

National Interest and Security

Intro and holistic concept:

- The making of foreign policy is essentially an exercise in the **choice of ends and means**, on the part of a nation-state in an international setting.
- It is necessary, first of all, to formulate a broad end or goal which will give & sense of purpose and direction to foreign policy
 -goal **should not be static**..... must be a conceptually long-term goal with a blend of short-term policies for immediate objectives.
- Though broad, this goal **should not be a vague one** → should be **clearly definable and divisible** into some concrete and specific components, **goal-oriented clear policies** should be in existence and practice for short-term or long-term.

The **long-term goal** can only be the **cumulative result of a series of short-term objectives**

- The **means** selected for the achievement of the various **specific objectives**

should not be a single unique means or a static one	different alternative means may be chosen.
--	---

But there **must be** the **highest logical probability** of **their efficiency** in achieving the given objective.

-decision making in foreign policy → an **incremental process** → involving the interplay of a wide variety of **basic determinants**, e.g:

- geography,
- economic development,
- political tradition,
- the international milieu,

It shouldn't be the manifestation of personal wisdom of a few



- the domestic milieu,
- military strength, and
- national character

› ...thereafter, **Political institutions:**

- public opinion,
- party organizations,
- pressure groups,
- parliament, and
- the cabinet

must similarly be regarded as major parameters of the decisional system.

› The organisation and structure of the **Foreign Office**

- Relationship with other ministries and branches of govt
- Personal-political pulls and pressures, stresses and strains (inevitable in modern states)

› The personalities of **ultimate decision-makers**

- personalities of the ultimate decision-makers,
- their ideological predilections,
- psychological propensities, and,
- above all, their need for personal political survival and growth.

▪ In terms of **systems theory** (which in turn is inseparably connected with communication theory), the decision-making system may be regarded as one which **converts certain information inputs into policy outputs.**

○ A "**feedback loop**" connects the inputs and the output, for the inputs, both exogenous and endogenous, are affected by the output.

o**decision making** is about → inevitable and perpetual **interaction b/w the demands and supports.**

▪ **Actual foreign policy** of a modern state, particularly a **democratic state**, tends to become the **cumulative end-product of a series of short-term decisions**, arrived at under various pulls and pressures, environmental contingencies, and situational compulsions,

o *rather than* the result of personal wisdom or a long-term strategy, fixed once and for all.

▪ Policy to be formulated**considering a given situation**...may overlap with the past and the future situations in the same field.

The actual objectives, methods, or time-periods for the realization of the objectives → → **often deviate from the original design.**

▪ **States in international relations**

are guided, or at any rate ought to be guided,

by the concept of a permanent and universal goal, namely, that of "**national interest**".

Realists + Idealists

Both agreed and prioritize

role of National Interest

Disagreement regarding the **CONTENT**

Universal + Static

Actual national interest of any particular state is **both specific and dynamic**it shouldn't be a mere truism w/o operational significance



National Interest as an END

Realists

-equate national interest with national power.....measures power in terms of **material strength @ primarily military strength.**

Idealists / Utopian

Moderate Realists and Idealists

- ...universal moral aspirations of the entire mankind
↓
eternal peace / human brotherhood

Realists School

- ⊗ **Kautilya** → 4th century B.C → viewed interstate relations in India →
 - ✓ as a **complicated game of power**,
 - ✓advised the prince to **increase his material power** through conquest by all means at his disposal
 - ✓can be called the **founder of the Realist school** of International Relations in a very real sense.
- ⊗ **Chandragupta Maurya, Samudragupta** → ...Kautilyan realism found concrete expression.
- ⊗ **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** →a realist per excellence (realist statesman, not a thinker)
- ⊗ **Machiavelli to Morgenthau**
- ⊗ **Statesman (Bismarck, Metternich, Cavour, Churchill)**

Idealists School

☒ **Ashoka** → ...political idealism.....after initial spell of realism....'dhammavijaya' or conquest through righteousness.....system of cultural and quasi-missionary diplomacy.

☒ **Akbar** →primarily a realisttried to introduce an element of idealism into his state-building endeavour.....propounded a new Great Religion or Din-e-Ilahi

☒ **M.K.Gandhi**

☒ **Aurobindo** → combination of his philosophical idealism



With a high degree of political realism

☒ **J.L. Nehru** → blended approachdefined idealism as the 'realism of tomorrow'

☒ **West**

☐ Thinkers:

- Abbe St. Pierre
- Kant to Toynbee
- Betrand Russel (however was a philosophical positivist)

☐ Statesman:

- Czar Alexander I of Russia → formulated scheme of Holy Alliance.
- Woodrow Wilson, USA → ...famous fourteen Points

India's national interest

Idealist in nature

The Indian political parties are by and large **idealistically inclined** (unlike the major political parties in the USA and certain other countries), and all of them share more or less the same amount of idealism.



Who determines the national interest?

➤ Democracy:

- policy decisions of the government, like other decisions, are tested in a **broad consensus**

in the light of public opinion ,
influenced by pressure groups ,
examined and criticized by the political parties and the press ,
filtered through parliament ,
moulded and shaped by the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister , and
finally approved by the cabinet .

form of
'rationality'

- But in practice this pure theory of democratic decision-making is nowhere found to be in operation. **public opinion tends to remain passive** with regard to decision-making in foreign policy, → **except in crisis situations**.
-in reality the **business interests and other pressure groups** work through political parties.

➤ Presidential Govt:

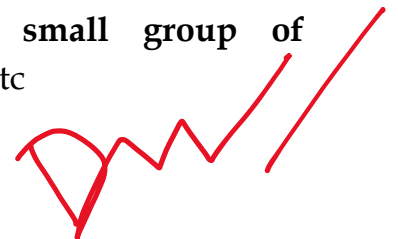
- ...like USA..... the **personal predilections and attitudes of the President and his advisers**.

➤ Developing States:

-prerogative of a **small elite group @ highly Westernised** → alienated from the masses of people.
- Personality factor.

➤ Dictatorial Govt:

-responsibility of a **individual or small group of individuals**....e.g. oligarchy, military junta etc



Determination of the national interest?

1) Class influence:

-In India's policy, the **Communitic influence** to be observed.

2) Personal power and prestige:

-Nehru's Non-Alignment..... influenced by his desire to **retain his supremacy as a leader in India** by satisfying, partly if not wholly, all sections of political opinion and → creating a personal image of a conciliator of conflicting interests
-Indira Gandhi's → **relatively radical economic programme** → the alleged tilting of her **foreign policy in favour of the Soviet Union** → immediately before and after the **split in the Congress in 1969** → were dictated by the **personal imperative of her survival as Prime Minister with the support of leftist political parties.**

3) Socio-Cultural Background:

- India's membership of the Commonwealth was largely the result of → **Nehru's Western, predominantly British, upbringing.**

4) Extra-territorial Loyalty:

-Communist influence over the policy is to be considered.

5) Personal Psychopathology:

- Indira Gandhi's alienated childhood, her unsuccessful marriage, and her sense of political insecurity after the death of her father → have combined to give her a **persecution complex**, which in tum impelled her to adopt bold, desperate, biased, partisan, authoritarian, and aggressive policies, in both foreign and domestic affairs, **especially between 1971 and 1977.**



National Interest : a delicate balancing of 'Subjectivity'

➤ Short-term vs Long-term:

- the *delicate task of relating* short-term national advantages to, and balancing them against, the long-term national interest.
- A Hitler may consider his short-term military gains, in terms of both territory and resources, to be identical with long-term German national interest; but the history of militarism, including German, Italian, or Japanese militarism, indicates that **short-term aggressive gains are often seriously detrimental to the long-term national interest.**

➤ Domestic policy vs Foreign policy:

-admittedly inter-related....so to be balanced duly

1) Shaping domestic policy properly would lead to successful foreign policy.	2) Vice versa.....foreign policy is primary
--	---

➤ State's identity : Real vs Disguise:

- National interest often wears → a **conscious or an unconscious disguise** → in one state's dealings with other states in the international system, → so that it becomes difficult to establish its real identity.
- e.g: USA's constant commitment towards establishing a democratic world order, is under the disguise of establishing it's hegemony all over the world.

Conclusion

To identify the real definition and character of national interest, a **descriptive or analytical approach** is required rather than a definitive approach.

SECURITY

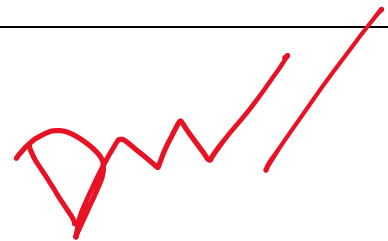
Essential components of National Interest:

Security	National Development	World Order
----------	-------------------------	-------------

➤ Security of what?

- The most popular answer is that security means **preservation of the territorial integrity**, or, in other words, the boundaries of the state.
- But this answer is inadequate* for several reasons.
 - Sovereignty **can be surrendered or compromised** through
 - treaties,
 - agreements,
 - alliances or
 - simply the domination of a small state by a big and powerful one, without the loss of territorial integrity.
- Similarly, **territorial integrity may be partially lost without loss of sovereignty**.e.g.
 - Czechoslovakia lost Sudetanland to Germany in 1938 without losing her sovereignty;
 - India lost some territory to China between 1959 and 1962 without the loss of her sovereignty.

Neither territorial integrity without full sovereignty nor sovereignty without full territorial integrity can be considered to be true security.



"better be Red than Dead "	"better be Dead than Red "
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sometimes less powered states surrendered their territorial integrity and sovereignty w/o any resistance. ▪ Threat of a hopeless war.....preservation of life and property is considered to be more important than the preservation of either territorial integrity or sovereignty. ▪ E.g: Czechoslovakia in 1939, Denmark in 1940. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Western approach@ retaliation ▪ Gandhi @ non-violent protest <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Laying down lives → But not to surrender freedom ▪ Life and property of the entire people are sacrificed ▪ Never happened in history and will not happen in future.

➤ External and Internal Security?

- ❑ External security of a state is closely interlinked with its internal security.
- ❑ Two different senses in which the term "internal security" is generally used.

1 st) particular constitution or govt or form of govt	2 nd) State itself is an international personality
Not valid	So to be stabled
As primary concern remains with the stability and permanence of state not the form of govt	To be defended from violently anarchical or disorderly forces.....threatening or weakening the state mechanism.

.....primary concern → **STABILITY OF THE STATE ITSELF**

- ❑ A state may sometimes **emerge stabler and stronger** as an international person after a particular government or form of government has been overthrown from within.
 - e.g. France after 1789 revolution, China after the civil war 1948-49.

➤ Short-term and Long-term Security:

- ❑ Short term → **huge military investment** → may boomerang in two ways:

- ❑ Huge military investment



Mainly unproductive



Other sectors will be ignored.

- ❑ This militaristic stance will antagonise other states



Armament culture



Germany and Japan in 30s and early 40s

Remedy → development of a **strong and stable economic infrastructure**



This will be long term and durable

➤ Security outside frontiers and security of frontiers

- ❑ Border states are used as the security to the big states.
 - ❑ Germany → **Poland** → Russia
 - ❑ Western Europe → **USA** → Latin America
 - ❑ China → **Nepal** → India

The USA has always regarded Latin America and Western Europe as a part of her own security system and participated decisively in two global wars when the security of Western Europe has been threatened.

- ❑ New Security System
 - ❑ Military block.....e.g. NATO



- These days USA is ever maintaining and developing a security system opposing China

Domino Theory

- propounded by General **Eisenhower** in **1954 with special reference to Vietnam.**
- Briefly, the theory is that if a crucial domino falls, the whole stack of dominoes also falls inevitably; and, similarly, if a crucial state falls to the enemy, the rest of the security system collapses inevitably.

□ Role of International Law or International Org:

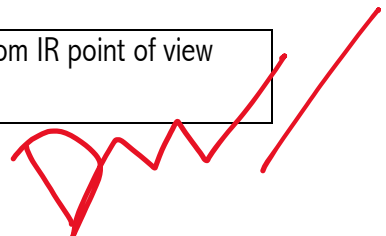
- States use these platforms to influence the international platform for their own security.....nuclear question and deterrenta pattern of hostile but tolerable coexistence.....the concept of collective security, still not successful because → states are not eager or convinced to sacrifice their coercive power for the sake of world peace.....justification from there → **USA can't be only sole nuclear power.**
- The striving for national security outside state boundaries must assume a **political rather than a military orientation**, and be restricted primarily to the development of International Law, world government, and its essential ingredient, collective security.

✦ ...

Security means	Preservation of the
	1) Territorial integrity 2) Sovereignty 3) Life and property of the people

✦

Security means	Primarily external security from IR point of view
----------------	---





Short-term	Long-term
<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Militarism▪ Often boomeranged	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Durable▪ Resulted from:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic development• State-building• A non-belligerent foreign policy



<p>A military security system outside national frontiers has the seeds of imperialism in it, and does not, therefore, represent security in the true sense; and in the nuclear age may be detrimental to national interest.</p>	<p>Only military security within the frontiers and security <u>through the development of International Law, world government, and collective security</u> outside the frontiers can be said to serve the national interest of a state in the nuclear age.</p>
--	--

