it by Warsaw Pact. While these were the competing military alliances at the global level, these two super powers also

promoted regional alliances to attract the newly independent nations in Asia and Africa. Second, non-alignment did not mean neutrality in world politics. Neutrality has a meaning that is truly relevant during the times of war. But non-alignment is a positive thought; it meant that India retained the independence of decision making on an issue that affected her interests. There was no a priori commitment to support one or the other nation involved in a crisis. Thus, in India's neighborhood the US promoted South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in the 1950s. Both these organizations were ostensibly meant to fight against communism exported by the Soviet Union. But India's neighbor, Pakistan joined the treaty organizations primarily to get military aid from the US to fight against India. The membership of Pakistan of these treaties brought the Cold War to the doors of India aggravating tensions between India and Pakistan. The American weapons and support generated because of their membership of military alliances also complicated the India-US relations.

India has never been action in any military alliance either bilaterally or multi-lateral opposed to any military approach to world problems. Cold war the United States and the Soviet Union have been, including the building up of nuclear weapons and in forging military alliances against each other. India believed that this only helped accentuating tension between nations resulting into armed conflicts. Hence, India opted out of the alliance system, bi-lateral or multi-lateral, in order to create conditions favorable to peace.

14.2.1 Determinants Of India

It is the foreign policy of a nation, which determines its relations with a specific nation. Hence, prior to the assessment of Indo - U.S. relations, this chapter takes a look at the determinants of India's foreign policy. Foreign Policy is a strategy or planned course of action developed by decision makers of a state vis-a-vis other states or international entities, aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interests.' Specific foreign police that carried on by a state may be the result of an initiative by that state or may be a reaction to initiatives undertaken by

other states. Foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretations of national interests to the highly fluctuating situational factors of the international environment in order to develop a course of action, followed by efforts to achieve diplomatic implementations of the policy guidelines. Foreign policy is never uniquely determined by any one factor or set of factors, but is the result of the interplay of a large number of factors that affect the formulation of policy in different ways in different circumstances. The foreign policy of any modern state devolves from implied or explicit references to strategic, economic, and ideological considerations, and aims at the preservation and furtherance of the national interest. But the conceptual sources and political definitions of the national interest vary from country to country, as do the meanings and emphases given to the factors that influence its determination.

14.2.2 Principles Of India

1. Indian foreign policy has been an independent foreign policy not tied to any of the two contending power blocs. It was, however, not a neutral foreign policy. In fact, India has never been 'neutral' on international issues. It has judged every issue on its merits and expressed its opinion in clear terms in the various international forums. This policy at times, has earned for India the displeasure of some great powers but many countries of the Third World appreciated India's stand.
2. India has pursued a policy of friendship with every country, whether of the American bloc (capitalist, system) or of the Soviet bloc (communist system). Its declared policy is not having presence for the one against the other. India has adopted a democratic system of government. This, however, has not drawn India closer to those countries of the west, who have a similar system nor has this distanced it from the communist countries.
3. India, being an ex-colonial country ruled by the British, has been pursuing an active anti-colonial policy during its independent existence. India's emergence as an independent power on the world map, had accelerated the process of de-colonization

throughout Asian-African-Latin American countries. Following India's independence, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia became free. Subsequently, India has contributed towards the independence of the African countries by speaking for them in various international forums.

4. Another persistent stand in Indian foreign policy has been the policy of anti-apartheid. As mentioned earlier Gandhi fought against apartheid in South Africa, during the turn of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. But it is a matter of great shame for the mankind, that apartheid is still being practiced in a brutal form in South Africa. This is in utter disregard of world opinion and every norm of civilized behavior. India had raised this issue for the first time in the United Nations in 1946. Ever since, it has been taking an active part in the worldwide movement against apartheid.
5. India believes that the objectives of world peace could not be achieved, if the countries are engaged in the pursuit of arms buildup and military alliances. India considers disarmament as the key to world peace. Moreover, through disarmament a huge expenditure on arms could be saved and that money could be used for the development of the poorer nations.

14.3 FOREIGN POLICY INDIA AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC

In India's foreign policy, Shastri has to be remembered for a major change he brought about in the shifting of emphasis from international events more to the immediate neighborhood of India. It was Nehru's personality that made him to think in terms of India playing a major role in international affairs. Nehru perceived a larger role for India in international affairs, rather much bigger than then resources permitted. He played a major role in Bandung (Indonesia) Conference in 1955. He was responsible for introducing newly liberated communist China's premier Chou en lai. He was in the forefront of getting communist China seated as the legitimate member of the 6 UN in place of Nationalist

China, which had fled to Taiwan after the communists captured power in Mainland China in October 1949. It was Nehru who again played a role as a go between China and the US during the Korean War. In contrast Shastri focused on India's immediate neighborhood aimed at improving relations within South Asia. However, his perceived weakness led to conflicts and war in 1965 with Pakistan. First it was in the Rann of Kutch where a dispute was created to claim Indian Territory. The dispute was referred to arbitration by mutual consent. The Rann of Kutch is a marshy land between West Pakistan and Gujarat. It was Pakistan's case that Rann of Kutch was a lake and according to the international law, the boundary should run in the middle of the lake. On the other hand, India claimed that it is a marshy land and the boundaries between Sindh and India were well demarcated. But Pakistan was intruding into the area since 1956. In 1965 hostilities broke out between the two countries in the area. At the intervention of then British PM Harold Wilson, an agreement was reached to refer the dispute to arbitration if both the parties were unable to reach an agreement. Eventually, as the two countries could not agree on a solution, arbitrators awarded 900 square Km to Pakistan—one tenth of their original claim. The results of the 1971 Indo- Pakistani war and the emergence of Bangladesh created a situation in which there remained no country in South Asia able to seriously challenge India's predominance.' Anyhow, creating a sound base for India's foreign policy depends to a large extent on the improvement of its relations with the immediate neighbors in general and with China and Pakistan in particular. In fact, if flipside of the foreign policy of India looked, there seems, these two countries have always remained major concern of India's foreign policy makers.

14.3.1 International Development

After the independence of Soviet Union has supported the developments in the international scene brought the two countries, further closer to each other. The Soviet leaders were impressed due to: India's decision to recognize PRC, (People's Republic of China), its support to anti-colonial struggles at the United Nations its efforts to establish ceasefire in Korea and refusal to brand PRC as an aggressor, its refusal to be a part of

alliances against USSR. The Soviet Union on its part supported India on the Kashmir issue. The Soviet leaders, Bulganin and Khrushchev, visited India in 1955 and the two countries signed trade agreements. Later the Soviet Union supported India on the Goa issue. During the Suez Crisis, the Soviet Union and India took up a similar stand to condemn aggression. The Soviet Union provided \$ 500 million for the Third Five Year Plan and supplied oil when the western companies were unwilling to do so.

14.3.2 Non-Alignment Movement

A pro-Soviet tilt had already set in during the Nehru period in the practice of non-alignment. The 1970s were such that globally non-alignment movement had become a force sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Cuba, as a member of the non-aligned movement, even introduced the idea that the Soviet Union is a 'natural ally' of the non-aligned nations. This he did at the 1979 NAM Summit held at Havana. The tilt became evident in the Indo-Soviet relations during the period. Before the Bangladesh war of 1971, India signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. Under the treaty, the two countries agreed on "immediate mutual consultations" in the event of either country facing a military threat and adopt appropriate effective measures. The treaty expressed the Soviet Union's acceptance of India's policy of non-alignment. However, the treaty was criticized by the US as an end of India's non-alignment. But the treaty was India's answer to then changing global scene. Since 1962 Pakistan and China had befriended each other against India on the theory that enemy's enemy is a friend. The US was already close to Pakistan with the military alliances binding their relations. Richard Nixon, the US President, was actively working to establish relations with China aimed at balancing the perceived power of the Soviet Union.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

Q1. What were the main causes of discord between India and Pakistan?

Q2. List the five important principles of Indian foreign policy.

14.4 POLITICAL REGIMES

As a matter of fact, there was no such confirmation ever needed. Because after initial opposition to the creation of Pakistan, the Hindu Mahasabha has become defunct and the Bhartiya Janata Party, as the main ruling party in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), never spoke in terms of undoing the partition. After the meeting in Lahore, the Pakistani PM said that it would be the year of decision on Kashmir. The Indian External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh had said that after fifty years of independence “the time for map-making in the region is over” indicating that there is no question of changing of geography in the region. The month of May 1999 saw the Kargil war between the two nations. As the two PMs were discussing the future of their bilateral relations, the Pakistani Army was preparing for the war. The war is significant as it was the first military conflict between the two nations after they acquired nuclear weapons in May 1998. This was an effort by the Pakistani armed forces to alter the status quo on the Line of Control so that whenever negotiations take place, the Pakistanis could use it as a bargaining chip with India. As we have seen, non-alignment was the child of a bipolar world in which two poles were intensely contesting for supremacy at all levels—ideological, economic, and political. But with the end of one pole, the relevance of rival military alliances and competition to enroll every nation on one side or the other is over. However, another facet of non-alignment is the fact that a nonaligned country retains its independence of decision making unlike a nation aligned with a bloc normally toes the line of the leader nation. In this sense India still retains her independence of decision-making. In another sense, Indian non-alignment tilted towards the Soviet Union during the Cold War. But now that Russia itself has moved closer to its former rival, there is nothing

wrong in India moving closer to the US. Earlier, during the Cold War, it used to be normal response of the policy makers that it is not so much that India is leaning towards the Soviet Union but it is the other way around. Similarly, if the US can be of help to promote the Indian national interest, there is nothing wrong in India working in close cooperation with the US. However, India with other major powers like the EU, and Russia is working towards bringing about a multipolar world. Meanwhile, India adopted the “Look East” policy and swiftly moved to have closer relationship with the ASEAN countries. India also moved closer to the European Union, Japan and Australia. By 2003, Sino-Indian relations had begun improving in a big way.

14.5 CHANGING RELATIONS WITH THE US AND RUSSIA DURING

An economically weak government is always prone to foreign pressure. This situation was taken maximum advantage by the only super power—the United States. The US did arms twisting in pressurizing Rao to economically open up the Indian market to the American penetration in areas of computers, IT, and Telecommunications etc. India came under the American pressure to rollback and cap its nuclear programmed. India was compelled, under the US pressure, to abandon the nuclear testing planned for 1995. India has been stating that it wanted to retain its nuclear option, which became increasingly difficult since the end of the Cold War. India joined the US in co-sponsoring the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Fissile Material Control Treaty (FMCT). India, under Rao, did try in 1995 to conduct tests in Pokhran but could not succeed as it was detected by the US. And Rao had to shelve the programmed. The first American president George Washington had asked his countrymen while laying down his office in 1796: “It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world...”. Instead, he advocated that the new Republic should cultivate “just and amicable feelings toward all” nations. Primarily by non-alignment Nehru meant not getting entangled with any military alliances. Soon after the end of the Second World War, there were

military alliances floated by the United States and the Soviet Union. The US promoted North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Soviet Union had to counter it by Warsaw Pact. While these were the competing military alliances at the global level, these two super powers also promoted regional alliances to attract the newly independent nations in Asia and Africa. Second, non-alignment did not mean neutrality in world politics. Neutrality has a meaning that is truly relevant during the times of war. But non-alignment is a positive thought; it meant that India retained the independence of decision making on an issue that affected her interests. There was no a priori commitment to support one or the other nation involved in a crisis. Thus, in India's neighborhoods the US promoted South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty organization (CENTO) in the 1950s. Both these organizations were ostensibly meant to fight against communism exported by the Soviet Union. But India's neighbor, Pakistan joined the treaty organizations primarily to get military aid from the US to fight against India. The membership of Pakistan of these treaties brought the Cold War to the doors of India aggravating tensions between India and Pakistan. The American weapons and support generated because of their membership of military alliances also complicated the India-US relations.

This literally brought the US-Soviet Union Cold War to the Indian northwestern borders. The US asked India to help it in getting the Russians out of Afghanistan. The US was interested in performing a Vietnam in reverse in Afghanistan to the Russians. As America was forced to withdraw dishonorably from Vietnam in 1974, the US wanted to force Russians to experience what that dishonor means in a nation's life. Russians had that experience in 1988. 10 Since India did not agree to cooperate with the US against the Soviets, Americans turned to Pakistan for support. Pakistan readily agreed to be a conduit to transfer weapons to Afghan guerrillas (Mujahidin) at a total military and economic aid package of \$7.4 billion. This transformed the region into a terrorist hub-terrorism strengthened by religious fanaticism in the name of Jihad ever since then.

14.5.1 Critical Analyses

During these ten months, its main foreign policy push came in the area of developing nuclear weapons capability and trying to improve relations with Pakistan. The BJP has been a great exponent of India going for nuclear weapons. Once it came to power, it planned for nuclear weapons tests so that India can declare its status as a nuclear weapons state. On 11 May 1998 India surprised the world by conducting three nuclear tests. Two more tests were conducted on 13 May. Prime Minister Vajpayee declared that India is a nuclear weapons state, and also declared that it would not conduct any more tests as all the necessary data had been collected. India, Vajpayee said, would maintain only minimum nuclear deterrent. It turned out that India was trying to test nuclear weapons in 1982 during Gandhi's tenure and later in 1995 when Narasimha Rao was the PM. But each time the preparations were made to conduct the tests, the US intelligence was able to detect the Indian plans. Hence, it goes to the credit of the BJP to have planned the nuclear tests and conducting them undetected.

In 1999 the Indian PM set himself to improve the relations with Pakistan. The first step he took was with a Bus trip to Lahore to meet Nawaz Sharif, PM of Pakistan. During this trip PM Vajpayee made a visit to Miner-e- Pakistan symbolizing the Indian acceptance of the creation of Pakistan based on Mohammad Ali Jinnah's "two nations" theory. As a matter of fact, there was no such confirmation ever needed. Because after initial opposition to the creation of Pakistan, the Hindu Mahasabha has become defunct and the Bhartiya Janata Party, as the main ruling party in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), never spoke in terms of undoing the partition. After the meeting in Lahore, the Pakistani PM said that it would be the year of decision on Kashmir. The Indian External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh had said that after fifty years of independence "the time for map-making in the region is over" indicating that there is no question of changing of geography in the region. The month of May 1999 saw the Kargil war between the two nations. As the two PMs were discussing the future of their bilateral relations, the Pakistani Army was preparing for the war. The war is significant as it was the first military conflict between the two nations after they acquired

nuclear weapons in May 1998. This was an effort by the Pakistani armed forces to alter the status quo on the Line of Control so that whenever negotiations take place, the Pakistanis could use it as a bargaining chip with India. However, Pakistani Army Chief of Staff, General Pervez Musharraf in a bloodless coup in October 1999, deposed PM Nawaz Sharif. This sent into limbo all efforts to normalize relations with Pakistan. India reacted to the military takeover in its traditional way. India then boycotted the meeting of the SAARC and also saw to it that Pakistan was suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations. India made another attempt at peace when Vajpayee invited Pervez Musharraf for talks at Agra in early 2001. The talks collapsed as General Musharraf was adamant on his terms to discuss the so-called core issue of Kashmir. The armed forces of Pakistan have dominated all institutions of the government in that country. The cross-border terrorism that has been the bane of the India-Pakistan relations since 1989 has been only aggravated by the military dictatorship. The Indo-Pak relations were further spoilt when on 13 December 2001, Pakistani terrorists tried to attack the Indian Parliament and eliminate our top leadership. Fortunately, our alert security forces engaged the terrorists in a forced gun battle just outside the Parliament House, and killed all the five Pakistanis. India withdrew its High Commissioner from Islamabad and snapped air, rail and bus links with Pakistan. Till now no such outcome have come in The Indian government has perforce moved closer to the only surviving Super Power in the world—the US. Hence the question of the relevance of the Indian Non-alignment is now and then raised. Meanwhile, Pakistan had once again moved very close to the US by promising full cooperation in the American fight against the Taliban regime and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

14.5.2 Ideology

The Panchsheel, provided the ideological foundation for the establishment of the Non-aligned Movement. In 1961, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade accepted Panchsheel as the principled core of the Non-Aligned Movement. ‘Together with Gamal Abdul Nasser and Marshal Josef Tito, Nehru was one of three leaders who

created the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961 in order to make it possible for nations to cooperate with each other and offer a broad framework for collective dialogue and collective action against the developed countries." Nehru's non-aligned foreign policy was an attractive model for most developing countries because it was based on the principles of non-involvement in either of the two alliance systems and an active and independent participation in world affairs. Furthermore, Nehru saw non-alignment between the superpowers at the time of the Cold War as a vital precondition to protecting national interest. Thus, his nonalignment strategy by no means precluded an active stance in Indian self-interest; it became the dominant ethos of India's foreign policy in international affairs." Nehru promoted the idea of non-alignment to prove that India was an independent country and had a right to play an international role. However, the Sino- ' Government of India, "Panchsheel", Indian war of 1962 was a watershed for Indian defense planners. In the aftermath, India abandoned its cherished non-alignment policy, cast off the Menon defense strategy, which had left the Indian army helpless before the Chinese invasion; and set out a comprehensive program for military modernization with the help of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. New Delhi's military weaknesses had been exposed and in military defeat the country's international prestige declined. 'Nehru's foreign police based "on global influence without military power" was shattered and India's position and influence among the new non-aligned nations were also affected.

14.6 INDIA AND CHINA AFTER COLD WAR

The Cold War, the decline of idealism in India's foreign relations after the 1962 war with China, and the pragmatic approach to world politics taken by Indira Gandhi increasingly made India more of a geopolitical player. The 'Indira Doctrine' sought to establish India as the unchallenged regional hegemon."- This was coupled with a somewhat expanded notion of what was India's area of strategic interest and led, under Rajiv Gandhi, to military incursions into the Maldives and Sri Lanka. Part of India's

extension of influence into the Indian Ocean stems from its desire to deny the Indian Ocean as a base from which external powers can coerce India. This thinking was greatly exacerbated by the presence of the US Aircraft Carrier Enterprise in the Indian Ocean during the 1971 war with Pakistan. This incident did much to shape India's naval and nuclear development and influenced a generation of Indian geopolitical thinkers to advocate a strategy that included several components. These are

- (a) the ability to fight China to a standstill,
- (b) the means to inflict a quick and decisive defeat of Pakistan, and
- (c) the power to dissuade any nation along the Indian Ocean rim-land including the United States - from alluding itself actively with either Pakistan or China. With the Cold War over, Indian fears of imperial domination from the West were much abated. India became a more self-confident nation despite ongoing border tensions with Pakistan, internal religious divisions, lingering rivalry with China and its continuing need for expanded economic growth. As a result, India came to a position where it could establish a new relationship with the United States.

14.6.1 India China Relations

After India became independent, one of the first countries with which it established diplomatic relations was the Nationalist Government of China led by Chiang Kai Shek. But when the Nationalist Government was overthrown by the Communists in 1949, India recognized the new government led by Mao Tse Tung on 30 December 1949. India thereafter tied consistently to get the People's Republic of China admitted to the United Nations. India sought to pursue a policy of friendship with China since independence, but the results were frustrating. In order to understand the genesis of strains in Sino-Indian ties, it is useful to know the differing perceptions on the question of developments in Tibet, border conflicts and the Chinese aggression of 1962. The new civilization to be constructed after the war "out of the capitalist ashes of the old" would be built on the best elements of the East and the West. It would, he said, be founded on Western science tempered by the restraining influence and cultural background of India and China. In fact,

his vision about Indo-China relations is becoming factual now. ^ At the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in 1947, the belief in the Orient's unique mission still prevailed, with Mahatma Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu and Nehru all speaking of Asia's special international message of spiritual enlightenment. While nationalist Indians often spoke of the collective moral mission of Eastern peoples, they also tended frequently to distinguish the spiritual role of India from that of the Orient in general. Thus, for instance, at the Asian Relations Conference, Sarojini Naidu claimed that "the message of peace" came specifically from India although it had "found millions of echoes in every corner of Asia".

14.6.2 Major Challenges

- Translating considerations of national interests into specific goals and objectives; " Determining the international and domestic situational factors related to the policy goals;
- Analyzing the state's capabilities for achieving the desired results;
- Developing a plan or strategy for using the state's capabilities to deal with the variables in pursuit of the goals;
- Undertaking the requisite actions; and periodically reviewing and evaluating progress made toward the achievement of the desired results.

14.7 SOUTH ASIAN STATES SECURITY CHALLENGES OF INDIA

South Asian problems, by examining New Delhi's increased willingness in the late 1980s to assert India's greater power directly and dramatically in smaller neighboring countries, a great deal about Indian security policy can be learned. By its regional secure policy India has asserted its superior power political, military, and economic in an attempt to achieve favorable outcomes in South Asia.

These are;

- (1) India's efforts between 1983 and 1990 to end the Sri Lankan civil war through political and military' pressure;
- (2) India's 1988 military intervention to prevent in the Maldives; and
- (3) India's 1989-90 trade dispute with Nepal "Through these episodes, India's regional security policy sends the unambiguous message to Pakistan, China, and the United States that India will not allow its preeminent position in South Asia to be compromised. To back up this stance, India has proved itself fully prepared to intervene in the affairs of its smaller neighbors with whatever force it deems necessary. India's security considerations are not confined to its immediate neighborhood but span a wider area. Measures undertaken by India to cope with its concerns, coupled with the lifting of many financial constraints, led to the modernization of its armed forces. This has, understandably, led to an increase in threat perceptions among India's smaller neighbors and has created a feeling that India is out to become a regionally dominant mini-superpower. To counter this perceived threat, the smaller nations have developed extra-regional links and succumbed to arms proliferation. Like a vicious circle, these latter developments have led to measures from the Indian side for further armed development and a larger threat perception for both India and other South Asian countries.

14.8 REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS – EU, ASEAN, SAARC

After the advent of the Europeans, the rulers of the Indian States surrendered slowly their external sovereignty, e.g., foreign policy and defense, in return for which the British guaranteed their protection from foreign aggression and internal disruption. 'Since the British Government assumed control of the Indian Continent no part of India had direct relations with any external country or even with the British Dominions except under the general control of His Majesty's Government. This control applied also to Indian States whose foreign contacts were limited

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to ceremonial visits paid by their Rulers to foreign countries. In the exercise of this control His Majesty's Government in London worked in close consultation with the Government of India, which had a Department, originally known as the Foreign Department but latterly as the External Affairs Department, held by the Viceroy and Governor General he.

The progressive globalizations of the world economy, and India's economic policy of privatization and liberalization, have opened up new dimensions of multilateral economic diplomacy for India. The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995 with India as one of the founding members. The rules, procedures and operations of the WTO are so complex that Indian economic diplomacy started facing new challenges soon after its establishment. In the same year India became a Full Dialogue Partner of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The first Asia-Europe Meeting (AEM) was held in Thailand in 1996 with India as a major participant. The Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IORARQ) was launched in 1997 with India as a leading member. The Bangladesh-India- Myanmar- Sri Lanka- Thailand Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) was inaugurated in 1997. The launching of the Euro in 1999 added a further complex dimension to India's economic diplomacy. These new developments in India's multilateral diplomacy were in addition to the economic diplomacy which was already in existence within the framework of the SAARC.' Buttressed by a 7 per cent growth rate, India's foreign policy began to change in the summer of 1997 with two principal short- and medium-term objectives: to establish nonfictional, normal-to-cordial relations with its neighbors, and to look East, forming bridges of cooperation with ASEAN countries while keeping a firm eye on membership of the Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC).

India then boycotted the meeting of the SAARC and also saw to it that Pakistan was suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations. India made another attempt at peace when Vajpayee invited Pervez Musharraf for talks at Agra in early 2001. The talks collapsed as General Musharraf was adamant on his terms to discuss the so-called core issue of Kashmir.

An indication of this policy shift came in the Joint Declaration of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) issued on November 23, 1990, at the meeting in the Maldives capital of Male, which was attended by Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar. The declaration called on Iraq to leave Kuwait and to comply with all U.N. Security Council resolutions. A few days later, India supported U.N. Resolution 678 authorizing the use of force if Iraq failed to withdraw from Kuwait by the Security Council-stipulated deadline of January' 15, 1991. By the end of November 1990, New Delhi's originally low-key condemnation of the Iraqi invasion had become stronger and explicit with its rejection of any linkage between the Kuwaiti and Palestinian issues.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-2

3. What are the basic differences in approach to international relations between India and U.S.A.?

4. Explain in about India's policy towards the independence movements in the African countries?

14.9 LET US SUM UP

It would be however historically inaccurate to dismiss the Moderate and Extremist efforts as futile simply because of the historical role they discharged in conceptualizing nationalist struggle in an organized manner. With a well-defined political agenda, the Congress leadership of both varieties identified the true nature of the principal political contradiction in a colony between the ruler and the ruled. There were various counts where the efforts were neither well-tuned to the requirement nor well-directed involving the people regardless of religion,

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caste and clan. In fact, the failure of the Congress in its formative years to address the social contradiction between the Hindus and Muslims led to the growth of the Muslim League in 1906 as the sole champion of the Muslims socio-political interests in British India. From now on, a significant section of Indian Muslims asserted a separate identity vis-à-vis Congress and the government. Given the class bias of the Hindus, the chasm between these two principal communities had grown bigger in course of time. If this was one side of the coin, the other side provided the foundation for a qualitatively different experiment in organized politics, conducted by Gandhi through nonviolence in the post-war period. Redefining the Extremist method of Swadeshi, boycott and strict in the changed environment when the imperial power became more brutal than before, Gandhi easily globalized the masses in the anti-British campaign. The Congress in the Gandhian phase of nationalist struggle was completely transformed into a movement that had its tentacles even in remote villages. So, Gandhi's success as a leader of a gigantic mass movement against perhaps the most organized imperial power was largely due to the organizational backing of the Congress that remained a mere platform for annually ventilating grievances against the British as well as settling scores against the fellow congressmen.

14.10 KEYWORDS

Bi-Polar: Division between two groups and division between more than two is called multi-polar

Bloc Politics: Two or more countries forming a group act or judge political question.

Disarmament: Reduction of the number of weapons, especially nuclear weapons that a country has.

Non-alignment: Making & independent decisions on international issues by a country without being tied to any particularly country or group of countries.

Extremist: a person who holds extreme political or religious views, especially one who advocates illegal, violent, or other extreme action.

14.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss Nehru's contribution to the foreign policy of India.
2. How did Pakistan try to exploit the perceived weakness of Lal Bahadur Shastri? What was the outcome?
3. Discuss India's relations with Soviet Union in about ten lines?
4. What were the main causes of discord between India and Pakistan?
5. Discuss the main achievements of India's foreign policy during the initial years of the 21st Century

14.12 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- Iain Hampshire Monk, A history of modern Political thought
- David Boucher and Paul Kelly (eds.), Political thinkers from Socrates to the Present
- C.B. Macpherson, The Political theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke
- Leo Strauss, Thoughts on Machiavelli (refer the book from Indian politics)

14.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Both India and Pakistan wanted to attain self-sufficiency in food by utilizing the waters of the Indus. The partition gave India only five million of the 28 million acres of land irrigated by the Indus system. Most of the waters of the western rivers went into the sea while some Pakistani canals depended on the eastern rivers flowing through the East Punjab for their supplies. India's hopes for agricultural development were based on the utilization of these eastern rivers, i.e. the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. The fact, that the headworks of some vital canals in Pakistan fell within the territory of India created tension between the two countries.

Notes

2. The five important principal India foreign policy are, non-participation in any military alliance, independence to international issues and to work for world peace through diamante explain these principles in two or three sentences. See sec 14.2.2.
3. India's 'stand against colonial rule and apartheid, India's sympathy and support for the liberation movement in Africa, India's attempt to draw the world opinion in favor of the struggling Africans.
4. On the issue of forming military alliances, unconditional support to anti-colonial movement, issue of Kashmir, etc.