

balance of power - nervous state of peace

policy maker is to have a similar approach.

Neoclassical realists suggest to adopt both structure level analysis as well as actor level analysis. We can't overlook personality factor, domestic factors in foreign policy making.

Liberal School of thought Liberal theories of Intⁿ Politics.

Purpose of Realists:

Purpose is security & survival. For realists wars remain an inevitable fact of the relations among nations. They can't escape from war.

Realists will depend on hard power & primarily the military power. The only way peace is ensured is balance of power. Realists don't see the possibility of nations working for common interest. In

Intellectual influences on Realism are

Thucydides, Hobbes, Machiavelli.

Realists are known as children of darkness.

Liberals:

Main concerns of Liberal.

Liberals talk about peace & prosperity.

Liberals have optimistic views of human nature.

Liberals believe that nations are capable of working in cooperation. For liberals, what is needed is "Power of Ideas". If we have such ideas which promote peace we can transform the status quo.

Realists Interaction
 state-state.
Liberals. Track 2 diplomacy

Since liberals believe in power of ideas, they are called by realists as idealists. Though in our times it is not appropriate to call liberals as idealists because we are also witnessing the concrete results of liberal ideas which have brought qualitative transformation in relations among nations in certain regions, e.g. Western Europe.

Liberals are called as children of light because they are optimistic about the future of intⁿ politics.

Intellectual influences on liberalism

- John Locke

For Locke, man is self interested as well as man has reason.

- Immanuel Kant

He has written a pamphlet titled 'Perpetual Peace'.

- Promotion of Democracy / Republican form of govt
- Free Trade / Economic Interdependence

- Richard Cobden

Suggests to keep politicians out & give charge to technicians, scientists, economists.

Key schools of thoughts.

Major prescriptions of Peace by liberals.

- Liberal Institutionalism

- Sociological Liberalism

- Interdependence

- Democratic Peace Theory

20510
SC. 500

Security not just military, also ~~also~~

Key thinker
Karl Deutsch

It is also known as communications theory.

~~Socia~~ He proposed the concept of Security Community as an alternative to security dilemma.

Meaning of security community:

That community will be treated as security community where members do not treat each other as a cause of threat to their security.

They believe that, threats to the security are external & not within the community. They believe in common threats coming from outside the community. W. Europe, N. America are examples of security communities.

W. Europe & N. America form trans-atlantic security community. Countries of ASEAN has also been quite successful in establishing

ASEAN community. However, South Asia, Middle East does not reflect the emergence of security community. The countries consider each other as a cause of threat. Countries in these regions not only face security dilemmas but they also face "insecurity dilemma". (internal security threats).

4/10/14

Limitations of sociological liberalism / security community

For emergence of security community

some preconditions are required e.g.

In case of European Union, factors like political will, common threat of communism

& external push factor like USA supporting integration efforts along with common value systems have resulted into emergence of

security community. In case of S.E. Asia

also, push factors like role of USA, promoted integration of these countries against threat of communism, besides the political will.

In case of South Asia & Middle East, we see nations suffering from insecurity dilemma along with security dilemma. There has been no push factor for integration of S. Asia or Middle East.

Functionalism

David Mitrany

Neo-functionalism: Ernst Haas

Functionalism is also a formula for

regional integration. European Union is

an example of regional integration based on functionalist approach.

Functionalist conception of sovereignty

During WWII it was recognised that

monistic theories of state sovereignty

need to be modified to avoid aggressive form of nationalism. Hence scholars propounded pluralist theory of state sovereignty. One of the ideas of pluralist theory was functionalist notion of sovereignty. All powers should not lie with the state & there should be shift of power from state to specialised associations e.g. European Coal & Steel Community that will take ultimate decisions w.r.t. production of coal.

Peace by piece

Functionalist approach works on 3 concepts

- Go for sectoral approach. Distinguish betⁿ doable & non doable issues. Try to achieve cooperation in doable issues. e.g. under composite dialogue process betⁿ India & Pakistan, 2+6 framework of talks was adopted. First 2 issues were Kashmir & Nuclear issue, other six issues were Sir Creek, Siachen, Trade, Terrorism, Exchange (cultural), etc were included. It was expected that the 2 countries can come at an agreement on Sir Creek or trade. This will help in bridging the trust deficit betⁿ the 2 countries. Kashmir & Nuclear issue should not impact progress on doable issues.

Spin of effects

Cooperation in 1 sector will create an enabling environment for cooperation in

other sectors.

Functional linkages

Once a country starts cooperating in one sector it develops interdependence & functional linkages which also create an environment for resolution of more difficult issues.

Functionalism is also based on Cobden's idea of keeping politicians out. At initial level the lead to be taken by technicians, journalists, artists, scientific community.

Neo-functionalism

It suggests that we can't keep politicians out for all times. There is a limit to which technical cooperation can move. At some point of time political will will be required to take cooperation forward.

Limitations of functionalism as an approach.

- It is a time taking process & needs lot of patience & exceptional political will.
- Success of EU is not simply because of functionalist approach but also because of push & pull factors like role of USA & threat of communism & later on Europe's position in global economy.
- It also requires that there should be some amount of compatibility in cultural

and political values, national identities, consolidation of nationalism within the country.

Democratic Peace Theory

Michael Doyle

Democracies do not go for war with each other. Theory is based on Immanuel Kant's idea of republican peace.

Theory is also based on the experience of Western Europe & N. America.

Why democracies do not go for war against each other?

- Pressure of public opinion
- Domestic political culture which supports peaceful resolution of disputes rather than violent actions.
- Democracies form zone of peace because they are based on common values.

Criticism

It is simply a coincidence that countries in Western Europe have not gone for war. But we can't attribute this fact to the belief that democracies will not go for war. Democratic Peace Theory comes under criticism because it becomes the basis for the justification of

intervention in domestic affairs of countries by Western countries. Democracy introduced at gunpoint as happened in case of Iraq can't be conducive for peace. China & Russia view these theories as an attempt for regime change in other countries & install puppet govts. It is also true that we can't reject the theory altogether. It does provide a reason, i.e., public opinion as a factor to deter war. As far as Ind-Pak relations are concerned, it is believed that if democracy gets strengthened in Pak, it will have impact in improving the relations. However, democracy needs to be democracy in proper sense which empowers civil society of Pakistan.

Interdependence

Interdependence means Economic interdependence.

Richard Rosecrance

Golden Arches Theory - Thomas Friedman

It is also based on ideas of Immanuel

Kant & Woodrow Wilson. Kant in his

'perpetual peace' & Woodrow Wilson

in his 14 points suggested promotion of

free trade among nations. In recent times

supporters of globalisation or economic

interdependence believe that once economic

interdependence increases, stakes in each others'

economy increases & nations will not prefer war as an option. One of the reason for conflictual situations betⁿ India & Pakistan is very limited amount of economic interdependence. One of the reason cited for change in India - China relations is economic interdependence.

Thomas Friedman has suggested that the 2 countries having McDonald's chain will not go for war.

Richard Rosecrance

He suggests to promote the idea of trading states rather than military states.

It means country should aspire to become economic superpower rather than military superpower. According to him, example of Japan & Germany are better than that of former USSR & USA at present. Too much reliance on military power may result into a situation where country overstretch~~ed~~ itself & will bring decline to itself.

Complex Interdependence

Keohanne

Nye

This approach criticises structural realism & according to this approach structural realism does not provide realistic explanation of the nature of relations.

among states.

Nature of the theory :

- Theory is a descriptive tool rather than prescriptive. Unlike other schools of liberalism which suggest how to establish peace among nations, this theory attempts to explain the nature of relations as they are in post-cold war world order. It can be treated as more scientific & realistic than structural realism.

It highlights some of the drawbacks of structural realism. e.g. for realists, states are the only actors in international politics whereas present world order show the rise of transnational actors like MNCs, civil society organisations or advocacy groups.

- For realists there is a hierarchy of issues & military, security agenda is on the top for complex interdependence theorists, hierarchy among issues do not exist, all issues have become significant & actually the military & strategic issues are pushed under the carpet & economic issues & issues of collective concern like climate change, trade talks have become more important.
- We can't say that int'l politics is nothing but struggle for power at present. We observe cooperation as well as conflict.

Complex interdependence theorists have modified liberalism also, making it more realistic. It does not reject realism altogether

6/10/14

rather incorporates realism also. It is not that only trade matters & strategic issues are of no concern. We have become interdependent in a very complicated sense. New areas of cooperation have emerged & old issues of conflict continue to exist.

Marxist school of Intⁿ Politics

Introduction

Marxist theory of Intⁿ Politics is actually Marxist theory of Intⁿ Political Economy.

Core idea of Marxist theory is criticism of global expansion of Capitalism. Marx himself has never provided any theory of relations among nations. He only discussed conflict betⁿ classes in domestic context. However,

Marx does talk about "Proletarian Internationalism".

He expects workers of the world to unite & fight against Capitalism. Marx viewed nationalism as an instrument of Capitalism.

He always emphasised that real interest is class interest & not national interest.

Marxist theory of intⁿ politics is contribution of Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg

Lenin's contribution

Lenin in his book "Imperialism: the highest stage of Capitalism" has analysed politics in international sphere from the perspective of Capitalism. He held that