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History of International Relations as a discipline

IR has developed from ancient Greece to today. We'll explore ideas like statecraft, international law, and world history, and how they relate to IR. IR covers more than just relations between countries; it also includes economic, social, and cultural interactions, as well as connections between nations and international organizations. The main issue in IR is understanding war and peace. Over time, IR has developed various concepts and theories to analyze these topics.

The study of International Relations (IR) became a distinct academic field throughout the 20th century after World War I. One interesting and challenging aspect of IR is its close connection with other related fields. This connection raises debates about whether IR is an independent subject within social sciences. Countries can't exist without interacting with each other. These interactions can take many forms and happen at various levels—not just officially but also through groups, associations, and international institutions. The study of IR looks at how people behave in these international interactions, which occur regularly and follow certain patterns.

1.The Initial Phase:

International Relations (IR) started as a distinct academic field in Britain with the creation of the first IR professorship: the Woodrow Wilson Chair at Aberystwyth, University of Wales, in 1919. The Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, also founded in 1919, is the oldest IR study center in the U.S. In the early 1920s, the London School of Economics set up its Department of International Relations. Soon, other universities in the U.S., Geneva, and Switzerland established IR departments.

The establishment of positions like the Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at London School of Economics and Oxford helped develop IR as a serious academic field. Initially, the study of IR focused on general history, diplomatic history, and international law. Capitalizing "International Relations" helped differentiate it from general international politics.

The main goal of IR was to promote peace and cooperation, inspired by the League of Nations. However, the Great Depression in 1929 and the rise of Hitler in 1933 began to blur the lines between domestic and foreign policies. This led to new challenges in IR, and eventually, World War II showed that earlier efforts to achieve world peace were ineffective.

2. The Cold War Period:

World War I and World War II had a huge impact on how International Relations (IR) was studied and taught. After World War II, it became clear that military science should be included in IR studies. The importance of psychology was also recognized, as IR began to explore why countries acted the way they did. This focus on practical realities helped shape IR as a science.

During the Cold War, which started in 1945, the study of IR changed significantly. The nation-state system became more formal and global, including countries from all continents. Before World War II, most of Africa and Asia were under colonial rule, but during the Cold War, many new nation-states emerged in these regions.

Additionally, as international politics moved away from Europe to focus on the Third World, the balance of power and collective security systems changed. Political institutions like foreign policy and diplomacy became more democratic, involving more people in their processes and outcomes. The development of nuclear weapons made war extremely dangerous, leading people to demand peace, disarmament, and stronger international organizations.

The establishment of the United Nations also boosted the study of IR. The Cold War was a key time for IR, introducing new ideas and theories such as détente, ideological conflict, containment, and new concepts like neo-realism and pluralism.

3. The Post-Cold War Period:

After the Cold War ended in 1989, the Soviet Union, which was one of the two major superpowers after World War II, collapsed. This led to the creation of new countries and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Germany was reunified, and the world shifted to a more unipolar structure with one dominant power.

Despite rapid globalization, the nation-state system remains central to the study of International Relations (IR). International organizations like the United Nations, regional groups like the European Union, and multilateral groups like BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) are adapting to try and reshape this system.

The fundamental idea of a large number of states coexisting, with each focused on its own sovereignty and national power, still applies. The post-Cold War era also saw major events such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in the United States, which highlighted new global issues.

This period has introduced new challenges and theories in IR, including globalization, terrorism, climate change, and shifting power structures. New theories like neo-classical realism, social constructivism, and feminism have expanded the field of IR, making it more diverse and complex.

Scope of International Relations

1.Nation State System or Nation States: Nation states are the primary actors in International Relations. Naturally, International Politics studies relations and interactions between two or more states. Each state is conditioned by its geography, resources, population, level of industrial and technological development, ideology, diplomacy, national interest etc. Hence the study of inter-state relations necessitates a study of the basic actors and these factors.

2.National Interest : Since national interest is the objective that each nation craves to secure during the course of relations with other nations, it becomes imperative for International Politics to study national interests of various nations.

3.National Power : The concept of national power is the core concept in the study of International Politics. Nations are actors but these always act on the basis of their national powers. Realistically speaking relations among nations are of the nature of struggle for power. Morgenthau holds that International Politics can be understood only if viewed as "Interest defined in terms of power". National power determines the role and ability of a nation to carry out its foreign policy objectives. It is customary to characterize nations as super powers, major powers, big powers, small powers, or weak powers, and this amply reflects the importance of national power in International Politics, Power is at the basis of all inter-state relations and as such it forms an important part of the subject matter of International Politics.

4.Foreign Policy : The behaviour of each state in International Relations is always directed and controlled by its foreign policy. Foreign policy is a thought out course of action for securing the objectives of national interest of the nation. The basis of foreign policy is the national power of the nation. A study of foreign policies of various nations alone can explain the nature of relations among nations. No one can hope to understand the nature of present day international relations without a study of the foreign policies of all major powers.

5.Economic Instruments of International Relations : The increased importance and role of economic and trade relations in International Politics can be hardly overestimated. Economic relations among nations form a very important part of International Relations. Today, economic instruments - Foreign Aid, Loan, Trade etc., are the most important means of influencing the course of relations. Political relations are being conditioned and guided by economic relations. Hence the study of economic relations, forms an integral part of the scope of International Politics.

6. International Institutions and Regional Organisations : An outstanding feature of the contemporary period has been the rapid growth of international institutions and organizations as the institutionalized means for the conduct of relations among nations.

Some of these are truly international/universal in nature like the United Nations, while many other areas by definition are regional organizations like NATO, OAS, OAU, OPEC, ASEAN, ECO, EU, SAARC, IOR-ARC etc., Alongwith them several other trading blocs eg. (NAFTA and APEC) and groups like G-8, G-77 G-20, G-24 and others have emerged as an important players. These international and regional organizations act as supranational actors in international relations. These have been exercising considerable influence over the course of relations among nations and hence these stand included in the subject-matter of International Politics.

7. Non-State Actors: Rise of several active non-state international or supra-national or trans-national actors, NGOs, Human Rights Organisations, Peace Movements and other such actors in the international environment has necessitated the inclusion of the study of the role of these actors in international system.

8. Regulators of International Relations: There have been in operation several concepts which have guided. and are still guiding and controlling the behaviour of nations in the international environment. The concepts of Balance of Power, Regionalism, Functionalism Disarmament and Arms Control, Collective Security, International Law, World Public Opinion, Diplomacy, Integration, Globalisation etc., are the important principles, processes and concepts of international relations. These have been continuously influencing the actual operation of the foreign policies of all the nations. A student of International Politics has to study such regulators and principles.

9. Key Subjects of Study : Presently the scope of International Politics includes the study of all the factors and forces which direct, shape and condition the behaviour of nations in International Relations. Currently the study of International Politics includes a study of the behaviour of nations and all the factors and forces which shape and condition their behaviour. The key topic are : National Power, National Interest, Ideology, Foreign policy, Diplomacy, Disarmament, Arms Control, Nuclear weapons, Problems of international peace and security, Regionalism and Regional Organisations, MNCs, TNCs, Economic Instruments of Policy, Nationalism, Internationalism, Major International Movements and Trends, International Institutions, World Public Opinion, World Government, Balance of Power, Collective Security, Imperialism, Neo-colonialism, Neo Imperialism, War & Peace, Conflict Resolution, International power structure and several more.

Thus the scope of International Relations has been very vast and fast expanding. International Politics has been a fast developing discipline. After the establishment of the first chair of International Relations in 1919, it has been registering rapid developments, It has been keeping pace with the highly dynamic and developing nature of relations among nations, Hence its scope has been very expanding.

Traditional Approaches to the Study of International Relations

International Relations (IR) traditionally revolves around two main schools of thought: Realism and Idealism.

1. Realism

Realism focuses on power and conflict as central to international relations. Influenced by thinkers like Kautilya, Machiavelli, and 20th-century scholars like George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau, realists believe that nations act primarily in their own self-interest. Similar to individuals, states are motivated by the need to protect themselves and pursue power. This struggle for power leads to constant conflict among nations. Realists view national interest, defined in terms of power, as the key driver of foreign policy. Morality plays little to no role in international relations under this view.

Realists also emphasize the anarchic nature of international politics, where there is no overarching authority. This leads to competition and conflict between states. The distribution of power among nations explains the behavior of states and the nature of the global system. Figures like Morgenthau argue that nations prioritize national interest and security above all else, often leading to alliances or enmities based on *realpolitik* (practical politics). Power, whether military or economic, is both a goal and a means to achieve national objectives.

2. Idealism

In contrast, Idealism focuses on the potential for cooperation and peace in international relations. Idealists, such as St. Simon, Mahatma Gandhi, and Woodrow Wilson, believe in the inherent goodness of human nature and the possibility of a peaceful world order. They argue that reason, education, and international institutions can bring about a world free of war, inequality, and tyranny.

Idealism gained popularity after World War I, with Woodrow Wilson's 14-point plan for global peace advocating for the creation of international organizations like the League of Nations. Idealists emphasize the importance of international law, morality, and cooperation between states. They argue that global peace can be achieved through mutual understanding, diplomacy, and the rule of law.

Scientific or Behavioural Approaches to International Relations

1. System Theory:

- The central idea of Systems Theory is that the international arena is a system composed of interrelated parts, primarily states, along with international organizations, non-state actors, and multinational corporations.
- Each actor's actions and decisions are influenced by the structure of the international system. This structure includes both the distribution of power (i.e., whether the system is unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar) and the rules and norms governing international interactions.
- In Systems Theory, states are not seen in isolation but as part of a larger system where their actions are interconnected.
- The actions of one state, such as forming alliances or going to war, affect other states, leading to a ripple effect across the system.
- Non-state actors (like international organizations and multinational corporations) also play important roles by influencing state behavior or contributing to global norms.
- The theory emphasizes feedback loops, where the actions of one actor affect others, and their responses feed back into the system, often leading to changes in behavior.
- For example, if a major power like the United States changes its foreign policy, it may lead other countries to adjust their strategies in response, which then affects the international balance of power.
- One of the most important ideas in Systems Theory is that the international system is anarchic. This means there is no central authority (like a government) that regulates the behavior of states. Instead, states must navigate this system based on their own interests and power.
- The anarchic nature of the system often leads to a self-help approach, where states prioritize survival and security, given the uncertainty and potential for conflict with other states.

Morton Kaplan is a key figure in System Theory. He created models to explain how global politics could be organized. These include:

***Balance of Power System:** Used in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, where powerful states aimed to keep a balance of power.

***Loose Bipolar System:** Seen during the Cold War, where some countries stayed neutral despite two major power blocs.

***Tight Bipolar System:** A situation where countries are forced to align with one of two major power blocs.

***Universal Actor System:** Where a global organization like the UN gains widespread respect and influence, potentially leading to a form of world government.

***Hierarchical System:** Where one country becomes so powerful that it dictates terms to all other countries.

***Unit Veto System:** A hypothetical scenario where all states are hostile and armed with nuclear weapons.

2. Game Theory:

Game theory in International Relations (IR) is a mathematical and analytical tool used to understand how states and other international actors make strategic decisions in a competitive and interdependent environment. By modeling international interactions as “games,” game theory seeks to explain how these actors choose strategies that will maximize their outcomes, given the actions and preferences of others. Game Theory is a method for analyzing decisions in competitive situations where each player aims to maximize their benefits while minimizing losses. Developed by mathematicians and economists like Martin Shubik, Oskar Morgenstern, and Karl Deutsch, Game Theory helps to understand how decisions are made when participants have conflicting interests.

Key types of games in Game Theory include:

Zero-Sum Games: Where one player's gain is exactly another player's loss.

Non-Zero-Sum Games: Where outcomes can be shared, and one player's loss does not necessarily match another's gain.

Mixed Interest Games: Where players have both conflicting and shared interests.

Key Concepts in Game Theory

1. Players: In game theory, the participants (or “players”) are typically states, but they can also include non-state actors like international organizations or terrorist groups. These players make decisions based on their preferences and interests, often with the goal of maximizing security, power, or economic gains.

2. Strategies: A strategy refers to the set of actions a player can choose to take in a game. In international relations, this could include options like diplomacy, war, forming alliances, or sanctions. Players choose strategies by anticipating how others will react, aiming for the best possible outcome for themselves.

3. Payoffs: Payoffs are the results or consequences of the chosen strategies, typically measured in terms of gains or losses for each player. In IR, these could be territorial gains, economic benefits, or increased security. Each player seeks to maximize their payoff, while also taking into account the strategies and possible payoffs of others.

Classic Game Theory Models in International Relations

1. Prisoner's Dilemma:

- Scenario: Two actors (states) must decide whether to cooperate or defect (betray). Both actors would benefit from cooperation, but fear that the other will betray them, leading both to defect, resulting in worse outcomes for both.
- Application: The Prisoner's Dilemma is often used to explain why states may struggle to cooperate, even when it is in their best interest to do so. For example, in nuclear arms control, both states would be better off limiting their arsenals, but each fears the other might cheat, leading them to maintain or increase their own stockpiles.

2. Chicken Game:

- Scenario: Two actors are on a collision course (like two cars speeding toward each other). Each actor can either continue forward or swerve. If both swerve, the outcome is neutral. If one swerves while the other does not, the one who swerves "loses." If neither swerves, they both crash.
- Application: The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) is often modeled as a game of chicken. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union were on a collision course with the deployment of nuclear weapons. The goal was to force the other to "swerve" (back down) without backing down first.

3. Stag Hunt:

- Scenario: Two hunters can cooperate to hunt a stag, which requires collaboration and results in a big payoff, or they can individually hunt rabbits, which yields a smaller but guaranteed reward. If one hunter defects to chase a rabbit, the other cannot catch the stag alone and is left with nothing.
- Application: The Stag Hunt models situations where cooperation is necessary to achieve large benefits. For example, in international climate change negotiations, all countries benefit from reducing emissions, but if one country defects (pursues its own economic interest by ignoring emission cuts), it may benefit while the others lose.

POWER

Power is the crux of politics-local, national and international. Since the beginning of humanity power has been occupying the central position in human relations. In order to comprehend international politics and relations the study of the concept of power is must. The relations between the state and power is very close. In this way, all inter state relations are ultimately -relations of power politics. Politics is nothing than the pursuit and exercise of power and that political relations are mainly power relations. Study of international relations reveals that power has been the most crucial means for achieving national interests. That is why every nation wants to attain maintain and utilize power. It is both an end as well as means of international politics. The position of a state in the comity of nations is determined not by its civilization or culture or literary contribution, but by its power. Every state possesses power though in different amount and kind. Thus, one cannot ignore power while studying international relations.

Meaning of Power

- Kautilya wrote about power in the fourth B.C. as the "possession of strength" (an attribute) derived from three elements: knowledge, military and valor.
- Hans Morgenthau defined power as relationship between two political actors in which actor A has the ability to control the mind and actions of actor B. Thus power, in the words of Morgenthau "may comprise anything that 'establishes and maintains control of man over man (and it) covers all social relationship which serve that end, from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one controls another".
- Duchacek defines it as "the capacity to produce intended effects-to realize one's will." Thus, power is the ability to control the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own intentions and interests.

Kinds of Power:

a. Physical Power:

Military strength is known as physical power. Both the USA and Russia are top-ranking powers because their military is under the control of political leaders. When this balance is disturbed, military leaders can take over political power. This is how coups (sudden changes in government) happen in many countries, where political power is taken by force.

With rapid technological development, military power is now divided into different branches, like the army, air force, navy, and more recently, the nuclear forces with missiles. This separation of military power into different branches helps protect political leaders from being overthrown by military commanders. This division is also why India does not have a unified command over all three military branches.

b. Psychological Power:

Psychological power is the ability to influence public opinion. It involves using symbols and messages to appeal to people's emotions, which is similar to propaganda. Propaganda aims to control the thoughts and actions of others, and it can be used for either good or bad purposes. This type of power is important for raising the morale of citizens, conducting psychological warfare abroad, and gaining moral leadership worldwide.

Governments use psychological power carefully. For ex, in India, the Republic Day Parade, showcasing tanks and weapons, is meant to show other nations its growing military strength. Similarly, the Kremlin used to display rockets and tanks during the anniversary of the October Revolution to demonstrate its power.

Countries also use propaganda to build psychological influence in other nations. Many have special broadcasting services for foreign audiences. For example, All India Radio broadcasts in languages like Russian, Chinese, Hindi, Bengali, and English. BBC, Voice of America, and Tashkent Radio also broadcast in many languages worldwide. The goal of psychological power is often to weaken rival countries by encouraging disloyalty among their citizens and turning them against their governments.

c. Economic power:

Economic power is the ability to influence the actions of other nations by having more control over resources, goods, and services. A highly industrialized and economically strong country can influence poorer nations by providing them with financial aid, capital, and technical assistance. Economic growth gives a nation the ability to persuade other countries and resist pressure from them, both of which are key ways of using power.

A prosperous nation can use its ability to buy and sell goods to strengthen its power through international trade. Foreign trade can make other countries economically dependent. For example, Nepal and Bhutan rely on India for trade, and U.S. multinational companies dominate the economies of Latin American countries, with two-thirds of their foreign trade connected to the U.S. While developed countries provide economic aid to developing countries, this aid creates a stockpile of debt but does not always result in clear political benefits.

Methods of Exercising Power

The question arises how can Nation A influence Nation B? How can it exercise power? There are four means and methods by which one nation can influence or control other as per own its desire. These are:

a. Persuasion:

It is the most common and widely used way of exercising power. In this method what Nation A does is to influence Nation B by way of arguments or superior logic or to redefine the whole situation so that nation changes its mind about what it ought to do. Most of the delegates of international organizations employ this method and persuade each other. Small nations largely rely on this less expensive method because they lack power and means to coerce.

b. Rewards:

Nation A can regulate Nation B for doing what Nation A wants by offering its various rewards. Rewards for compliance may include psychological manipulation, material support, economic aid, military assistance and political support. A diplomat may alter his stand to win the appreciation of his fellow diplomats from other nations. The rewards can be material in the shape of territory, military aid, weapons, troops and training facilities, or economic in the form of aid, loans, grants, capital supply, technical assistance etc. or political rewards which consist of support for another nation's viewpoint in international conferences and forums.

c. Punishment:

Rewards and Punishment have close relationship. The most effective Punishment is to withhold reward. Punishment may also include hostile activities like unfriendly propaganda, diplomatic opposition and aid to the enemy of the state concerned. It, however, should be threatened in advance and not actually carried out.

d. Force:

Punishment is usually threatened as a preventive measure but when it is actually carried out, it becomes the use of force. Thus, punishment and force are not strictly separated from each other though some distinction from the viewpoint of prevention and actually, and the intensity of hostility, between these two is made for purpose of analysis. The most extreme form of the use of force is war. Force is always used as the last resort when the above three methods prove futile.

Role and Use of Power

a. National Security:

Defending its land and sovereignty is the main goal of any modern country. National security is a top priority and an important factor in shaping a country's foreign policy. Power is crucial for achieving this goal. Every country has a department or ministry responsible for defense, showing the importance of military strength for national security. Many nations have fought wars to defend themselves.

During the Cold War, the USA justified its large nuclear arsenal as a "deterrent," meaning it would prevent the Soviet Union from attacking by making it clear that the U.S. could survive a surprise attack and respond with equal force. In the Gulf War (1991), the U.S. protected its interests and forced Iraq to leave Kuwait using its superior military forces.

b. Preserving status Quo:

The policy of status quo aims to keep the current distribution of power unchanged. This often happens after a war, where a peace treaty marks a shift in power. Nations following the status quo policy use their power to maintain this new balance. For example, from 1815 to 1848, some European governments followed this policy to protect the Peace Settlement of 1815. The Monroe Doctrine (1823) and Truman Doctrine (1946) are examples of the U.S. using power to maintain the status quo in the Americas and Western Europe, respectively.

The policy allows small changes but will not accept major shifts that threaten the leading position of the nation following the policy.

c. Changing Status Quo:

Nations also use power to change the status quo in their favor or pursue imperialism. When a country tries to alter the existing distribution of power to its advantage, it is following a policy of imperialism.

The most direct form of imperialism is military imperialism, which involves using military force to expand. Historical figures like Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Hitler, and more recently, Saddam Hussein, used military power for expansion.

Economic imperialism, or neo-colonialism, is more subtle. It involves controlling foreign markets, exporting capital, providing economic aid and loans, and operating multinational corporations.

Cultural imperialism is another subtle method. Instead of conquering land or engaging in economic control, it aims to change the balance of power by influencing people's minds through propaganda. Just as nations prepare for military threats, they also use their power to counteract economic and cultural influence.

d. Use in Diplomacy:

Power is also utilized by a nation's diplomats. Diplomats of a powerful country act more confidently in their diplomatic activities than diplomats of the less powerful states. Power helps nations at the negotiation table. It enable a nation to advance its claims or to resist the claims of other nations. Likewise it can be said that diplomatic strength comes out of political power. If a country is powerful its can effectively employ the means of persuasion and reward and their threat of punishment and use of force will carry more weight during diplomatic negotiations and maneuvering.

e. Enhancing Prestige:

States use power to boost their global prestige by demonstrating their strength. This is often done through military displays during events like Independence Day or Republic Day, and by exchanging fleets or visiting other nations' armed ships. Such demonstrations show a country's military capability and solidarity with allies, particularly before conflicts or when threatened. Mobilization is another way to exhibit power, signaling readiness to defend itself and its military strength. Maintaining a balance between apparent prestige and actual power is crucial, as misleading displays of strength or neglecting prestige can both be problematic.

f. Serving National Interests:

Power is used not only to fulfill vital national interests such as national security and independence, preserving status quo and prestige etc. but also to accomplish other national interests. These may be geographical, political, economic, social, educational, scientific, technical, strategic, cultural and so on. Each country may have its own national interests according: to its specific needs and conditions. A alone can help achieve all these interests. More powerful a country is more easy will it be for it to achieve them than the other nations. Power is thus the main tool used by nations to fulfill their various national interests.

Elements of National Power

National power refers to a state's overall ability to influence others internationally. It consists of various elements, which are challenging to define precisely due to their complexity. Elements of national power can be classified in different ways, such as stable vs. unstable, tangible vs. intangible, and human vs. non-human.

Simply having these elements doesn't guarantee power; how effectively they are used is what truly determines a nation's power. These elements are interrelated and can't be measured with high accuracy—only estimated. They also change over time due to natural and technological factors. National power relies on a combination of these elements, rather than any single factor, and includes both tangible and intangible components.

Elements will be comprehensively divided into five categories. These are:

I. Natural Elements-Geography, natural resources and population.

II. Scientific and Technological Elements-Industrial capacity, agricultural capacity and military strength.

III. Political Elements-Type of government, bureaucratic organization and efficiency, wisdom of leadership and quality of diplomacy.

IV. Social and Ideological Elements- Ideologies, National morale, National character, Social Structure and Social Cohesiveness.

V. External and other Elements- Reputation and image, foreign support, international strategic position and intelligence. T

NATIONAL INTEREST

National Interest" is a key concept in International Relations. All the nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated on the basis of its national interest and it is always at work for securing 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 behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. Hence it is essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest.

"The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states"—Morgenthau.

National interest is a vague and unclear term that changes meaning depending on the situation in which it is used. Leaders and decision-makers often use it to suit their own goals and to justify the actions of their countries. For example:

- **Hitler** justified his expansionist policies by claiming they were in the "German national interest."
- **U.S. presidents** have often defended the development of more destructive weapons as being necessary for the "U.S. national interest." The building of a nuclear base at Diego Garcia was explained as a way to counter the threat from the USSR and to protect U.S. interests in the Indian Ocean.
- The **Soviet Union** defended its intervention in Afghanistan (1979-89) by saying it was in the "Soviet national interest."
- **China** has justified its border disputes with India and the Soviet Union by claiming they were actions taken to protect China's national interests.

Even today, the P-5 countries (the five permanent members of the UN Security Council) speak about non-proliferation and arms control as matters of "national interest" for all nations. These examples highlight how the concept of national interest is often unclear and open to interpretation. This lack of clarity makes it difficult to come up with a single, universally accepted definition of national interest. Still, many scholars have tried to define it.

Definition of National Interest:

- National Interest is: “What a nation feels to be necessary to its security and well being ... National interest reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts.” —Brookings Institution
- “National Interest is, that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states.” —Vernon Von Dyke
- National Interest means: “The values, desires and interests which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other “desires on the part of sovereign states”. —V.V. Dyke

Components of National Interest:

In describing the national interests that nations seek to secure a two-fold classification is generally made:

(A) Necessary or Vital Components: According to Morgenthau, the most important parts of national interest that foreign policy aims to protect are a nation's survival and identity. He breaks identity into three parts:

1. Physical identity: This includes the country's territory.
2. Political identity: This refers to the political and economic system of the country.
3. Cultural identity: This involves the historical values that are part of a nation's cultural heritage.

These are called "vital components" because they are essential for a nation's survival and can be clearly identified and studied. A country may even go to war to protect these key interests. When a nation makes foreign policy decisions, it is always focused on protecting and strengthening its security. Today, nations are working to secure international peace and security because the safety of each country is now closely tied to global peace and stability. Security is, therefore, a crucial part of national interest, and nations will sometimes use war to protect their vital interests.

(B) Non-vital or Variable Components of National Interest:

Non-vital components of national interest are those parts that depend on circumstances or the need to protect the vital components. They are influenced by many factors, such as the decision-makers, public opinion, political parties, group interests, and cultural or moral values. These non-vital interests are things that countries would like to achieve, but they wouldn't go to war for them. While vital interests are considered essential goals, non-vital interests are objectives of foreign policy.

TYPES OF NATIONAL INTEREST:

1. PRIMARY INTERESTS:

- These are the vital interests of a nation like that of security & Survival.
- These include the preservation of physical, political & cultural identity of the state against the possible encroachment from outside powers.
- These are permanent interests and the states must defend them at all costs.
- These interests cannot be compromised at all.

2. SECONDARY INTERESTS:

- These are less significant than the first category but quite important to the existence of the state.
- These include the protection of the citizens abroad, protection of the diplomatic immunities to the diplomatic staff, etc.

3. PERMANENT INTERESTS:

- These refer to relatively the long term interests of the state which rarely changes.
- For example, Great Britain wanted to maintain the freedom of navigation for many centuries for the protection of her overseas colonies & growing foreign trade.
- To cite another example, to be an economically self-reliant nation is the permanent interest of every nation.

4. VARIABLE INTEREST:

- Refers to those interests of a nation which are considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances.
- These are largely determined by the crosscurrents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests & partisan politics, and so on.

5. GENERAL INTERESTS:

- These refers to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economics, trade, diplomatic intercourse, etc.
- For example, It was the general interest of Britain to maintain the balance of power in European continent.

6. SPECIFIC INTERESTS:

- It is the logical outcome of the general interest but are defined in terms of time or space.
- For example, Britain maintained the independence of many nations for the sake of preservation of Balance of power in Europe.

7. IDENTICAL INTERESTS:

- These refers to interests which are held in common by a number of states.
- For example Countries of western Europe did not want the expansion of Soviet influence & its ideology in the region.
- Third world Countries wanted to join the NAM when it was formed.

8. COMPLIMENTARY INTERESTS:

- These are not identical interests but form some kind of basis for agreements & compromise.
- For example, Britain wanted independence of Portugal against Spain for control of Atlantic Ocean and Portugal accepted the hegemony of Britain as a safe means of defense against Spain.
- USA & Pakistan had a complimentary interest in containing Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

9. CONFLICTING INTERESTS:

- These are opposed Interests. These conflicting interests some times becomes complimentary interests or identical interest.
- For example, Kashmir issue is a conflicting interest between India and Pakistan.

Methods for the Securing of National Interest

1. Diplomacy as a Means of National Interest

Diplomacy is a widely accepted way for countries to achieve their national interests. It allows a nation's foreign policy to reach other countries. Diplomats build relationships with decision-makers and diplomats from other nations to negotiate and achieve their country's goals.

Diplomacy involves presenting national interests in a way that persuades other countries to accept them as fair. Diplomats use persuasion, rewards, and threats to get other nations to agree to their objectives.

Diplomatic negotiations are the most effective way to resolve conflicts and bring together different interests. Diplomacy involves compromise and cooperation to secure national goals. It is a universally recognized method for achieving national interests, and Morgenthau considers it the most important. However, not all national interests can be achieved through diplomacy.

2. Propaganda

Propaganda is another important method for achieving national interest. It is like salesmanship, aimed at convincing others of the fairness of a nation's goals. Propaganda seeks to influence the minds, emotions, and actions of people in other countries to support a nation's objectives.

As Frankel describes, "Propaganda is a systematic attempt to influence a group for a specific purpose." It is aimed directly at the people of other nations to promote the interests of the propagandist country. With the growth of the internet and modern communication tools, propaganda has become a powerful way to gain support for national interests.

3. Economic Means

Wealthy and developed nations use economic aid and loans to achieve their national interests. The gap between rich and poor countries gives the rich countries an advantage in promoting their interests. Poor countries rely on rich nations for imports, technology, foreign aid, and selling raw materials, making economic tools a key part of foreign policy. In the era

of globalization, international economic relations have become an essential way to achieve national interests.

4. Alliances and Treaties

Alliances and treaties are agreements between two or more countries to achieve common interests. These agreements can focus on shared or even opposing interests, often made to counter a common enemy.

These alliances create a legal obligation for the members to work together to promote shared goals. Alliances can be for military or economic reasons. For example, NATO was created to protect democratic states from communist expansion, while the Warsaw Pact was formed to defend communist countries.

After World War II, economic alliances like the European Union helped rebuild Europe. In 1971, India signed a Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the Soviet Union to protect its national interests. Alliances and treaties are popular methods for securing national interests.

5. Coercive Means

The use of power in international relations is a well-known fact. Countries can use force to achieve their national interests. International law allows countries to use coercive methods, short of war, to reach their goals. These methods include interventions, embargoes, boycotts, and retaliation, which are used to pressure other nations to act in a certain way.

Although war and aggression are illegal, they are still sometimes used in international relations. Military power remains an important part of national power and is often used to achieve national goals. For example, the use of military force against international terrorism is now accepted as a legitimate way to fight this global threat.

Countries are free to use peaceful or coercive methods to achieve their national interests, but in the interest of world peace, they are encouraged to use peaceful methods whenever possible. While military power is still used, peaceful conflict resolution is considered the ideal method for promoting national interests.

BALANCE OF POWER

The "balance of power" refers to a state of stability between two or more competing powers. In international relations, it means maintaining a balance between countries or alliances so that no single country or group of countries can dominate the others. The main goal of the balance of power is to prevent any one state from using its power, whether legally or illegally, to control or pressure other countries, both within a region and globally. This balance ensures that an international or regional order is maintained, where the actions of one country are kept in check by others.

Realists and neo-realists in international relations theory have focused on the balance of power. These theories emphasize self-preservation, and the balance of power helps weaker states survive in the system by preventing stronger states from overwhelming them. Though these ideas are modern, the concept itself is as old as human civilization.

- Hans. J. Morgenthau has defined **“it refers to an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among several nations with approximate equality”**.
- Sidney B. Fay has defined the concept as “balance of power is such a ‘just equilibrium’ in power among the members of the family of nations as will prevent any one of them from becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon others”.
- As per Palmer and Perkins, “The balance of power assumes that through shifting alliances and countervailing pressures no one power or combination of powers will be allowed to grow so strong as to threaten the security of the rest”.

The main purpose of the balance of power is to protect a country's interests by keeping power balanced between nations using different methods. Some of these methods include war, threats, forming alliances and counter-alliances, creating buffer states, intervention, international pressure, building up arms, advanced technology, and sometimes persuasion.

The balance of power has been praised for helping maintain peace and security by limiting the aggressiveness of stronger countries. Throughout history, it has been successful in protecting smaller and weaker nations from being overpowered by stronger ones. While war is often seen as a key method of maintaining this balance, many conflicts have also been resolved through peace negotiations.

It is commonly accepted that countries often try to gain as much power as possible through military action, taking over land, and forming alliances, without always considering the interests of smaller or weaker states.

Methods of Maintaining Balance of Power

The following are the ways to maintain the balance of power:

1. Alliances and Counter-alliances:

Alliances are an important part of maintaining balance in a system where multiple countries are involved. Rival groups in this system have three options to improve their power:

- They can increase their own power.
- They can combine their power with other nations.
- They can prevent other nations from joining their opponents.

If they choose the first option, they enter into an arms race. If they choose the second or third options, they form alliances. When alliances are formed, counter-alliances often follow. For example, the Triple Alliance of 1882 between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy led to the formation of the rival Triple Entente in 1907 between Britain, France, and Russia. Alliances can be either offensive (to disrupt the balance in favor of its members) or defensive (to restore peace).

2. Armament and Disarmament:

Power is relative and depends on the context of a particular nation or group of nations. When faced with a threat, every nation tries to increase its power. The direct way to maintain the balance is by building up military strength. However, when there is a large gap in power between two nations, the weaker one may struggle to reach the level of its stronger rival. This method only works when the power difference between the nations is relatively small.

Disarmament, like armament, can also maintain the balance of power. If one country can keep its rival disarmed, it preserves the balance in its favor. However, disarmament is rarely used except in cases of defeated countries after a major war. For example, after World War I, the Allied powers tried to keep Germany permanently weak.

REALISM

Realism is considered as hegemonic (dominant) theory in international relations. As it supposedly provides the explanation for the state of war, which is the regular condition of life in international system. Realism focuses on power and conflict as central to international relations. Influenced by thinkers like Kautilya, Machiavelli, and 20th-century scholars like George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau, realists believe that nations act primarily in their own self-interest. Similar to individuals, states are motivated by the need to protect themselves and pursue power. This struggle for power leads to constant conflict among nations. Realists view national interest, defined in terms of power, as the key driver of foreign policy. Morality plays little to no role in international relations under this view. Realists also emphasize the anarchic nature of international politics, where there is no overarching authority. This leads to competition and conflict between states. The distribution of power among nations explains the behavior of states and the nature of the global system. Figures like Morgenthau argue that nations prioritize national interest and security above all else, often leading to alliances or enmities based on realpolitik (practical politics). Power, whether military or economic, is both a goal and a means to achieve national objectives

Thinkers:

Thucydides:

“while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.” - Thucydides

The origin of classical theory of realism is witnessed in the works of **Thucydides**. He not only described history but also analysed it. In ancient Greece, Athens attacked Sparta for fear of its rise. Thucydides has suggested that the main reason for war is fear and limited room is available to statesman. They can only respond by increasing their strength. Other state perceives it as offensive and gives rise to arms race. He has given the concept of Thucydides trap which states that the beginning of the war was driven by the fear associated with a shift in balance of power.

Machiavelli :

We witness the revival in Realism in works of Machiavelli and Hobbes. In his book, THE PRINCE, Machiavelli suggests that the only responsibility of prince is to protect his power and his subordinates. Machiavelli writes that the war and not peace is a normal condition in world affairs. Every solution, victory or compromise is only preparation of another war. *The promise given was a necessity of the past: the word broken is a necessity of the present.*

Dual morality - responsible ruler should not limit himself to religious ethics

Hobbes:

Thomas Hobbes deals with dilemma between internal order and international anarchy. According to him, internal order is source of international anarchy. The main reason for rivalry and competition among states is their independence. And the second reason is their jealousy. States are just instruments in hands of rulers which are applied for the purpose of war. Hobbes also suggest how it is not possible to establish world government. He calls state as Leviathan. He suggests that the Leviathans (states) will always fight. It is impossible to establish Leviathan over Leviathan (International government). States will never give up their sovereignty. Further, people will also not agree to world govt. because of their concern for security.

Realism in East :

*Kautilya

According to him, the state of relations between states is like jungle where strength of lion prevails. Every neighbouring state is an enemy. The king must be Vijigishu (ever hungry to acquire power).

Sun Tzu

The author of THE ART OF WAR. He has given various types of wars and strategies including guerrilla warfare.

Features of Realist school:

1. State-centric view of international politics.
2. International politics is in the state of anarchy.
3. In the absence of world government, security of the states depends on self-help.
4. Survival is the most important goal of nation states.
5. In the state of anarchy, the only way for survival is through self-help by increasing power.
6. Nations suffer from security dilemma. According to the realist, power is a zero-sum game. When one country increases power, the other is bound to feel insecure and enters into the struggle for power.

Types of Realism :

CLASSICAL REALISM

Morgenthau was the first person to give systematic view of realism in international politics in his book POLITICS AMONG NATIONS, first published in 1948. Morgenthau is influenced by Machiavelli. Morgenthau was fearful of American foreign policy makers developing some idealistic trends. Hence Morgenthau has written the six principles of realism to warn American foreign policy makers. He called these principles as 'scientific principles'.

1. **Human Nature.** He claims his theory is scientific as it is based on the scientific analysis of human nature. Like all politics, international politics is also based on human nature. According to him, man is animus dominandi, power seeking animal. Since states are run by humans, states are also power seeking.

2. **National Interest.** Like all actions of human beings are guided by self-interest, nations are guided by national interest. Survival is the fundamental national interest. The only way to secure the fundamental national interest is through power. In the words of Morgenthau, 'whatever may be the ultimate end, power is always the immediate end of foreign Policies'.

3. **On the nature of national interest.** Though national interest remains the permanent motivation, yet the national interest is highly dynamic. It keeps on changing because the world order keeps on changing.

4. **Role of ethics** Like Machiavelli, Morgenthau does not see the role of ethics in international politics. According to him, universal moral principles cannot be applied to the

conduct of states. According to him, pragmatism is the ethics of politics. It means we need not to look at what is right in all situations but what is right in given situation.

5. **Role of ideology.** He does not see any significance of ideology in international politics. Ideologies are the masks to hide real intentions. He even suggests that nation should not bring its ideas, ideologies, norms and values in its relations with other states.

6. **On nature of international politics** Like Machiavelli, Morgenthau also suggests that international politics is neither ethics nor law nor even economics. International politics is autonomous, it has its own rules.

Morgenthau does not see any role of international organisations, international law, he only believes that balance power, diplomacy, deterrence is the way to protect national interest. He classified countries based on foreign policy into 3 types

Status quoist- want the continuation of present system- USA

Revisionists - want change in the system - China

Imperialists - germany under hitler

STRUCTURAL REALISM [NEO REALISM] :

There are no differences as far as basic assumptions about international politics. The basic difference is in methodology. From Actor level analysis (Unit level analysis) to Structure level analysis. Hence neorealism is rightly called as structural realism.

Kenneth Waltz is known as **Detente** Realist. Detente was a phase during cold war, during which there was relaxation of tensions between superpowers. Hence Neo liberal scholars like Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye challenged the status of realism as the scientific theory of international politics. Hence Kenneth Waltz aimed to establish the scientific nature of realism and to prove that realism is 'timeless wisdom'. In 1979 we see the re-emergence of cold war, Same year Kenneth Waltz book THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS was published.

Unlike Morgenthau who goes for unit level analysis Kenneth Waltz goes for structure level analysis. Kenneth Waltz explained the structure of international politics as anarchical. Kenneth Waltz has shown the comparison between the structure of international politics and the structure of domestic politics. The structure of international politics is **anarchical** whereas domestic politics is **hierarchical**. the structure of international politics creates the situation of security dilemma and as a consequence international politics becomes the struggle for power. Kenneth Waltz also makes the difference between domestic and international politics in terms of **functional differentiation** – functional differentiation exists in domestic sphere among the three branches of govt. No functional difference exists in international politics

Capabilities – According to Kenneth Waltz, states in international politics may not differ in terms of functions which they perform but they differ in terms of capabilities. Capabilities denote the amount of power.

Mearsheimer's contribution

He also shifts analysis from actors to structures. He is a post-cold war realist. His book, *THE TRAGEDY OF GREAT POWER POLITICS* was published in 2001.

The end of cold war has shown the remarkable growth in cooperation. There has been phenomenal increase in the number of international institutions, regional organizations, global conventions.. Eg. WTO. The end of cold war led to the emergence of globalization denoting growth of interdependence. Thus, it was advocated that realist politics has no more relevance and international politics will now be conducted on the lines suggested by liberals. In above context Mearsheimer re-establishes the relevance of realism.

Mearsheimer has suggested following policies/options:

Mearsheimer suggested that the objective of China is to increase its power not for its security but for its dominance. According to Mearsheimer, states are 'power maximisers' rather than security maximisers. He suggested that the sooner USA takes steps to contain China, better it is. The reason is the gap between the powers of US and China is disappearing fast.

Direct action - There can be two methods

1. War – War may be effective but extremely costly
2. Blackmailing – Blackmailing may be cost effective but may not work. **Indirect actions**
 1. *Buck-passing* - It means shifting the burden to some other country. e.g., to India. It is to be noted that India is the ideal 'swing state' from the perspective of US administration.
 2. *Bait and Bleed* - Support one country and let the two countries bleed. It has been the traditional policy of USA to support the weaker country. e.g., Supporting Pakistan against India, India against China, Saudi Arabia against Iran.
 3. *Bloodletting* - Suppose two countries are fighting, then ensure that they continue to fight and thus weaken themselves. e.g., USA supplied arms to both the countries during Iran and Iraq war so that no one develops the capacity to emerge as a regional power.

NEO- CLASSICAL REALISM

The basic difference between structural realist and neoclassical realist is that the neo classical realist even includes actor level analysis along with structure level analysis. It is true that the structures of international politics constrain the choices and hence foreign policies show continuity. Yet we cannot ignore the role of actors or personality factors in shaping foreign policy. Actors do make a difference. E.g., Nehru

POST COLONIAL REALISM. / THIRD WORLD REALISM

The post-colonial scholars believe that the existing theories of international politics are Eurocentric. They are based on the experiences of European countries. They are not based on the history of non-western world. Even their suggestions may not be adequate for the non-western world. e.g., According to Mohammad Ayoub the concept of security dilemma is based on the European history and is of limited relevance for the states of third world, the reason being that the states in third world suffer more due to 'insecurity dilemma' i.e. Internal security challenges rather than external security.

Liberalism

Liberalism has been the main ideology shaping Western political thought, often seen as the core belief system of the industrialized West. It is sometimes even considered synonymous with Western civilization itself. Liberal ideas have greatly influenced the study of international relations, especially after World War I. These ideas are rooted in older traditions of "idealist" thinking, going back to philosophers like Immanuel Kant, who believed in the possibility of global peace, and even further to thinkers from the Middle Ages like Thomas Aquinas, who discussed "just war."

Although liberal ideas were sidelined after 1945 due to the failure of the liberal Versailles Settlement and the rise of realist thinking, they gained renewed attention from the 1970s. This revival often came in the form of neoliberalism, which removed some of the idealism from classical liberalism. The end of the Cold War, the rise of globalization, and a wave of democratization in the 1990s also boosted liberal theory.

The core idea of liberalism, in all its forms, is the belief that competing interests can be balanced or harmonized. Whether individuals, groups, or states pursue their own self-interest, a natural balance tends to emerge. In other words, conflict is never completely impossible to resolve. Liberals believe that just as economic life finds a natural equilibrium, states in the international system can also balance their interests, making peace and cooperation possible.

However, liberalism isn't completely separate from realism. Both theories agree that international politics is shaped by competition between states, which suggests that the international system will always be decentralized (without a single, overarching authority). The difference is that liberals think competition occurs within a broader framework of harmony, while realists focus more on conflict. This belief leads liberals to support international cooperation, while realists tend to underestimate how much cooperation can happen.

The key ideas in liberal theory are:

1. Interdependence liberalism: Interdependence liberalism focuses on the idea that trade and economic relations between countries are crucial for peace and cooperation. This idea goes back to the 19th century and thinkers like David Ricardo, Richard Cobden, and John Bright, who promoted commercial liberalism. They believed that free trade benefits countries by allowing each to focus on producing what they are best at (a concept called "comparative advantage").

More importantly, free trade creates economic ties between countries, making war less likely because the costs of conflict become too high. Cobden and Bright argued that free trade would connect people of different races, religions, and languages, fostering peace not only out of fear of losing vital goods but also because it would promote shared values and understanding.

This idea of interdependence has been expanded by neoliberals like Keohane and Nye, who developed the concept of complex interdependence. They argue that in today's globalized world, countries and people are more connected than ever, not just through economics but also in areas like

climate change, development, poverty reduction, and human rights. This challenges realism, which focuses mainly on military and diplomatic issues ("high politics"). Neoliberals argue that the global agenda now also includes "low politics" like welfare, environmental protection, and justice.

However, there are different views within interdependence liberalism. Strong liberals believe that the world has changed significantly, reducing the effects of anarchy and the need for self-defense, leading to greater peace and cooperation. Weak liberals, on the other hand, accept some realist ideas, such as the idea that the international system is still shaped by anarchy, showing that modern liberalism and realism sometimes overlap.

2. Republican liberalism: Republican liberalism, like classical realism, looks at international politics from an "inside-out" approach. This means that it starts by understanding the basic elements (like states) and builds conclusions about global affairs from there. While liberalism focuses on peace and international cooperation, contrasting with realism's focus on power politics, both theories agree that states are self-interested and can pose a threat to one another. However, liberals believe that a state's political and constitutional makeup has a big impact on how it behaves internationally.

Republican liberalism, a key part of this view, traces back to thinkers like Woodrow Wilson and Immanuel Kant. It holds that authoritarian or autocratic states are more likely to be aggressive and militaristic, while democratic states tend to be peaceful, especially when dealing with other democracies. Authoritarian regimes often rely on strong militaries to stay in power and use force both internally and externally. Since these regimes are immune to popular pressure, they may turn to military conflict to distract from domestic instability or strengthen their grip on power.

Democratic states, on the other hand, are seen as more peaceful because they are accountable to the people. Liberals believe that democracy acts as a safeguard against war, a theory known as the "democratic peace thesis." This idea became more prominent after the fall of communism, particularly through the writings of Francis Fukuyama. He argued that the spread of liberal democracy and market capitalism would lead to a more stable and peaceful global order, a concept he called the "end of history."

Liberals point to the fact that no two democratic countries have ever gone to war with each other as evidence for this theory, though wars between democracies and non-democratic states have occurred. They also highlight the creation of "zones of peace," regions made up of stable democracies, like in Europe, North America, and Australasia, contrasting with the "zones of turmoil" found in other parts of the world.

3. Liberal institutionalism: Liberal institutionalism emphasizes the importance of international organizations in managing the behavior of sovereign states. This idea is based on the domestic analogy, which suggests that we can understand international politics by looking at domestic politics. In domestic society, as theorized by philosophers like Hobbes and John Locke, people need a governing authority to avoid chaos. Similarly, liberals believe that in the international system, where there is no overarching authority, international organizations can provide the structure needed to maintain order and prevent conflict.

Woodrow Wilson, for example, envisioned turning the "jungle" of international politics into a "zoo" through the rule of law. The League of Nations was the first attempt to put this idea into practice, though it had limited success. However, the United Nations has since become a key institution in global politics, helping to establish a system based on collective security and international law.

Modern neoliberals have expanded on this idea through what is called neoliberal institutionalism. Unlike early liberals, who sometimes imagined a world of global harmony, neoliberals take a more practical approach. They argue that international institutions help states cooperate because it is in their self-interest. While neorealists claim that cooperation is difficult because states are focused on gaining more than others (relative gains), neoliberals believe that states will cooperate if they see they will benefit overall (absolute gains).

Neoliberals use this reasoning to explain the development of organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and regional groups like the European Union. These institutions help mediate cooperation between states. Neoliberals also point out the importance of informal institutions, which are not necessarily formal organizations but are sets of norms, rules, and standard procedures that shape behavior. This focus on informal institutions is part of what is called new institutionalism, which explains how international regimes operate and influence global politics.

Marxism

Marxism is a socio-political and economic theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the mid-19th century. It seeks to analyze the effects of capitalism on society and advocates for a classless, stateless society where the means of production are collectively owned. There is no contribution of Karl Marx to international politics as he focuses more on the domestic sphere but some of his ideas are relevant.

1. Marx did not believe in nationalism and its related to the nation- state, an instrument of capitalism.so, he called for the workers of the world to unite (proletariat internationalism)
2. Marx believed in the nature of capitalism to expand beyond the state borders for profits. It can be understood from his remark that the search for profits will make the capitalists to settle everywhere and nestle everywhere.
3. In marxism, it was Lenin, who developed the theory of international politics through his theory of imperialism. From the ideas of lenin emerges the dependency school. The theory of Marxism has been influential in global politics since its introduction by Karl Marx in analyzing International Relations. Even after 150 years, ideology still plays a significant role in social sciences. It seems to be the only IR theory named after the person who introduced it. It is concerned with not only explaining the laws and issues with capitalist globalization like global inequalities, class conflicts, exploitation of spheres of power and production, alienation and estrangement, but also suggests to replace with a form of universal cooperation and emancipation that promotes freedom and peace for all peoples.

Key Concepts:

Class Struggle: Marx argued that history is driven by the conflict between different classes. For Marx, the early stage of society was a communist where everyone was equal. It was followed by a slave society where the conflict was between the master and the slave. Then came the feudal system where the conflict was between the feudal lord(owner of huge land) and the landless or serf. With the emergence of the industrial revolution,the struggle started between the capitalists and workers. He says that this struggle leads to social change and the eventual overthrow of capitalism and establishment of communism again.

1. **Historical Materialism:** This principle posits that the material conditions of a society's mode of production (how goods are made and distributed) fundamentally shape its social structures, politics, and culture. This explains his **Base and superstructure model**. According to Marx, the existing social and political systems are dependent on the economic system that is existing in the society. For him, economy(materialism) defines everything. So, he puts the economic system at the base of the pyramid and other aspects like the education system, culture, political system on this base, indicating their source and dependence.
2. **Imperialism:** Marxist scholars, like Lenin, viewed imperialism as a stage of capitalism where capitalist nations exploit resources and labor in less developed countries. This exploitation spreads global inequalities and can lead to conflict.
3. **Dependency Theory:** Emerging from Marxist thought, dependency theory examines how peripheral (developing) countries are economically dependent on core (developed) countries, leading to exploitation and underdevelopment. This perspective critiques the traditional views of development and progress.

4. **World-Systems Theory:** World-systems theory, developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, analyzes global socio-economic systems as interconnected networks divided into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral nations. Core countries (e.g., the United States, Germany) are economically advanced and dominate global trade, while peripheral countries (e.g., many in Africa and Latin America) are often exploited for resources and labor. Semi-peripheral countries (e.g., Brazil, India) occupy a middle ground. For example, the relationship between the U.S. and many African nations illustrates this theory: the U.S. benefits from extracting resources while African countries face economic dependency, highlighting global inequalities and the persistent influence of capitalism in shaping international relations.
5. **Revolution and Communism:** Marx believed that the inherent contradictions (exploitation, accumulation of wealth, alienation) within capitalism, when it reaches peak stage would lead to its downfall and the rise of socialism. This is a stage where dictatorship of the proletariat(workers) will be established and in course of time communism will be established. Communism refers to a classless and stateless society where goods and services are distributed according to need.
6. State is an instrument of capitalist class : according to Marx, state came into existence to meet the needs of the capitalists. Its main role or mandate is protect the interests of the capitalist class - protection of private property, maintenance of law and order. The expansion of nation- state to the

Contribution of marxism

Marxism argues that capitalism as an economic system is characterized by an exploitative and unequal relationship between a ruling minority (i.e. a capitalist class or bourgeoisie) which controls the means of production and monopolies wealth, and a powerless majority (i.e. a working-class or proletariat) which has its only resource, i.e. its labourpower, exploited by the bourgeois minority

1. Marxism offers a way to understand history and economics, as well as an explanation of the global capitalist crisis. It can be argued that exploitation is still at the heart of a capitalist system done by those in the upper social classes.

2. Marxism also captures how capitalism develops and impacts specific world regions, specifically how some regions are developed unevenly relative to one another. We can understand this from the example of India, which was exploited by the colonial capitalist English East India Company, which made England rich and India, a poor nation.
3. Marxists would argue that limitless commodification(production) comes with environmental hazards, the costs of which are becoming increasingly clear
4. It's the marxist critique that led to modifications within capitalism. It turned the capitalist state(limited government - to maintain law and order and protect interests of capitalists) into a welfare state (which ensured the basic human rights and necessities of the lower sections of the society)
5. Individual rights: Some critics say that Marxism necessitates a suppression of individual rights like the right to property and accumulation of wealth.

Marxist theory has been criticized from a variety of perspectives, including:

1. Historical determinism: Marx argued that the rise and fall of capitalism and the eventual win of communism were inevitable. However, some critics say that capitalism has changed with time, by making changes to itself according to the situation. Because of this, capitalism actually became the dominant form of economic model.
2. Class focus :Some critics say that Marxism focuses too much on class divisions and ignores other social groupings like gender, ethnicity, and disability. In the case of India, which is largely divided on the basis of identity, caste struggles to fit into the class society model of marx.
3. Communism is an utopia : Some critics say that communism doesn't work in practice. There is no single example of a country which became a communist economy. Though some states like the USSR and China claim to be communist countries, they followed their own models of communism deviating

from marxist theory. Also, humans are naturally different from each other in terms of their talents and capabilities which will create inequalities in the society.

4. Individual rights: Some critics say that Marxism necessitates a suppression of individual rights.
5. The biggest criticism of Marxism is that the revolution that he said would cause the development of a communist society has yet to occur. For many capitalist countries, the economic conditions gradually improved for the working class. Marx did not predict that there would be major reforms in capitalist societies, such as the working class being permitted the right to vote, abolishment of child labor, and the right of workers to join unions. In contrast to Marx's theory, many workers in capitalist countries are focused on improving their working conditions rather than starting a revolution.

Critical Theory in International Relations

Definition and Scope:

Critical Theory: aims to interrogate the structures of power and domination in international relations. It is not just an academic discipline but a framework for understanding and critiquing the ways in which global politics is shaped by historical, social, and economic contexts.

Unlike traditional theories that may take the state system as a given, critical theory encourages questioning the underlying assumptions of IR, advocating for a more inclusive and just approach to global issues.

2. Historical Context:

Origins in the Frankfurt School: Critical theory emerged in the early 20th century with the Frankfurt School, which sought to synthesize Marxist thought with a broader understanding of social theory. The aim was to analyze how culture, ideology, and social structures contribute to oppression.

Post-World War II Development: After the war, theorists began applying critical theory to international politics, emphasizing the need to analyze how historical injustices continue to shape contemporary relations.

3. Key Concepts

Emancipation: Central to critical theory is the idea of emancipation—liberating individuals and communities from various forms of domination. This includes political, economic, and cultural oppression.

Ideology Critique: Critical theorists examine how ideologies (like nationalism, capitalism, and militarism) perpetuate power structures. They argue that these ideologies often obscure the realities of oppression and inequality.

Inter-subjectivity: This concept stresses that meanings and identities are shaped through social interactions. Critical theorists analyze how collective identities (e.g., national, ethnic, gender) influence international relations.

4. Distinction from Traditional Theories:

Realism: While realism focuses on state behavior and power politics, critical theory challenges the idea that power dynamics are the sole drivers of international relations. It emphasizes ethical considerations and the importance of human agency.

Liberalism: Liberalism tends to focus on cooperation and institutions; critical theory critiques this view by highlighting that institutions can also perpetuate inequalities and serve the interests of powerful states.

5. Methodological Approaches:

Normative Analysis: Critical theorists often engage in normative analysis, questioning what ought to be rather than just describing what is. They evaluate international relations based on ethical standards and ideals of justice.

Historical Contextualization: Understanding the historical context is crucial for critical theory. By examining past injustices and struggles, theorists can better comprehend contemporary issues and advocate for change.

6. Prominent Theorists and Contributions:

Robert Cox: A key figure in critical theory, Cox argued that "theory is always for someone and for some purpose." He emphasized the role of social forces, historical context, and the importance of critical engagement with global issues.

Andrew Linklater: Linklater's work focuses on cosmopolitanism and the ethics of global governance. He argues for a moral framework that extends beyond state boundaries, advocating for the rights and welfare of individuals globally.

Nicolas Guilhot: Guilhot critiques mainstream IR for its shortcomings in addressing issues of power and inequality. He encourages a more reflexive approach to the study of international politics.

7. Contemporary Relevance:

Globalization: Critical theory provides insights into the inequalities exacerbated by globalization, exploring how economic policies and trade agreements can marginalize certain populations.

Climate Change: The theory highlights how power dynamics influence environmental policies and justice, emphasizing the need for equitable solutions that consider the voices of those most affected by climate change.

Human Rights: Critical theorists advocate for a more comprehensive understanding of human rights, stressing that rights must be protected in the context of power relations and social justice.

Constructivism

Social constructivism is a school of thought in International Relations (IR) theory, which has a relatively recent origin. It was first coined by Nicholas Onuf in 1989 in his book “ The World of our own making ” on the eve of the end of the Cold War. It shows that the Cold War was not unavoidable and was a result of miscalculations and misunderstandings.

Social constructivism is the view that learning occurs through social interaction and the help of others, often in a group. Social constructivism says that the understanding an individual develops is shaped through social interaction. According to social constructivists we never look at the world through naked eyes, we always look at the world through the glasses of culture, norms, values, identities. The theory of social constructivism was developed by Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934).

Constructivism sees the world, and what we can know about the world, as socially constructed or created. They argue that there is objective reality as such. The international system does not exist on its own like the solar system. It is a human creation using their intellect and ideas. International system is a set of ideas and principles of a few people arranged at a certain place and time.

Alexander Wendt (1995), the prominent advocate of constructivism, offers an excellent example that illustrates the social construction/creation of reality when he explains that 500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than five North Korean nuclear weapons. The example also shows that nuclear weapons by themselves do not have any meaning unless we understand the social context. Constructivists do not limit themselves to material reality(like no of nuclear weapons) but also include the effect of ideas and beliefs on world politics. Although the physical element is present , it is the intellectual element that dominates. This also entails that *reality is always under construction*, which opens the chance for

change. In other words, meanings are not fixed but can change over time depending on the ideas and beliefs that actors hold.

This stance differs from that of realists, who argue that the anarchic structure of the international system determines the behavior of states. Constructivists, on the other hand, argue that '*anarchy is what states make of it*' (Wendt 1992), which means that the international system by itself is not anarchical rather it is created by the states. There is nothing like a security dilemma(fear of attack from other states) between the states because any situation(positive or negative) is a situation which they themselves have created.

Another central issue to constructivism is identities and interests. Constructivists argue that states can have multiple identities that are socially constructed through interaction with other actors(Identities are representations of an actor's understanding of who they are, which in turn signals their interests). For example, a small (identity) state has to behave according to its identity different from that of a large state. A state can thus not act opposite to its identity because this will question the validity of the identity, including its preferences.

Ex: Germany, despite being a great power with a leading global economy, did not become a military power in the second half of the twentieth century. Following the atrocities of Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime during the Second World War, German political identity shifted from one of militarism to pacifism due to unique historical circumstances.

Social norms are also central to constructivism. These are generally defined as 'a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity'. States that conform to a certain identity are expected to comply with the norms that are associated with that identity. A norm only becomes an accepted behavior when a critical mass of relevant state actors adopt it and internalize (include) it in their own practices. For example, constructivists would argue that the bulk of states have come together to develop climate change mitigation policies because it is the right thing to do for the survival of humanity.

Constructivists reject the view of positivists and behaviorists that reality can be studied through scientific principles. The social and political world is not part of nature. So, there are no natural laws that can be applied. Rather, the social world is a world of beliefs, ideas, languages, discourses, understanding among humans and states, etc.

Constructivists are not satisfied with the neorealists because the latter focuses only on the military and material elements. For, constructivists the international system is more complex, and they particular attention to the cultural and institutional aspects (state, educational institutions,etc)

Criticism of constructivism in international relations centers on several key points:

1. **Lack of Predictive Power:** Critics argue that constructivism often struggles to provide clear predictions about state behavior.
2. **Overemphasis on Ideational Factors:** Some scholars contend that constructivism prioritizes ideas and norms at the expense of material factors, such as economic power and military capabilities.
3. **Neglect of Power Dynamics:** Critics assert that constructivism may downplay the role of power in international relations, suggesting that power is merely a social construct rather than a fundamental aspect of global politics. This can lead to an incomplete understanding of international conflicts and cooperation.
4. **Methodological Challenges:** Constructivist approaches often rely on qualitative methods, which some critics argue lack the rigor and cannot be retested and proved like the quantitative methods.
5. **Potential for Relativism:** By emphasizing the socially constructed nature of norms and identities, critics warn that constructivism can lead to relativism, where all perspectives are considered equally valid, which will undermine the importance of moral or ethical judgments in international affairs.
6. **Neglecting Agency:** While constructivism highlights how structures shape identities and interests, some argue it can underplay the capacity of individuals and states to act independently of social structures.

Despite these criticisms, constructivism remains a valuable framework in international relations, especially for understanding how ideas and identities shape global politics. Its critiques often lead to deeper discussions and refinements within the field.

Post-Structural Theory in International Relations

Definition and Overview

Post-structural theory in IR critiques and moves beyond the assumptions of structuralism and traditional theories (like realism and liberalism). It emphasizes the fluidity of meaning, the complexity of identity, and the influence of language and discourse in shaping international relations.

Key Concepts

- **Discourse:** Post-structuralists argue that language shapes our understanding of reality. The way we talk about international issues (e.g., security, sovereignty) constructs our perceptions and actions. Discourses can legitimize power and influence state behavior.
- **Subjectivity:** This concept emphasizes that identities (national, cultural, gender) are constructed through discourse and social practices. Post-structuralism challenges fixed identities, asserting that they are fluid and context-dependent.
- **Power/Knowledge:** Influenced by Michel Foucault, this idea posits that power and knowledge are intertwined. Knowledge systems are not neutral; they serve to reinforce power structures and shape what is considered "truth."
- **Deconstruction:** A method of critically analyzing texts and discourses to reveal hidden assumptions, contradictions, and power dynamics. Deconstruction aims to uncover how meaning is constructed and to challenge dominant narratives.

Historical Context

- **Origins:** Post-structuralism emerged in the late 20th century, influenced by philosophers such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Gilles Deleuze. It reacted against the determinism of structuralism and sought to explore the complexities of human experience and social constructs.
- **Application to IR:** Post-structuralism gained traction in IR in the 1990s, providing new ways to analyze international phenomena beyond traditional state-centric models.

Distinction from Other Theories

- **Structuralism:** While structuralism emphasizes stable structures that shape human behavior (e.g., the state system), post-structuralism argues that these structures are contingent and subject to change.
- **Realism and Liberalism:** Both traditional theories focus on material power and state behavior. In contrast, post-structuralism emphasizes the role of ideas, language, and social constructs, arguing that these elements significantly shape international outcomes.

Methodological Approaches

- **Textual Analysis:** Post-structuralists often engage in close reading of texts, speeches, and policy documents to uncover the underlying assumptions and power relations embedded in them.
- **Interdisciplinary Approach:** Post-structuralism draws on various fields, including philosophy, sociology, and cultural studies, to analyze international phenomena. This approach helps in understanding the complexity of global issues.

Prominent Theorists

- **Edward Said:** His work on Orientalism illustrates how Western representations of the East shape power dynamics and cultural perceptions in international relations.
- **Judith Butler:** Butler's ideas on gender and identity contribute to post-structural critiques of traditional IR, highlighting how gender norms shape international policies and relations.
- **R.B.J. Walker:** Walker challenges conventional state-centric perspectives, advocating for a more nuanced understanding of international security and the role of social relations.

Contemporary Relevance

- **Globalization and Identity:** Post-structuralism helps analyze how globalization affects identity and power dynamics, emphasizing the need to understand multiple identities and narratives in a global context.
- **Security Studies:** Post-structuralists challenge traditional security frameworks by questioning who is considered a security threat and whose voices are included in security discussions.
- **Humanitarian Interventions:** The discourse surrounding humanitarian interventions can be analyzed to reveal underlying power dynamics and the implications for sovereignty and local agency.

Post Colonialism

Post-colonialism in international relations (IR) is a critical framework that examines the lasting impacts of colonialism and imperialism on global politics. It examines how societies, governments and peoples in the formerly colonized regions of the world experience international relations. The use of 'post' by postcolonial scholars by no means suggests that the effects or impacts of colonial rule are now long gone. Rather, it highlights the impact that colonial and imperial histories still have in shaping a colonial way of thinking about the world and how Western forms of knowledge and power marginalize the non-Western world. It is concerned with the disparities in global power and wealth accumulation and why some states and groups exercise so much power over others.

Here are some key aspects of postcolonialism in IR:

1. Post-colonialism emphasizes the historical context of international relations, particularly the legacies of colonialism. It argues that many current conflicts, inequalities, and geopolitical relationships can be traced back to colonial histories.
2. Post-colonial theorists critique the dominance of Western narratives and perspectives in the discipline of IR. They highlight how Western theories often neglect or misrepresent the experiences of non-Western states and peoples.
3. This framework examines how colonial narratives have shaped identities and representations of nations and peoples. Discourses – primarily things that are written or spoken – constructed non-Western states and peoples as 'other' or different to the West, usually in a way that made them appear to be inferior. Through this, they helped European powers justify their domination over other peoples in the name of bringing civilization or progress.

4. Post-colonialism focuses on the power relations between the Global North and Global South. It investigates how former colonial powers maintain influence through economic, political, and cultural means, perpetuating inequalities even today.
5. Post-colonial theorists often analyze globalization through a critical lens, arguing that it can spread neo-colonial practices. They examine how multinational corporations and international institutions may reinforce existing inequalities.
6. A significant aspect of post-colonialism is the emphasis on resistance and agency among formerly colonized peoples. It explores how these groups have sought to redefine their identities, assert their rights, and challenge dominant power structures.

SCHOLARS:

Postcolonialism owes a significant debt to Edward Said for his work on developing Orientalism. Yet Said himself was influenced by the writing of anti-colonial and nationalist thinkers such as Frantz Fanon (1967) and Albert Memmi (1991) whose works discuss the power of 'othering'. Said called it Orientalism because it creates a particular idea of the so-called 'Orient' that is distinct from the West. For instance, people of the Orient may be characterized as being, emotional, backward, non-rational and so forth. This is in contrast to the more positive attributes usually associated with the West such as rationality, civilization and modernity. Through such impositions, the colonized come to believe they are a culturally inferior other. This internalization made it easier for colonizers to justify and maintain their rule.

Achebe is known for his powerful critique of colonial literature and its portrayal of African cultures. In works like "Things Fall Apart," he counters stereotypical representations of African societies. Achebe emphasizes the importance of African voices in literature. He seeks to reclaim African identity and history from colonial distortions(changes made to divert), asserting that Africans must tell their own stories.

As with all theories of IR, there are internal debates among postcolonial scholars and in this case also a significant overlap with feminism – especially ‘third wave’ feminism that became prominent in the 1990s. Bell hooks (2000) observed that the so-called ‘second wave’ of feminism of the mid- to late twentieth century had emerged from women in a position of privilege and did not represent African American women such as herself who remain on the margins of society, politics and the economy. She called for an alternative, critical and distinctive feminist activism and politics.

Gayatri Spivak is a famous scholar, theorist and postcolonial feminist who was born in Calcutta, India. She is heavily critical of Liberal Feminism for framing the oppression of women in an entirely Western, capitalist context. Her seminal work, the critical essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, was published in 1985. In this work, Spivak develops the concept of the subaltern (marginalized sections) in postcolonial India and argues that colonialism is implemented through a new medium of western academic, scientific discourse and language.

NAM

Background

- The Non-Aligned Movement was formed during the Cold War as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union, but sought to remain independent or neutral.
- The basic concept for the group originated in 1955 during discussions that took place at the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia.
- The first NAM Summit Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961.
- It has 120 members as on April 2018 comprising 53 countries from Africa, 39 from Asia, 26 from Latin America and the Caribbean and 2 from Europe (Belarus, Azerbaijan). There are 17 countries and 10 international organizations that are Observers at NAM.
- The Non-Aligned Movement was founded and held its first conference (the Belgrade Conference) in 1961 under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia.
- The purpose of the organization was enumerated in Havana Declaration of 1979 to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation.
- During the cold war era the NAM played a vital role in stabilizing the world order and preserving peace and security. Non alignment of NAM doesn't mean the neutrality of state on global issues, it was always a peaceful intervention in world politics.

Principles

As J.L Nehru was founding members, the principles of NAM was largely guided by Panchsheel principles, some of them are:

- Respect for the principles enshrined in the charter of the United Nations and international law.
- Respect for sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States.
- Peaceful settlement of all international conflicts in accordance with the charter of the United Nations.
- Respect for the political, economic, social and cultural diversity of countries and peoples.
- Defence and promotion of shared interests, justice and cooperation, regardless of the differences existing in the political, economic and social systems of the States, on the basis of mutual respect and the equality of rights.
- Respect for the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations .
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of States. No State or group of States has the right to intervene either directly or indirectly, whatever the motive, in the internal affairs of any other State.
- Promotion and defence of multilateralism and multilateral organisations as the appropriate frameworks to resolve, through dialogue and cooperation, the problems affecting humankind. At present, an additional goal is facilitating a restructuring of the international economic order.

NAM in Cold War Era

- **Against Apartheid:** The evil of apartheid was massively prevalent in African countries like South Africa, its was on the agenda of NAM right from first conference. During 2nd NAM conference at Cairo the government of South Africa was warned against the discriminatory practices of apartheid.
- **Disarmament:** The Non-aligned Movement repeatedly comes out for maintenance of peace, the cessation of arms race and the peaceful coexistence of all States. In the General Assembly, India submitted a draft resolution declaring that the use of nuclear weapons would be against the charter of the United Nations and crime against humanity and should therefore be prohibited.
- **UNSC reforms:** Right from its inception NAM was in the favour of UNSC reforms, it was against the domination of US and USSR. It wanted the representation of third world countries to make UNSC more democratic. Members echoed with same demand at 17th NAM conference at Venezuela.
- **Failed to resolve regional tensions:** In the era of cold war the tension in South Asia escalated due to regional conflict between India- China and India-Pakistan. NAM failed to avoid tensions in the region, that further led to the the nuclearisation of the region.

Relevance of NAM:

NAM continues to hold relevance as a platform and due to its principles.

- **World peace** - NAM has played an active role in preserving world peace. It still stands by its founding principles, idea and purpose i.e. to establish the peaceful and prosperous world. It prohibited invasion of any country, promoted disarmament and a sovereign world order.
- **Territorial integrity and sovereignty** - NAM stands with this principle and proved its repeated relevance with the idea of preserving the independence of every nation.
- **Third World nations** - Third world countries fighting against socio-economic problems since they have been exploited for a long time by other developed nations, NAM acted as a protector for these small countries against the western hegemony.
- **Support of UN** - NAM's total strength comprises of 118 developing countries and most of them being a member of UN General Assembly. It represents two third members of general assembly, hence NAM members act as important vote blocking group in UN.
- **Equitable world order** - NAM promotes equitable world order. It can act as a bridge between the political and ideological differences existing in the international environment.
- **Interest of developing countries** - If disputes arise between developed and developing nation at any point of a concerned topic for example WTO, then NAM act as a platform which negotiates and conclude disputes peacefully securing the favorable decisions for each member nation.
- **Economic growth** - The countries of NAM has inherent assets, such as a favourable demography, demand and favourable location. The cooperation can lead them to higher and sustainable economic growth. Can be an alternative to regional groupings like TPP and RCEP