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Dr. Rajesh Mishra

POLITICAL THEORY

Content

Political Theory

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Power, Hegemony and Legitimacy

8

Study of Political Power

The study of political science began at Columbia University in the USA, where history was used to understand politics. At that time, the central focus of political science was the study of the state and government, with special attention given to constitutions and laws.

Arthur Bentley, in his book *Process of Government*, Truman in *Governmental Process*, and Graham Wallas in *Human Nature in Politics* brought significant changes to the study of politics. Instead of focusing on the principles of government, these works emphasized the practical functioning of government, aiming to address contemporary challenges and issues. This shift also led to the inclusion of political parties, pressure groups, and social movements in the study of political theory.

The Chicago School further advanced the study of political theory by focusing on power and human behavior. Harold Lasswell, a key figure from the Chicago School, expanded the study of political theory by centering it around the concept of power, giving a broader perspective to the study of politics.

Definition of Power

In social interactions between states and communities, power is the ability of one party to influence or shape the will of others, leading them to accept a particular viewpoint. It is an abstract and psychological concept, always connected to relationships.

According to Morgenthau, power is about controlling another person's thoughts and actions. In *Leviathan*, Hobbes makes a distinction between power and force, emphasizing that political power comes from social interaction and relies on consent, not just coercion. While physical power can force someone to act, Hobbes believes political power is stronger when people willingly obey, although fear can play a role in maintaining this obedience.

Dahl highlights the government's power over its citizens, particularly its ability to punish those who don't follow the law, even to the point of death or exile. Harold Lasswell sees politics as a struggle over limited resources, where power is the tool used to compete.

Max Weber defines the state as a human community that claims the exclusive right to use physical force within a given territory. This definition ties politics to the state, focusing on its control over violence and territory.

Adrian Leftwich argues that politics is always linked to collective social activity, with power being the ability to achieve desired outcomes by any means. Talcott Parsons

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123

compares power in politics to money in economics, both being central to their respective systems.

In sum, power is a key force that shapes political interactions from many different perspectives.

Power, Influence, and Violence

Harold Lasswell and Robert Dahl described power in political theory as the ability to change another person's behavior. While a powerful individual has the capacity to impose punishment, they typically rely more on persuasion, negotiation, and manipulation to achieve their goals rather than using force.

Power is also linked to influence, which can similarly change behavior, but with a key difference—those who influence others lack the ability to impose punishment, setting influence apart from power.

Power is often seen as dominance, authority, or exploitation, commonly referred to as the "zero-sum" theory of power. In this view, one party's gain in a power struggle comes at the other's expense.

It is a mistake to equate power solely with violence. When power is exercised, it typically involves dialogue and negotiation, where one party tries to influence the other. Violence, however, leaves no room for such discussion or negotiation during its use.

Power To or Power Over

Power is generally seen as dominance or exploitation, often referred to as "Power Over," where one individual changes another's behavior according to their own will. However, contemporary thinker Hannah Arendt argued that power is not the characteristic of an individual or government, but rather something inherent in the entire community. It should be used for the collective good.

In Arendt's view, power does not reside in a single person or a small group but is spread throughout the community. This idea aligns closely with Gandhi's philosophy, which emphasizes that violence belongs to the animal world, while love is the defining trait of human society. Notably, both Arendt and Gandhi believed that the fundamental nature of humans is moral, and therefore, they described power as "Power To," which focuses on the development of moral capacity. In Indian tradition, this is often referred to as divine power.

Arendt argued that Hitler did not wield power but used violence, as she believed true power is based on consensus, not coercion.

Impact of Power:

- **Range:** Refers to the diversity of options or methods available to an individual or group to influence the behavior of others. For instance, India's range may surpass that of Pakistan.

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124

- **Domain:** Signifies the extent of power wielded by a state or an individual, gauging how effectively it can shape the behavior of people. Examples include influential figures like Bill Gates, Obama, and Laden.

- **Scope:** Historically, the power of states was constrained by the limited scope of their functions. Initially focused on maintaining law and order and protecting citizens from external threats, the emergence of the welfare state broadened state functions. States began providing education, healthcare, and facilities, while also overseeing industrial systems.

Multi-Faceted Nature of Power

1. Power as Decision-making:

Robert Dahl, in 'Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City,' contends that power lies in decision-making within the administrative system and society. He defines it specifically as the ability of A to make B do something B wouldn't have done otherwise. Keith Boulding expands on this concept in 'The Three Faces of Power,' outlining three forms:

- **Stick:** Involves coercion or the threat of physical violence to influence decisions.

- **Deal:** Involves influencing decisions through agreements and contracts, ensuring mutual benefits.

- **Kiss:** Relies on sentimental appeals to shape decision-making.

2. Power as Agenda-setting:

This dimension involves the power to formulate plans or set agendas for decision-making. Peter Bachrach and M. Bartaz, in 'Two Faces of Power,' distinguish between two forms of agenda-setting in politics:

- **Overt:** Visible to the public, announced through mechanisms like party manifestos.

- **Covert:** Hidden diplomacy that leads to the exclusion of certain agendas or issues, undisclosed to the public.

3. Power as Thought-Control:

According to Steven Lukes, power is characterized by the ability to shape the desires, needs, and thoughts of others. This notion seems closely intertwined with ideological power, where psychological control is established. For example, an advertising company can challenge a law enacted in the interest of consumers by arguing that the consumers' interests have already been sufficiently addressed.

Politics has a Moral Vocation

Aristotle, who called political science the "master science," explored the close relationship between politics and morality. Unlike Plato, who saw politics as a part of ethics, Aristotle believed political activity was inherently moral. He argued that while private life is focused on meeting material needs, public life is deeply connected to moral concerns. This view of politics as a moral endeavor also finds strong resonance in Gandhian thought within the Indian tradition.

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125

Evolution of Power

Monarch as Centre of Power

In *Arthashastra*, Kautilya stresses that a king must enhance power by strengthening the military and accumulating resources. Thucydides, in *The Peloponnesian War*, similarly argues that victory in war depends on one's own strength.

In the modern era, Machiavelli reshapes the idea of power in Western thought. He sees human nature as selfish and greedy, controllable only through fear. Unlike traditional moral views, Machiavelli argues that actions taken to strengthen the state are inherently moral. He credits France and Spain's strength to their powerful kings, suggesting that Italy's challenges could be solved by a strong ruler, emphasizing the use of fear to maintain control.

Maxey summarizes Machiavelli's philosophy as "the politics of power," where a king's main duty is to make the state powerful, surpassing universal morality. For Machiavelli, the ruler's ultimate goal is power. He advises kings to balance fear and love, master the art of war, and build a strong military. A wise and adaptable king, able to respond to changing circumstances, is the true source of power.

Institutionalization of Power

Thomas Hobbes, considered the first social contract theorist, presents a view of human nature marked by constant conflict. In this "state of nature," individuals, driven by self-interest, compete for power to satisfy their desires.

Hobbes famously describes life in this state as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" due to the absence of any governing authority. To escape this chaos, he introduces the concept of the *Leviathan*—an absolute state.

In Hobbes' theory, people must give up all their rights to this powerful Leviathan, which ensures protection and order. The Leviathan has absolute authority and can punish to maintain peace and resolve conflicts. This institutionalization of power is central to Hobbes' social contract, offering a solution to the disorder of the natural state.

Restricting Political Power

John Locke, a key figure among liberal thinkers, worked to limit the oppressive potential of state power through constitutionalism. He saw the threat absolute authority posed to individual liberty and called for a government that was limited and constitutional, focused on protecting citizens' freedoms.

In his famous work, *Two Treatises on Civil Government*, Locke introduces the idea of the social contract. He argues that in the state of nature, people are free to "order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they see fit." Unlike Hobbes, Locke did not see this state as one of constant conflict but as one guided by reason, allowing peaceful coexistence.

Locke believed that the social contract does not require individuals to give up all their liberties to the state. People retain their natural rights, which he called "Properties,"

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126

including the rights to life, liberty, and property. Importantly, Locke said that if the state threatens these rights, people have the right to resist and even overthrow it.

Locke saw the state's role as ensuring that no one infringes on another's rights. He supported a minimalist government, arguing that the less a government governs, the better it protects individual liberties.

People's Power

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a key figure in political philosophy, introduced the idea of popular sovereignty, challenging the traditional belief that power rests with the majority. For Rousseau, true power comes from all the people, not just a majority. Often called the father of Direct Democracy, he envisioned shifting power from monarchs to the collective will of the people.

In *Modern Political Analysis*, Robert Dahl provides a detailed definition of power and explains how it differs from other forms of influence. Dahl explores concepts like inducement, force, authority, coercion, legitimacy, and hegemony. He uses the example of an alliance (A) and a bill (B), where A influences B, to show the complex nature of power and how it interacts with different types of influence in politics.

Power as Exploitation

The concept of power, seen through a Marxist lens, is closely linked to exploitation. Karl Marx argues that power comes from the economically dominant class. Exploitation happens when one part of the population creates a surplus that another part controls. In Marxist theory, social classes are defined by their relationship to this exploitation within a specific mode of production. This exploitation leads to class conflict.

In the Marxist view of history, society evolves through different modes of production. Each mode has its own form of exploitation. In capitalist society, surplus value is extracted without direct coercion. As a result, exploitation becomes less visible in the capitalist framework.

Power as Hegemony

Karl Marx, in his work *The German Ideology*, argued that ideology is a form of false consciousness that helps sustain the capitalist order. However, Lenin interpreted Marx differently. He believed the problem lies not with ideology itself but specifically with bourgeois ideology, which should be opposed.

The term "hegemony" was introduced by Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks*. He described two functions of the state: repressive and ideological. Gramsci viewed hegemony as the cultural and ideological tools the state uses to maintain control and gain consent from its subjects. According to him, hegemony involves the ruler exercising power with the approval of the governed.

Building on Marxist ideas of base and superstructure, Gramsci divided superstructures into two parts:

1. **Structures of Coercion:** This includes government organizations, political systems, the army, and police. These entities use force or the threat of force to ensure bourgeois dominance.

2. **Structures of Legitimation:** This includes civil society organizations, religion, family, mass media, and education. These institutions create social relations and ideas that support the hegemony of the dominant class. They influence citizens' behavior, legitimize capitalist rule, and present capitalist values as universal.

Gramsci argued that Marxism should expand beyond just overthrowing the capitalist class. It should also focus on dismantling the value system that supports capitalist rule.

Louis Althusser added to this discussion by distinguishing between repressive state apparatuses (RSUs) and ideological state apparatuses (ISUs). RSUs, like the military, police, and courts, use direct repression and violence to ensure compliance. In contrast, ISUs, which include religion, culture, traditions, family customs, and civil society, significantly shape human psychology. They reinforce bourgeois democratic and economic practices in the collective social consciousness through ideological hegemony and concessions.

Feminist Challenge

At the heart of feminist critiques of power dynamics in politics is the concept of patriarchy. Even when women hold power within a patriarchal system, they often use that power to maintain the existing social order. Sylvia Walby points out that patriarchy is not just about controlling women; it also subjugates both men and women to established power structures. In these structures, people are forced to follow predefined roles and responsibilities.

In her influential work *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millett argues that the unequal relationships between men and women in society reflect fundamental power imbalances. Radical feminists transformed the idea of reform into a political theory. They redefined key concepts like "power" and "domination" to include oppressive ideas such as "achievement" and "superiority." They described women's unequal status using terms like subordination, powerlessness, and oppression. As a result, women's issues were no longer seen as personal problems; they became essential parts of the broader political relationship between women and men.

Elitist Theory of Power

The Elitist theory of power challenges the Marxist view on power dynamics. It claims that society is divided into two classes: the Elites and the Masses. Thinkers like VFD Pareto and G. Mosca argue that this division is a permanent feature of society. Pareto even suggests that history is essentially the graveyard of elites. He argued that throughout history, only elite or distinguished individuals have wielded power. Dividing governance into various systems is meaningless because there is only one format: oligarchy. To be considered elite, certain psychological qualities are essential. Pareto identified nine

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128

psychological traits important for the elite. He noted that courage and cunning are crucial attributes for this class. While not every individual possesses these traits completely, it is not guaranteed that today's elites will remain elite tomorrow. However, elite rule is inevitable.

Mosca also highlighted social reasons for the emergence of the elite class, in addition to psychological factors. Both theorists, Mosca and Pareto, agreed that elite governance is constant, but the composition of the elite changes over time. Thus, it is not guaranteed that today's elite will still be in power tomorrow.

Unlike Marxists, who believe in the power of the masses, Elitists criticize the democratic concept of power. They stress that elite groups are essential for governing society. They see power as a zero-sum game, meaning it is concentrated in a small section of society. This challenges the idea that the people are the center of power, known as the Sectional Concept of Power.

Classical elite theorists argue against Marxist opposition to elite power. They believe society needs guidance from elites because the masses are often disorganized or uninterested in governance. Elites are seen as a minority with superior qualities in various fields.

Among the elitists, Michels studied the Socialist Party in Germany and noted that the party claims to be a party of workers or a party of the proletariat. He challenged this notion, stating that a political party is an organization. When an organization is formed, it is run by only a handful of people. Therefore, the nature of the organization is always elitist. This is why the famous saying goes that where there is an organization, there will be an elite class. This belief is unchangeable and universal, which Michels referred to as the "Iron Law of Oligarchy." The inherent meaning of oligarchy is the rule of a small group of people. Hence, the concepts of democracy and socialism are meaningless.

Modern elite theorists, like C. Wright Mills in his book The Power Elite, argue that elite power is necessary for maintaining order and stability. They assert that this power is a fundamental reality of modern governance. Criticizing Marx, C. Wright Mills argued that:

(i) Power in society has always been, is, and will continue to be concentrated in the hands of a few.

(ii) Therefore, power resides only in certain elite groups, whose numbers are very small.

(iii) The notion of equality, democracy, and socialism in society is naive because governance is always controlled by the elite.

European thinkers Pareto, Mosca, and Michels attempted to develop elitism as a universal idea. It was considered useful for every country and society, not just Europe. However, the American thinker C. Wright Mills studied **elitism in the context of America**. He referenced Lincoln's famous Gettysburg Address, which stated that "democracy is government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Mills completely rejected this notion. He argued that there is neither rule by the common people nor by the majority in America. Instead, a handful of individuals govern, which he called the "power elite." This

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129

elite includes three types of people: military officials, leaders of the government, and large entrepreneurs and businessmen.

Mills also pointed out that during World War II, when America dropped atomic bombs on Japan, it was only these few individuals who consented to that decision. Therefore, President Eisenhower referred to it as the "military-industrial complex." According to this concept, there is a close relationship between the military and industry in America. This relationship is significant because the largest industry is the military industry. Military officials are also indirectly involved in its growth. Thus, a strong triangle of officials, legislators, and the military industry exists in America.

Ruling Class and Ruling Elite

Marxists and elitists have different views on governance. Marxists believe in the concept of the ruling class, while elitists focus on the ruling elite. According to Marxists, the ruling class owns the means of production. This ownership allows them to control the state and government. In this view, power is exploitative, with capitalists dominating the working class.

On the other hand, elitists argue that the ruling elite gains control not just through economic power but also due to psychological and social factors. They believe the ruling elite is necessary because the masses often lack the qualities needed for effective governance. While Marxists seek to establish the rule of the proletariat, elitists reject the idea of mass rule. They emphasize the need for a small, capable elite to guide the state's affairs.

Pluralist theory of Power

The Pluralist theory of power presents a critique of the elitist perspective. Robert Dahl, in his notable work "*Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*," challenged the idea of a controlling elite. Instead, he observed that power is dispersed among various plural groups, engaging in competition for increased influence and control over limited resources.

Dahl initially coined the term 'Polyarchy' to describe this decentralized and democratic political system, emphasizing that the political structure is neutral and sufficiently fragmented to offer numerous access points for different groups. Floyd Hunter's examination of political processes in Atlanta City also led to the conclusion that power is distributed among multiple interest groups.

However, Dahl later adjusted his stance on pluralism, acknowledging that while power is indeed spread among various interest groups, some groups may wield more influence than others. The Pluralist theory of power aligns with democratic principles and introduces a value-based concept of power. Nevertheless, it has faced criticism for being overly idealistic in its depiction of power distribution.

Power as Consent

Hannah Arendt argues that true power is public and should belong solely to the government, making it a defining feature of the modern state. For Arendt, power is the

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130

human ability to act together, not something any individual can possess alone; it only exists as long as a group remains united. Arendt supports a non-zero-sum concept of power, also known as a non-sectional concept, emphasizing that power should not be conflated with strength or violence.

This idea resonates with Talcott Parsons, who sees power as a broad resource for mobilizing commitments and facilitating collective action. For Parsons, power is rooted in legitimate authority and isn't merely about forcing compliance. Both Arendt and Parsons offer a nuanced view of power, highlighting its foundation in collective effort and legitimacy, beyond individual strength or coercion.

Dimensions of Power

The concept of power is broad. It cannot be understood solely as force or violence. While power is sometimes exercised through force and violence, its foundation is not military strength but rather ideological strength.

Power is an abstract idea, but its scope and range can be assessed. Legal scholars express power as "sovereignty," while sociologists refer to it as "authority." Power has several dimensions:

1. Political Power:

In the realm of political power, institutions, whether governmental or non-governmental, play a pivotal role. Government institutions, encompassing branches like the legislature, executive, and judiciary, exercise political power, constituting what we term as the formal organs of power.

Non-governmental entities, including pressure groups, political parties, and influential individuals, also wield the ability to influence public decisions. These are referred to as informal organs of power. Political power involves the authority to utilize society's valuable resources according to one's preferences, in the interest of different groups or programs.

This authority extends to various actions, such as formulating policies and laws, enforcing legislation, imposing and collecting taxes, providing financial assistance to specific classes, assigning responsibilities, apprehending and penalizing those who violate the law, and defending against enemies and invaders. Essentially, political power grants individuals or groups the capability to shape the trajectory of societal resources and actions in alignment with their objectives.

2. Ideological Power (Hegemony):

Ideological power, as described by Gramsci, is known as "hegemony." It goes beyond mere force or coercion and is better understood in cultural terms. This concept is echoed by American thinker Joseph Nye, who refers to it as "Soft Power." Ideological power is acquired through the dissemination of ideology, which inspires political actions and legitimizes them. Unlike logic, ideology relies on emotion, making it a powerful tool for accumulating long-term influence. Gramsci challenged Marx's economic-centric view, emphasizing that cultural and ideological factors form the foundation of power. This

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131

power involves shaping people's thoughts according to a specific ideology by controlling religion, culture, education, and media. Ultimately, ideological power is essential for legitimizing political authority and justifying government systems in the eyes of the public. It entails promoting specific ideas about the "best system of governance" by the ruling classes, which constitutes political ideology. Thus, power can be acquired through films, television, media, and even yoga, illustrating its cultural reach.

3. Economic Power:

Marxists believe that the foundation of power is economic. According to them, those who control the economy will also control the state, government, religion, art, and culture. Economic power comes from controlling the means of production or influencing behavior through financial means. It seeks to control the living conditions of individuals or nations and has a major impact on politics. In liberal democracies, those who hold economic power often influence politics through organized, strong, and vocal pressure groups, sometimes outweighing the influence of the general population.

Marxists argue that power in society is a form of exploitation because it rests solely in the hands of the dominant class. Therefore, they aim to eliminate these power relations and establish a society based on justice and love, which they call communism.

Economic power plays a key role in shaping political landscapes and affects policies and decision-making processes across different political systems.

Post-Modern view of Power

Michel Foucault, a French thinker, studied linguistics to show that language is neither objective nor universal. Instead, it is shaped by social structures, where the dominant or ruling class determines language. As a result, knowledge or truth is not objective, but changes with time and context.

Foucault's famous statement, "Knowledge is power," does not mean that experts are necessarily powerful. Rather, it means that those in power define what knowledge is. For example, historically, men have dominated society, and thus women were considered unfit in language, social systems, and political settings. Similarly, colonizers portrayed Asian and African societies in a demeaning light, such as showing them as snake charmers or magicians.

Foucault rejected the traditional concept of power as explained by liberals and Marxists. Liberals saw the government as powerful, while Marxists viewed economic power as central. Foucault, however, argued that power is dispersed throughout society, like cells in a body.

Michel Foucault argues that power is not just about repression, but it also creates and shapes society. In today's world, technology plays a key role in exercising power, seen in institutions like schools, hospitals, and prisons, which maintain discipline.

He suggested that modern society controls people's behavior through various means. In hospitals and prisons, for instance, individuals follow rules not out of fear of punishment, but because of the knowledge instilled by the social system. In Discipline and

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132

Punish, Foucault uses the panopticon prison model to explain how modern power works. The panopticon is a prison design with a central watchtower, where prisoners never know if they are being watched. This constant possibility of surveillance encourages prisoners to control their own behavior, showing how power can work without direct force.

Foucault argues that the panopticon model isn't just for prisons but applies to other areas like schools and hospitals, where similar methods of control are used. In The History of Sexuality, he discusses how society's knowledge shapes views on sexuality, and that what we see as truth is often shaped by cultural and social factors, not objective reality.

Through knowledge, society also shapes individual identities. For instance, anyone can be labeled "mad" by society, yet medical science has never clearly defined madness in objective terms. Madness is more of a social construct than a biological one.

Even scientific knowledge is not entirely objective; it too is shaped by society. This is why Foucault believed in the need to reconstruct such knowledge, especially since, for example, the distinction between male and female in the Olympics is based on testosterone levels, which is highly debatable.

Legitimacy

Parsons famously said, "In political theory, power holds the same significance as money does in the economy." In politics, when power is based on consent, it is called legitimacy. Power based on consent is also referred to as authority (Max Weber).

Indeed, in the realm of politics, power and legitimacy form an intrinsic symbiosis, as the endurance of power over the long term necessitates legitimacy. Various mechanisms have historically been employed to confer legitimacy, illustrating the dynamic nature of this relationship. For instance, monarchs of yore often legitimized their authority through divine endorsement, invoking the name of God.

In modern democracies, legitimacy often comes from the electoral process. To understand this, political sociology looks at the social factors that make legitimacy effective. It explores how people recognize the authority of political leaders, how they express this recognition, and the ways in which political regimes gain legitimacy. Political sociologist David Beetham explains these ideas clearly in his work.

The study of political theory is primarily the study of authority, and various theorists have used the different methods to maintain it.

Devine Concept of Legitimacy

Traditionally, kings and rulers legitimized their power by claiming the divine theory of origin of state. Max Weber referred to this type of power as "traditional authority." Even today, in countries like Saudi Arabia and Iran, rulers use religion to maintain their authority. However, with the advancement of the modern age, faith gradually lost its role as the primary element in legitimizing state power.

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133

Transitioning to a Consent-Based Legitimacy

With the development of modernity in Europe, the principles of consent and agreement were used to legitimize state power. Max Weber referred to this as the logical form of power, which is based on rules and laws. Therefore, it is also called legal authority. Based on this, elections were held in the modern era to obtain power, leading to the development of democratic governance. This further proves that power and authority are synonymous. Those who hold authority also possess power, but having power does not necessarily mean one has authority. The following are the benefits of transforming power into authority:

(i) Power can be maintained for a longer duration.

(ii) Since authority is based on the consent of the people, the likelihood of opposition and rebellion decreases.

(iii) Understanding power solely as military strength is a mistake because authority gained through consent is more sustainable.

Therefore, military dictators also rely on elections to legitimize their power. Even in communist countries like China, elections are held.

The evolution of political thought saw the rise of social contract theory, first introduced by Thomas Hobbes to justify absolute monarchy. Social contracts highlighted the importance of consent and became a democratic tool to support state power. John Locke later modified Hobbes' ideas, challenging the legitimacy of absolute monarchy.

Montesquieu's Alternative Views

In his work *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu moved away from the individualist framework of legitimacy promoted by contractualists. He proposed alternative forms of legitimacy to reduce the arbitrary nature of individual free will. Montesquieu emphasized socially responsible roles for the state, which included social reform, constitutionalism, and the protection of civil liberties. Together, these elements contribute to the essence of legitimate authority.

Popular Sovereignty as the Basis of Legitimacy

Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed that legitimacy could only be achieved through the democratization of political authority. For Rousseau, this meant active participation from citizens and recognition of their social and political needs. He argued that the legitimacy of government and the exercise of power depended on citizens' involvement. This highlights the connection between individual self, public commitment, and collective goals necessary for the survival of a republican polity.

Legitimacy as a Bourgeois Concept

Karl Marx, on the other hand, disagreed with Rousseau's optimistic view. He argued that the modern state serves the interests of the bourgeoisie and does not truly reflect the common will of the people. In Marx's view, the legitimacy of political authority in a capitalist society is a myth. He believed the capitalist state is inherently exploitative and could never represent the 'locus of public will.'

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Old Rajinder Nagar - Shop No. - 63, 3rd Floor, Main Market, Bada Bazar Road, New Delhi - 60
Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 7820042822
E - mail - saraswati.ias@gmail.com **Visit us at :** www.saraswatiias.com

134

Power as Authority

Authority, which means legitimate power, is a mix of power and legitimacy. This idea, especially expressed by the German sociologist Max Weber, sees power as the use of authority. Charles E. Lindblom puts it simply by saying that "politics itself boils down to a struggle for authority among competing political actors." Robert Dahl clarifies authority further, describing it as a situation where one entity (B) tends to follow the wishes of another (A) automatically and without thinking, showing a clear pattern of obedience.

Max Weber, in his work "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," categorizes authority into three types:

1. **Rational Legal Authority:** This type of authority is held by individuals who work within political systems in a neutral and anonymous manner, following established rules and procedures. A clear example of this is bureaucracy.

2. **Traditional Authority:** This authority is based on historical and cultural foundations. It is held by those in powerful positions due to long-standing traditions. For instance, the Pope's religious authority in Vatican City exemplifies traditional authority.

3. **Charismatic Authority:** This form of authority stems from the unique personality traits or exceptional qualities of an individual. Charismatic authority arises when a person earns respect and legitimacy from a large segment of the population. An example of this is Gandhi's spiritual and intellectual influence among the Indian people.

All three forms of authority complement each other. Every ruler wants to exercise their charismatic power. However, in the modern era, the most effective form of authority is rational-legal authority, which is also referred to as bureaucracy.

Max Weber highlights the modernity and rationality of bureaucracy, viewing it as the most advanced form of organization. He argues that power resides in bureaucracy as a distinct structure, separate from the idea that power is inherently held by the people. According to Weber, power is concentrated in the rules and regulations of the organization. Bureaucracy follows principles like hierarchies, division of power, anonymity, and formality. It operates as a system ruled by appointed officials, in contrast to democracy, which is governed by elected individuals.

De jure and De facto Power

Power and authority are synonymous. The power obtained through law or constitution is referred to as De jure or legal authority. In contrast, the power that is actually exercised is called De facto power. In modern democratic states, both forms are often combined. However, in states where the military holds significant power, there is often a struggle between actual and legal authority.

De jure represents legal authority, but obtaining power does not solely depend on law. Power can also be effectively utilized based on tradition and charisma. Therefore, it is said that legality is not always essential for legitimacy.

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Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 7820042822
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135

David Beetham's critique of Max Weber

David Beetham critiques Max Weber's categorization of authority systems. He acknowledges that Weber's framework is important for understanding modern political legitimacy. However, Beetham argues that this framework may not fully capture the complexities of twentieth-century regimes. While Weber effectively explains the shift from traditional to modern authority, Beetham believes it falls short in addressing the diverse types of regimes that emerged during that time.

Weber's Bureaucratic Model	Marxist Model of Power as Exploitation
• Power is wielded through the rational structure of bureaucracy.	• Power is wielded by the state, viewed as an instrument serving the interests of the bourgeoisie.
• The model is characterized by a hierarchical framework to facilitate the efficient and effective exercise of power over subordinates.	• Marxists reject the notion of hierarchy, considering it a mechanism of oppression. They advocate for the proletariat to overthrow this hierarchical structure.
• Bureaucracy is conceived as a permanent institution, playing a vital role in societal management.	• The bureaucracy is comprised of elites who sustain themselves by exploiting the capitalist societal order.
• As a neutral entity, bureaucracy operates on the foundation of established rules and procedures.	• Both the bureaucracy and the state function as tools of coercion, ensuring the material and ideological dominance of the bourgeoisie.

Bureaucracy as a Power Block/Power and Communism

According to Marx, the state and power are products of an exploitative system. He argued that the state is a tool of exploitation in the hands of capitalists (Communist Manifesto). Expanding on this idea, contemporary Marxist thinker Ralph Miliband stated that bureaucracy serves as a means of exploitation for capitalists. Under the guise of a welfare state, capitalists have created a system that primarily benefits their own interests. According to Miliband, civil servants do not work for the welfare of society but for the interests of capitalists, as they share similar social and educational backgrounds. Therefore, it is meaningless to consider bureaucracy as neutral or impartial.

On the other hand, Max Weber believed that modern society cannot function without bureaucracy. He argued that bureaucracy is a logical principle for organizing systems and is a necessity for modern civilization. According to Weber, bureaucracy is hierarchical and legal, while Marxists aim to establish an egalitarian, communist society. Interestingly, Marxist thinkers criticize the same bureaucracy that runs their political parties. This idea was put forward by Marxist thinker Milovan Djilas.

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136

Liberal thinker Friedrich Hayek, however, argued that bureaucracy expands the size of the government and discourages the market, making its growth harmful to a market-based system.

Legitimation Crisis

Power and authority are often seen as the same. The process of turning power into authority is called legitimacy, which is based on consent. The tools used to maintain power are also used to establish legitimacy. Those who advocate for abolishing the state reject the idea of legitimacy. Marx, for example, wanted to end the state, and anarchists like Kropotkin and Bakunin also opposed it. Therefore, they reject legitimacy.

However, it's hard to imagine modern society without government and authority. Neo-Marxists like Habermas, instead of discarding legitimacy, discussed the "crisis of legitimacy" or the "dilemma of legitimacy." He argued that a capitalist state cannot be truly welfare-oriented and that modern capitalism has deep contradictions. In this system, the economy is controlled by a few capitalists, while the political system claims to be democratic. In politics, everyone has equal rights, and decisions are made by the majority. But in capitalism, a small group controls the economy, and the state works to protect their interests, while the general public expects the government to serve the majority. Capitalists focus on maximizing profits, often reducing spending on welfare programs. However, democratic processes and the recognition of socioeconomic rights require more public investment in social security and welfare. To support these programs, taxes tend to increase, which conflicts with the profit-driven goals of capitalism. While the public demands greater welfare support, capitalists aim to boost their profits. This clash of interests creates contradictions within the political system. This creates a crisis for the state because balancing the interests of both the capitalists and the general public is nearly impossible.

Therefore, in democracies like France, the U.S., and India, civil society constantly pushes for change through movements. Although elections may change governments, the capitalist system often remains the same.

Habermas, along with Claus Offe, argued that capitalism responds to these crises by using new methods to gain legitimacy, such as democratic processes, party competition, welfare policies, and social reforms. Anthony King and Richard Rose proposed the 'Overload Thesis,' which suggests that political parties often make unrealistic promises in their manifestos, causing a sense of democratic overload when these promises are not fulfilled.

State Action during Crisis

During a legitimation crisis, Habermas argued that the modern state tries to restore order through 'system steering' and ideological measures. This involves separating the economic sphere (wage labor and capital relations) from the political sphere (governance institutions). By doing this, the exploitative relationship between workers and capitalists is distanced from politics, leading to a less participatory and more bureaucratic system.

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Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 7820042822
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137

Ideologically, the system maintains its legitimacy through universal ideas of rights, justice, and citizenship, which give the state a moral basis for its rule.

Ideology and Power (Hegemony)

Ideologies are crucial for motivating political actions and legitimizing state power. For example, liberals use ideology to support freedom and human rights, rejecting the idea that the state's origin comes from divine authority. While institutions like the police and military are important for state control, liberals argue that ideology, based on consent, is more significant in legitimizing state power.

Hegel, a German philosopher, believed that ideas shape material conditions. Even movements like fascism, which focus on action, use ultra-nationalist ideology to justify their totalitarian states. In contrast, Karl Marx sees ideology as a tool for exploiting the working class, calling it false consciousness. Marx argues that socio-economic conditions shape our consciousness, ideas, and religion, meaning that material conditions influence ideologies rather than the other way around.

Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci recognized that ideology represents a form of ideological or cultural power. He argued that capitalists maintain their exploitation through ideological control over civil society, a concept known as hegemony. For Gramsci, hegemony is a form of ideological power generated by consent.

Robert Cox shares this view, stating that ideology is a tool for monopolizing power. In today's era of liberalization and globalization, capitalists use ideological power, often called common sense. Joseph Nye's concept of soft power further illustrates how ideological power shapes global dynamics.

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Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 7820042822
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138

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Dr. Rajesh Mishra

- Western Political Thought
- Indian Political Thought

Content

Part - 1

Western Political Thought

Part - 2

Indian Political Thought

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3 Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527)

Introduction

Machiavelli was born in the city of Florence, Italy, in 1469. His lifetime marked the transition from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the modern era. During this period, Italy was a weak and fragmented state, divided into small principalities and vulnerable to foreign attacks. This precarious political situation profoundly influenced Machiavelli's thinking. His primary objective was to unify Italy and strengthen it against external threats, shaping his political philosophy and strategies.

Literary Contribution

Machiavelli's most significant work on statecraft is "The Prince," where he offers advice to rulers on the art of governance. In his second major work, "The Discourses," he emphasizes the importance of republican government. His third book, "The Art of War," addresses practical techniques and strategies in warfare. These contributions collectively highlight his insights into political leadership, governance, and military strategy.

Methodology

Machiavelli pioneered a new approach in political thought by rejecting the metaphysical methods of the Greek age and the religious-dominated thinking of the medieval period. He discarded conventional methods in favor of a more practical and realistic methodology. His empirical approach applied knowledge of human psychology and history, rather than relying solely on philosophy to understand politics. Machiavelli argued that the rise and decline of states are evident in history, and that a strong prince is essential for creating a powerful state. This, he believed, is a crucial lesson from history.

Modern Age

Machiavelli is considered a modern thinker. Berki noted that he laid the foundation of modern thought. The modern age, known as the age of reason, saw scientific inventions resulting from rational thinking. The emergence of the nation-state became a defining feature, shifting the focus from religious life to material and economic life. This primacy of economic and material life led to the development of secular thought, with Europe witnessing a trend towards secularism for the first time. Additionally, there was the rise of absolute monarchy in countries like England and France. Although Machiavelli is often viewed more as a statesman than a traditional political thinker, his work embodies many modern tendencies. Despite these trends, the church remained very powerful in Italy. In "The Prince," Machiavelli criticized the church for hindering the unification of Italy, noting that it neither unified Italy itself nor allowed others to do so. He identified two main obstacles to Italy's unification: the internal power of the church and the external threats posed by powerful monarchies such as France, England, and Spain.

Child of his Age

Dunning believed that Machiavelli was a child of his age. Indeed, every thinker can be considered a product of their time and space, influenced by the specific historical and cultural context in which they write. Machiavelli was born during a transitional phase in European history, marking the shift from the medieval to the modern age. Europe was witnessing a growing tendency toward secularism for the first time.

During Machiavelli's era, both Europe and Italy were experiencing significant social, political, and internal transformations. There was the rise of despotic monarchies in England and France. Italy, divided into five principalities, faced the Church as its most significant internal obstacle to unity, while France and Spain posed external threats. This period also saw many important inventions and explorations, leading to the development of new means of communication and the rise of the middle classes.

Machiavelli was profoundly influenced by the society of his time. According to Sabine, this transitional phase of history shaped Machiavelli's thought. Had Machiavelli been born in a different era, his ideas would have differed. For example, if he had been born 100 years later, he might have proposed different concepts and theories based on the conditions and challenges of that time.

Every individual is inherently selfish and avaricious, seeking to maximize wealth and security. This inherent selfishness leads to conflict and struggle among individuals. According to Sabine, Machiavelli is considered the father of the school of universal egoism, which suggests that every human being is driven by self-interest and greed. Machiavelli observed that while the people of Italy were creative and intelligent, they were also corrupt. Given these circumstances, he advocated for a powerful prince who could unify and secure Italy.

Machiavelli, a resident of Florence, believed that the major reason behind the strengthening of countries like England, France, and Spain was their powerful rulers. France and Spain consistently attacked Italy and aimed to keep it divided. Thus, Machiavelli argued that only a powerful prince could address the internal and external challenges Italy faced at that time. He was a proponent of a realistic approach, advising the prince to be cautious of external attacks and to enhance military capabilities.

Italy, the center of the Renaissance, focused on human dignity. Machiavelli rejected Platonic and medieval thinking and sought to separate politics from morality. He argued that the king should not be bound by moral principles, redefining morality to prioritize the strengthening and securing of the state as the prince's highest moral duty. This laid the foundation for secular thinking and nationalism.

Nationalism

Machiavelli emphasized the need for unity among the five states of Italy. He sought to regenerate the public spirit because Italy was fragmented due to internal divisions and external aggression. He argued that a powerful prince was necessary to create a strong state. During the modern age, the concept of the nation-state emerged, with England and France already having become strong and unified, while Italy remained divided.

Machiavelli asserted that the state was a more important institution than the church. He believed that the church was not powerful enough to unify Italy and that it hindered other institutions from making Italy strong. Machiavelli also famously stated that "the end justifies the means," suggesting that any means could be used to achieve Italy's unification.

Foster supported Machiavelli's ideas, arguing that Machiavelli's thoughts were not aimed at maximizing personal interest but were intended to defend the concept of a strong state. Foster believed that given the corrupt nature of human beings, a powerful prince was essential for the unification of Italy.

Virtue and Fortuna

Machiavelli asserted that a prince must be virtuous. However, his concept of virtue differs from that of the Greek age. For Machiavelli, virtue refers to power, glory, security, and order. A prince must be prepared for unforeseen conditions in the state, such as conspiracies or wars. Power is the only guarantee of the state's security, and a powerful prince can turn adverse conditions in his favor, much like building a dam to control a flooding river. Therefore, the prince should seek power and work to establish a citizen's army (militia). While the prince can exhibit positive human qualities, he may also need to act cruelly and set aside moral principles to protect the interests of the state. Virtue for an individual is different; individuals should adhere to moral principles, while for a prince, virtue means strengthening the power of the state.

Fortuna represents the external, social, and political conditions beyond the prince's control. Machiavelli argued that a prince should not rely on Fortuna, or luck. He believed there is no cosmic moral law governing the world. In "The Prince," he provided examples to illustrate his point: a farmer who works hard on his farm may see his crops destroyed by a hailstorm, and a ship captain may lose his vessel to a sudden storm, despite no fault of his own. However, just as we can build a dam to regulate a river, a prince can control Fortuna to enhance virtue. A powerful prince can turn adverse conditions to his advantage.

Machiavelli outlined two methods of fighting: one by law and the other by force. The first method is associated with men, while the second is associated with beasts. When the first method is insufficient to protect the state's interests, the second becomes necessary. Therefore, Machiavelli advised that a prince should embody both the qualities of a lion and those of a fox. For Machiavelli, Fortuna follows virtue, meaning that destiny is always subordinate to power.

Power politics

- The concept of power politics was not prominent during the Greek Age or the medieval period. The Greek Age focused on the idea of an ideal state, while the medieval period was dominated by the Church and religious concerns.
- Machiavelli introduced a new approach to political science, emphasizing the need to build a powerful state and a strong prince. He dismissed traditional morality, idealism, and conventions, advocating instead for a powerful ruler.
- According to Machiavelli, the rise and fall of states can only be understood within the framework of power politics, with weak states being prone to decline.
- Machiavelli viewed power as essential for securing and strengthening the state and sought to separate morality from politics. He advised the prince on the importance of understanding the 'Art of War,' managing power, and enhancing military capabilities.
- Machiavelli stressed that a state can be governed through power, force, and coercion, reflecting his belief in the inherently selfish and egoistic nature of human beings.

This perspective demonstrates that Machiavelli was not only a political scientist but also a strategist. According to Hacker, his contributions are more significant for policy science than for political science.

Human Nature

Machiavelli applied an empirical method to analyze human nature, rejecting metaphysical approaches. Through this empirical analysis, he appears to have laid the foundation of political science. Hacker notes that Machiavelli did not propose a political philosophy but focused on the practical aspects of politics rather than theoretical dimensions.

In contrast to the Greek view of humans as moral and virtuous and the medieval view of humans as fallen, Machiavelli presented a secular perspective on human nature. In the Modern Age, individuals seek property and security rather than salvation or liberation. Machiavelli offered a realistic portrayal of human nature, which influenced later liberal thinkers like Hobbes and Bentham. According to Machiavelli, humans are inherently selfish and greedy, aiming to protect and maximize their property. To secure their property, they seek power. Thus, a prince must master the art of managing and controlling these selfish tendencies.

Machiavelli argued that both love and fear should be used to govern people. Love alone is insufficient because people act kindly only to fulfill their selfish interests. Individuals are naturally selfish, egoistic, and cowardly. Fear, on the other hand, is a more reliable and lasting method of control but must be used carefully to avoid harming the prince's position. The prince should learn to combine love and fear, so that love can be fostered through the fear that is effectively managed.

Additionally, Machiavelli advised that a prince should not acquire or forfeit the property or women of his citizens. While seeking assistance from allies is acceptable, a prince should not become overly dependent on them.

Statecraft

In contrast to the Greek Age, which focused on philosophical and theoretical questions about the state's origin, justice, constitutionalism, and citizenship, Machiavelli addressed practical and pragmatic issues, such as the unification of Italy and the acquisition of power. He laid the foundation for statecraft, which is concerned with the effective management and running of a state, rather than theoretical concerns.

- Machiavelli's approach to politics is realistic, emphasizing practical strategies over philosophical ideals. Hacker describes him more as a policy maker or strategist than a political thinker. In The Prince, Machiavelli explores how a ruler should behave, advocating for the use of violence, coercion, and deceit as necessary means to maintain power and unify Italy.
- Machiavelli believed that only a powerful prince could ensure a strong and unified Italy. He advised that a prince should embody both the qualities of a lion and a fox: the lion for handling violence and rebellion, and the fox for cunning and political maneuvering. The prince should appear virtuous and religious but must be prepared to use deceit, force, and cleverness as situations demand.
- Machiavelli's work is often described as an "economy of violence" due to his emphasis on the strategic use of force to control unrest and ensure stability.

Politics and Religion

In the Greek and medieval political eras, religion was an integral part of the state. During the medieval period, the Church held significant power and often challenged the authority of the state. Machiavelli sought to separate religion from politics, laying the foundation for secular political thinking. He was critical of the Church's interference in state affairs but was not opposed to religion itself. He saw the Church as a major internal obstacle to the unification of Italy.

Machiavelli believed that politics was not about moral goodness and that a prince should learn not to be bound by traditional moral principles. While he acknowledged the social importance of religion, he argued that it should be used as a tool to further the interests of the state. Religion, for Machiavelli, had both political and social powers. He suggested that a ruler should leverage the political power of religion to maintain control. Thus, he applied a utilitarian approach towards religion.

Machiavelli argued that moral principles are not always applicable for a prince. If a ruler adhered strictly to moral principles, it could jeopardize the safety and security of the state. Although a prince should be compassionate, humane, and religious, he should not hesitate to act amorally if the situation demands. Religion could be a powerful tool to make citizens obedient, disciplined, and fearful when necessary.

Machiavelli is often regarded as the Father of Secular Thought in the modern world, advocating for the separation of state and religion. He viewed God as a symbol of the fear of the unknown, suggesting that fear of God could be more influential than fear of the prince. The king must show that he is providing freedom to his people, but in reality, he should not. Machiavelli redefined politics as power politics, believing that power was essential for state security. To acquire and maintain power, a ruler must master the 'Art of using religion.' He also believed that a prince should create a strong citizen army (militia) rather than rely on mercenary forces.

Thus, he stressed the need for a powerful prince to ensure Italy's security both internally and externally. Critics have argued that using religion for political ends can be seen as communalism rather than true secularism.

State and Morality

Machiavelli redefined morality, asserting that any actions taken by a prince to make the state more powerful and secure it from external threats are moral actions. He freed the prince from the obligation of moral principles, while expecting citizens to adhere to them. According to Machiavelli, if a prince were to follow traditional moral principles, the state could never become powerful because humans are inherently selfish and greedy.

Isaiah Berlin argued that Machiavelli is not anti-moral but amoral, suggesting that the state is neutral to moral principles. Machiavelli developed two standards of morality: one for the prince and another for ordinary citizens. Citizens are bound by moral principles, but the actions of a prince are not subject to moral judgment.

Aristotle defined politics as a moral vocation, a concept Machiavelli entirely changed. Berlin contended that Machiavelli's opposition is not to morality itself but to the conflation of different yardsticks of morality for rulers and the ruled.

Conclusion

Machiavelli posited that there are no fixed principles for a prince, asserting that the principle of morality shifts in accordance with changes in time and circumstances. Critics such as Leo Strauss labeled Machiavelli as a "teacher of evil" due to his pragmatic and sometimes ruthless political views. However, scholars like Foster liken Machiavelli to a craftsman, specifically a carpenter, teaching the craft of politics. This craft can be used in various ways: to navigate and defend against deceitful politicians or to engage in the politics of deception.

This comparison suggests that Machiavelli imparts practical knowledge about the intricacies of governance rather than advocating malevolence. Thus, Machiavelli's work can be seen as a guide to the realistic and often harsh world of political power, emphasizing the necessity of adaptability and pragmatism in effective statecraft. He presents a naked picture of politics, demonstrating how it can be practiced with both cunning and strategy, depending on the circumstances.

Forms of government

In *Discourses*, Machiavelli analyzed which form of government is better, arguing that the appropriate form of government depends on the condition of the state. He believed that an absolute monarchy was the best form of government for Italy because its people were egoistic, corrupt, and selfish. However, Machiavelli was convinced that a republican or democratic form of government is generally the best. According to Hacker, Machiavelli was neither a staunch advocate nor an opponent of republican government. He was not as democratic as Rousseau nor as liberal as John Locke.

For a comprehensive understanding of Machiavelli's political thought, it is essential to read his work *"Discourses on Livy."* While Machiavelli has become notorious for the term "Machiavellian politics" due to his perceived ruthlessness in *"The Prince," "Discourses on Livy"* demonstrates that he was not merely a teacher of evil. In *"Discourses,"* Machiavelli argues that a republican form of government is the best and justifies this on several grounds:

- Machiavelli argued that a republican form of government is the most suitable for the unity and integrity of the state because it allows for broad participation in government formation. This form of government can be practiced where citizens are moral and virtuous.
- Republican governments grant freedom and autonomy to their citizens, which form the basis for the development of both society and the state.
- Machiavelli argued that a citizen army is essential for defending the nation, and this is more practicable in a republican form of government. A citizen army, motivated by patriotism and a sense of duty, is more reliable and effective compared to mercenary forces.
- Machiavelli believed that a republican form of government is characterized by greater tolerance, providing some powers and rights even to minorities and being governed by law.
- In a republic, if an ordinary person is incapable or incompetent to rule, citizens have the choice to select their own ruler, which fosters a willingness to obey.
- He argued that the collective wisdom of a group of people is more effective than the wisdom of a single individual.

Machiavelli considered the republican form of government to be the best, but he believed it requires certain preconditions. Specifically, it is suitable in societies where citizens are moral and virtuous. He cited Switzerland as an example of a place where a republican government could thrive, in contrast to Italy, where he believed the people were too corrupt and self-interested for such a form of government to succeed. According to Sabine, Machiavelli's thinking contains contradictions because, on one hand, he described human nature as universally egoistic, while on the other hand, he praised the morality and virtue of Swiss citizens, which appears paradoxical.

Democracy, Republic, and the Concept of Liberty in Machiavelli's Thought

Machiavelli's *Discourses* addresses the republican form of government and the concept of liberty. In *Discourses*, he defended the republican form of government as a means of preserving liberty. He believed that in such a system, citizens contribute their talents for the glory of the state, and states that value liberty are more likely to achieve greatness. He argued that liberty allows individuals the freedom to

make personal choices, such as marriage, and that people will gladly have children who are born free rather than as slaves. Furthermore, liberty fosters the flourishing of art and industry. Machiavelli defined liberty in the following ways:

- Liberty of one's possessions and family life.
- The ability for each individual to do whatever they desire.

According to Skinner, civic virtue is essential for enjoying liberty. Civic virtue implies that citizens should be honest and moral. Liberty cannot be enjoyed in a society where people are corrupt and selfish. Cherishing liberty requires good human beings and a republican form of government. Machiavelli noted that while Italians are very intelligent, they are also corrupt, which is why he did not support a republican form of government for Italy. He believed that a powerful monarchy was more suitable for the country.

Hostility towards Metaphysics

Machiavelli disagreed with Greek political thought, which emphasized the importance of forms and the world of ideas, and believed the purpose of individual life was to lead a moral and virtuous existence. Instead, Machiavelli argued that in the modern age, property, security, and order became the prime concerns of individuals. As a result, materialism and secularism became key ideas for Machiavelli.

Machiavelli's views were influenced by the Renaissance, which began in Florence. During this period, trade and commerce were considered primary societal activities, and without a strong and powerful state, neither the life nor the property of individuals could be safe and secure. His ideas marked a radical departure from medieval thought, leading many to consider him the first modern thinker.

Machiavelli is a complex figure with multiple interpretations. Leo Strauss described him as a "teacher of evil" and the father of opportunism. In contrast, Quentin Skinner praised Machiavelli for founding the principles of republican government. Additionally, Machiavelli is considered the father of nationalism due to his advocacy for the unity of Italy.

Evaluation of Machiavelli

We can find multiple Machiavellis from different perspectives. Leo Strauss defined him as a teacher of evil, labeling him a thinker of opportunism, deceit, and cunning. However, Strauss' view is less accepted in contemporary debates about Machiavelli. Ernst Cassirer praised Machiavelli for his empirical approach, likening him to a "Galileo of politics" for his pioneering work in applying empirical methods to political analysis.

Skinner described Machiavelli as a Republican Democrat, and Italian scholars have recognized him as the father of nationalism. According to Foster, Machiavelli is a teacher of statecraft who provides a realistic portrayal of politics. A person studying Machiavelli can either adopt his pragmatic approach to become a shrewd politician or remain vigilant against cunning politicians.

Machiavelli used the concepts of power and deception for the unity of the nation rather than personal gain, and he considered republican rule to be the best form of government in suitable conditions.

Critical Analysis

Machiavelli's political thinking remains relevant today. According to Berki, Machiavelli's ideas should be understood in their entirety. In *Discourses on Livy*, he asserted that the republican form of government is the best. Foster suggested that *The Prince* is a type of advice book that can be utilized either to become an opportunistic, powerful, and cunning prince or to protect oneself from a cunning and opportunistic ruler. Machiavelli was a product of his time, and his views on statecraft, secular politics, realistic political analysis, and the separation of state from morality continue to resonate in the modern world.

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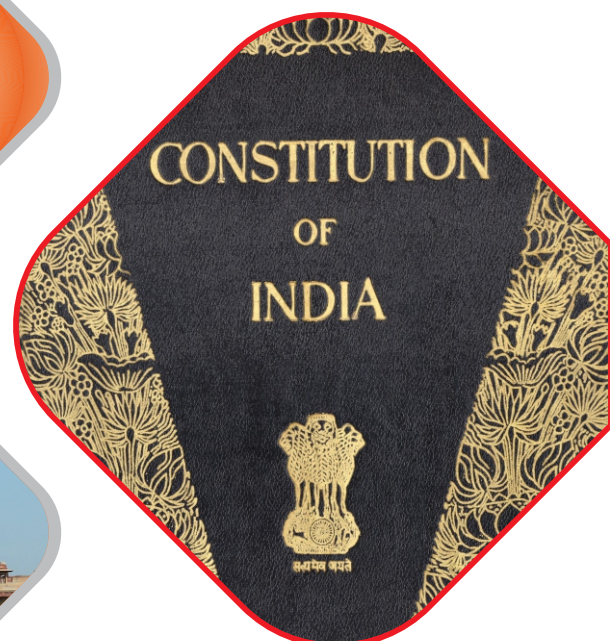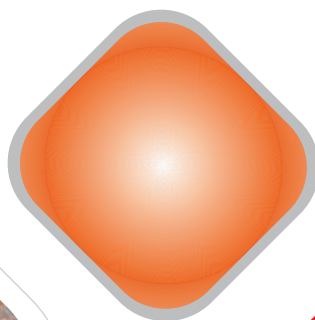
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Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 07820042822
E - mail - saraswati.ias@gmail.com,   **Visit us at :** www.saraswatiias.com

1

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Mukherjee Nagar - A - 20, 102, Indraprasth Tower (Behind Batra Cinema), Delhi - 110009
Old Rajinder Nagar - Shop No. - 63, 3rd Floor, Main Market, Bada Bazar Road, New Delhi - 60
Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 07820042822
E - mail - saraswati.ias@gmail.com,   Visit us at : www.saraswatiias.com

2

Various committees were formed to draft the constitution, with the Fundamental Rights sub-committee tasked with enacting the list of Fundamental Rights. This committee, chaired by J. B. Kripalani, meticulously documented the Fundamental Rights. Later, B. N. Rau, an advisor to the Constituent Assembly, recommended dividing Fundamental Rights into two categories. The first part comprised justiciable rights, enforceable against the state, while the second segment was labeled Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP).

Since enforcing Fundamental Rights required significant financial resources from the government, certain rights were placed in Part IV of the constitution, known as DPSP, as an extension of Fundamental Rights. DPSP drew inspiration from the Instrument of Instructions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and was also influenced by the Irish constitution, which, in turn, borrowed from the Spanish constitution.

Features of Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP)

- **Fundamentals of Governance:** Article 37 of the constitution stipulates that DPSP is not enforceable in a court of law but forms the foundation of governance in the country. It is the duty of the state to apply these principles in lawmaking, indicating that DPSP is not adversarial to the state. The implementation of DPSP relies on the state's discretion.

- **Welfare State**: DPSP embodies the ideals of a welfare state, as outlined in Article 38. The state is tasked with promoting social order based on social, economic, and political justice. It aims to minimize income inequality and eliminate disparities in status, facilities, and opportunities.

- **Basis of Socialist State:** While the term "socialism" was introduced in the preamble through the 42nd Amendment in 1976, the spirit of socialism is inherently present in Part IV of the constitution, which encompasses DPSP. Indian constitution amalgamates liberal democracy with socialist principles, reflecting a socialist-leaning approach.

Article 39(b) stipulates that the ownership and control of community material resources should be distributed to promote the common good. Article 39(c) underscores that the economic system should not allow the concentration of wealth and means of production against the common good. Since independence, India has adopted a mixed economic system, with the government strengthening the public sector. However, the economic model shifted towards privatization in 1991, aligning more closely with a liberal capitalist economy, albeit retaining elements of socialism. The transition to a market economy is deemed necessary for long-term economic efficiency without undermining the importance of DPSP, as the market economy can serve as a means to achieve DPSP objectives. China's synthesis of market and socialism reflects a similar approach, where the market promotes production efficiency while socialism advocates for just distribution.

- **Social-Economic Rights -** Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) encompass various social-economic rights, ensuring the rights of groups within society. Article 41 guarantees the right to work and education, with states mandated to provide public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, and disablement. Additionally, DPSP aims to provide early childhood care and education for all children until the age of six (Article 45) and promote the educational and economic interests of weaker sections, including scheduled castes and tribes, safeguarding them from social injustice and exploitation.

- **Liberal Principles -** In line with liberal principles, DPSP advocates for a Uniform Civil Code (Article 44) and the separation of the judiciary from the executive (Article 50). Furthermore, DPSP incorporates features of socialism, emphasizing the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities.

- **Gandhian Principles -** Gandhian principles are also embedded in DPSP, as highlighted in Article 47, which prioritizes raising the standard of living and nutrition levels of the people, improving public health, and prohibiting the consumption of intoxicating substances. Additionally, DPSP encourages modern and scientific practices in agriculture and animal husbandry, while also promoting the preservation and improvement of cattle breeds. Article 40 underscores the importance of organizing village Panchayats and empowering them with the necessary authority for self-government, reflecting Gandhi's vision of decentralized governance.

- **International Peace -** Regarding international relations, Article 51 of DPSP mandates that the state strive to promote international peace and security, maintain just and honorable relations between nations, uphold respect for international law and treaty obligations, and encourage the settlement of international disputes through arbitration. India's foreign policy is thus guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence, opposing all forms of exploitation and hegemony.

Non-enforceable, Non-Justiciable

Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) indeed hold a unique status within the Indian Constitution. Unlike Fundamental Rights, which are justiciable and enforceable in courts, DPSP are non-justiciable, meaning they cannot be legally enforced. Article 37 of the Constitution emphasizes that it is the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws, but individuals cannot approach the courts for their enforcement.

Critics have argued that this non-enforceability renders DPSP merely aspirational and lacking in practical impact. They have likened it to a "cheque on a bank payable when able," suggesting that the state may choose to implement DPSP only when convenient. This sentiment was echoed by various members of the Constituent Assembly, such as T.T. Krishnamachari, who referred to DPSP as a "Veritable Dustbin of Sentiment." Others, like H.N. Kunzru, have expressed skepticism about the value of DPSP, viewing them as lofty ideals without tangible effects. Scholars like Sir Ivor Jennings have characterized DPSP as mere pious aspirations, devoid of substance. Additionally, some have critiqued DPSP for representing Fabian socialism without the socialist mechanisms necessary for implementation.

Despite these criticisms, several members of the Constituent Assembly defended Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) as crucial components of the Indian Constitution, despite their non-justiciable nature.

Panikkar characterized DPSP as representing socialism in the economic sphere. He highlighted their importance in promoting economic democracy, suggesting that they offer a path towards achieving greater economic equality and justice within society.

Dr. Ambedkar, a key architect of the Indian Constitution, emphasized that DPSP represent a departure from mere political democracy. According to him, DPSP advocate for economic democracy, indicating that they aim to ensure not only political rights but also economic rights and opportunities for all citizens.

Granville Austin, a renowned constitutional historian, lauded the establishment of DPSP as a means to balance individual liberty with the public good. He noted that DPSP lay out positive obligations for the state, requiring future Indian governments to navigate between the preservation of property and privilege for a few and the provision of benefits for the many. In doing so, DPSP seek to empower all individuals to contribute equally to the common good of society.

These perspectives underscore the belief held by many members of the Constituent Assembly that DPSP play a vital role in shaping the socio-economic fabric of India, guiding the state towards policies that prioritize the welfare and advancement of all citizens.

Enforcement of Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP)

While it's true that Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) are not directly enforceable in a court of law, D. D. Basu's interpretation of Article 365 provides an interesting perspective on their enforcement.

Article 365 of the Indian Constitution stipulates that if a state government fails to comply with the directions given by the Union government, it could be considered as a situation where the state government is not functioning in accordance with the Constitution. In such cases, Article 356 can be invoked, which allows for the imposition of President's Rule, effectively bringing the state under the direct control of the Union government.

However, it's important to note that Article 356, commonly known as President's Rule, has historically been invoked in cases of breakdown of constitutional machinery in states due to political instability, failure of governance, or other extraordinary circumstances, rather than specifically for the non-implementation of DPSP. The application of Article 356 is a highly sensitive matter and is governed by strict constitutional norms and judicial review to prevent its misuse.

In essence, while there may be legal mechanisms to indirectly enforce DPSP through constitutional provisions like Article 365, their enforcement primarily relies on the political will and commitment of governments to adhere to the principles outlined in DPSP, rather than through direct legal action.

Implementation of Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP)

Dr. Ambedkar astutely championed the significance of Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP), asserting that the will of the people supersedes judicial dictates in a democracy. He contended that elected governments prioritize adhering to the DPSP, recognizing that electoral success hinges on fulfilling the aspirations of the populace. Thus, they must never overlook the imperatives outlined in the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP).

The 1st Constitutional Amendment marked a significant step towards the implementation of DPSP by introducing changes to the constitutional framework. Notably, the deletion of the right to property as a Fundamental Right from Part III of the Constitution exemplifies the prioritization of socio-economic objectives over individual property rights, as advocated by DPSP.

Indira Gandhi's government further emphasized the importance of DPSP by introducing amendments through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act. These amendments aimed to strengthen the socialist principles enshrined in the Constitution, aligning government policies more closely with the ideals of social justice, equality, and economic empowerment.

- **Article 39(A)** mandates states to promote equal justice and provide free legal aid. In line with this, Parliament enacted the National Legal Services Authority Act, 1987 (NALSA), ensuring free legal assistance to those below the poverty line. The institution of Lok Adalat in India is a testament to NALSA's contributions.
- **Article 43(A)** permits the participation of workers in the management of industries.
- **Article 48(A)** emphasizes the state's duty to protect and enhance the environment, forests, and wildlife. This led to the establishment of the Ministry for Environment, Forest and Climate Change in 1985. Several state governments have also banned cow slaughter, making it a punishable offense. Bihar, for instance, prohibited the production and sale of liquor to adhere to DPSP.
- The Gandhian vision of Panchayati Raj was realized through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, further demonstrating the implementation of DPSP. Thus, DPSP is not merely a "dustbin of sentiment." The government has introduced various schemes for social justice and welfare, such as MNREGA, UJJWALA, PM AWAS YOJANA, and AAYUSHMAAN YOJANA, underscoring the importance of DPSP for the people, even surpassing Fundamental Rights.

Importance of Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP) in Age of Liberalization

In the age of liberalization, the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) retain their significance despite the shift towards liberalization and privatization.

- Liberalization and privatization represent a shift in economic strategy, but the underlying goal of promoting social justice and the well-being of the people remains unchanged.
- A welfare state requires the equitable distribution of resources, and the efficiency and productivity inherent in a capitalist economy can contribute to the successful operation of welfare programs.
- The implementation of ambitious schemes post-1991, such as MGNREGA, PM housing, UJJWALA, and AYUSHMAN Bharat, underscores the compatibility of privatization with the objectives of the welfare state.
- Liberalization redirects the government's focus towards social justice, emphasizing that its role is not solely business-oriented.
- Ruchi Sharma, a well Known economist, said that India offers more welfare facilities and subsidies compared to newly industrialized states like Singapore and South Korea.
- However, contrasting views exist, with critics like Neerja Gopal arguing that in the era of liberalization, the state's role diminishes despite incorporating socialist principles. This is exacerbated by the rise of communalism, with marginalized sections bearing the brunt of economic development.

Relation between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP)

Granvil Austin said that fundamental rights and DPSP is the conscience of Indian constitution. Subhash Paliskar says that Indian political system comprised of ideals, institution and process.

- **Harmony -** Fundamental Rights are legally enforceable under Article 32, requiring the Supreme Court to safeguard them. The conflict between Fundamental Rights and DPSP surfaced notably in the Champakam Dorairajan case (1951) before the Supreme Court. Here, the Court invalidated a Madras government act regarding medical college reservations. Subsequently, the Nehru government introduced the first constitutional amendment to reinstate the implementation of DPSP, thereby overriding the Court's decision.

- **Supremacy of Fundamental Rights -** In 1967, the Supreme Court asserted the supremacy and sanctity of Fundamental Rights, stating that they are beyond the amendment powers of Parliament. This landmark ruling was delivered in the case of Golaknath vs Punjab State. Consequently, the government faced obstacles in implementing the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) following the Golaknath verdict.

- **Primacy of Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP) -** The Indira Gandhi government was determined to override the Supreme Court's verdict. In response, Parliament enacted the 25th Constitutional Amendment, marking the first instance in constitutional history where Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) were prioritized over Fundamental Rights. Specifically, Article 39(b) and (c) of DPSP were elevated above Articles 14, 19, and 31 of Fundamental Rights. This meant that for the implementation of Article 39(b) and (c), Fundamental Rights under Articles 14, 19, and 31 could be violated. With the 42nd constitutional amendment act, the position of DPSP was further fortified, stipulating that any Article within DPSP, not just Article 39(b) and (c), holds superiority over Articles 14, 19, and 31 of Fundamental Rights. Consequently, the entire DPSP could be implemented, superseding Fundamental Rights under Articles 14, 19, and 31.

- **Harmonious Construction -** The Minerva Mills Case (1980) marked a historic resolution by the Supreme Court. It asserted that Fundamental Rights should not be compromised under the guise of promoting the welfare of the people. The Preamble itself upholds a delicate equilibrium between liberty and equality. While the Court acknowledged the significance of Article 39(b) and (c) over Articles 14, 19, and 31, it emphasized the need for harmonious relations between other Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). This underscores their complementary nature, where no part is deemed more important than the other.

- **Active role of Judiciary and Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP) -** In the 1980s, the Supreme Court introduced Public Interest Litigation (PIL), thereby broadening the interpretation of the right to life and personal liberty enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution. The Court ruled that the right to life encompasses the right to free and compulsory education, a pollution-free environment, and a minimum livelihood. This liberal interpretation of the right to life aligns with

key components of the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). Consequently, the DPSP can be viewed as an extension of Fundamental Rights. As a result, the perceived conflict between Fundamental Rights and DPSP becomes obsolete, as they are now regarded as complementary to each other.

Conscience of the Constitution

Granville Austin says that Indian Constitution is not a legal document, moreover it is a social document. It is an instrument for a bringing about social revolution in India. Drawing from the Government of India Act, 1935, the Constitution adopts structures such as the parliamentary form of government and federalism to advance the cause of social justice. The inclusion of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles underscores the Constitution's objectives. While Fundamental Rights establish the foundation of a liberal society by recognizing the equal dignity of all individuals, Directive Principles strive to ensure equitable socio-economic conditions. Together, they establish a framework wherein the enjoyment of liberties enshrined in Fundamental Rights, such as the right to life, hinges upon factors like education and health, as articulated in the Directive Principles.

Uniform Civil Code (UCC)

The implementation of Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) has seen progress, yet the enforcement of a Uniform Civil Code (UCC) remains pending. Recently, in February 2024, the Uttarakhand Assembly made history by passing the Uniform Civil Code (UCC) Bill, marking the first instance in independent India where such legislation has been enacted at the state level. A UCC entails uniform laws governing marriages, divorce, and adoption for all citizens, irrespective of religious affiliation. While criminal laws are uniform, civil laws vary across religious communities. For instance, Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 applies to Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists, while Muslims follow the Muslim Personal Law, 1937, and separate laws exist for Christians and Parsis. Article 44 mandates the state to enforce a UCC. Several issues are associated with the implementation of a UCC, including:

- **Equality before Law -** In a significant ruling, the Supreme Court emphasized the necessity of a uniform civil code to uphold the rule of law. In the landmark Shah Bano case (1986), the Court highlighted the precedence of positive law enacted by the people over religious law. It asserted the supremacy of the Indian Penal Code over Shariat, emphasizing the primacy of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) in disputes where it conflicts with Shariat. The Court ruled that divorced Muslim women are entitled to maintenance as per the provisions of the CrPC, diverging from Shariat which does not provide for such maintenance. This decision underscored the principle of applying the same law to all women, regardless of their religious affiliations.

- **Secular State -** The concept of a secular state entails its governance being grounded in the material realm, separate from religious influence. However, the absence of a uniform civil code results in each religious community adhering to its distinct customs and practices concerning marriage, adoption, and divorce. This coexistence of religious-based laws alongside a secular state may appear contradictory.

- **Women's Empowerment -** The objective of the state is the empowerment of women, ensuring that every woman is entitled to receive maintenance in case of divorce. Polygamy, permitted by Shariat but prohibited under the Hindu Marriage Act, is deemed incompatible with the dignity of women.

- **Religious Rights -** Religious rights are enshrined as Fundamental Rights under Article 25 of the Constitution, encompassing practices such as marriage, divorce, and adoptions. Critics argue that implementing a uniform civil code may infringe upon the Fundamental Rights guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution. However, it's important to note that religious rights, like all Fundamental Rights, are not absolute and can be subject to limitations for the sake of social reform and welfare.

- **Uniformity -** The Constitution allows for the preservation of diverse customs, particularly regarding marriage practices. Regions like Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram, governed by the 6th schedule, retain autonomy over their customs. Similarly, Article 371(A) empowers Naga Tribes to maintain their unique marriage customs. Therefore, the implementation of a uniform Civil Code may contradict the ethos of a diverse society. Unity, in this context, does not imply uniformity, but rather unity in diversity.

- **Constitutional Provision -** Since Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) are non-justiciable and non-binding, it falls upon the state, encompassing both the union and state governments, to ensure their implementation. Goa stands as the sole state in the Indian union to have fully implemented UCC. Surprisingly, no state government has yet formulated a draft for a proposed Uniform Civil Code (UCC) except Uttarakhand. In 2018, the Supreme Court rendered the practice of instant Triple Talaq (Talaq-e-biddat) null and void, as seen in the Shayara Bano Case. While the Supreme Court appears to favor a Uniform Civil Code (UCC), the issue remains politically contentious.

Conclusion

The Uniform Civil Code (UCC) is crucial for fostering social reform and empowering women. However, it has become entangled in political agendas, often serving as a tool for securing votes rather than addressing its importance for societal progress.

Comparison between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of the State Policy (DPSP)

- Fundamental Rights are justiciable under Article 32, allowing individuals to seek remedies through the Supreme Court for their enforcement. However, Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) are not binding, as stated in Article 37. While the Supreme Court can issue various writs to enforce Fundamental Rights, the same writs are not applicable for enforcing DPSP.
- Fundamental Rights encompass civil liberties such as freedom of speech, expression, and conscience, as well as the right to life. Conversely, Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) focus on social and economic rights, such as the right to education, employment, and improved working conditions for workers.
- Fundamental Rights serve to restrict the state's actions, preventing it from unduly limiting citizens' liberties. This aspect makes Fundamental Rights negative in nature. On the other hand, DPSP directs the state to actively pursue certain objectives, making it positive in nature.
- During a national emergency, Fundamental Rights can be suspended, but DPSP remains in effect unless specifically enforced.
- The term "state" in Fundamental Rights encompasses the Union Government, State Governments, and local authorities. In contrast, DPSP reflects the concept of a welfare state.
- While Fundamental Rights lean towards a liberal democratic ideology, DPSP synthesizes liberal, socialist, and Gandhian ideals.

Conclusion

Indeed, beyond the technical disparities, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) complement each other. While Fundamental Rights ensure civil liberties, DPSP focuses on social and economic welfare. The decision to separate DPSP from Part III of Fundamental Rights stemmed from the constraints of state resources, as noted by Dr. Ambedkar. He aptly highlighted that political democracy alone is insufficient without social and economic democracy. DPSP, therefore, plays a crucial role in fostering social and political democracy, ensuring a more inclusive and equitable society.

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COMPARATIVE POLITICS
and
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(First Part)

Dr. Rajesh Mishra
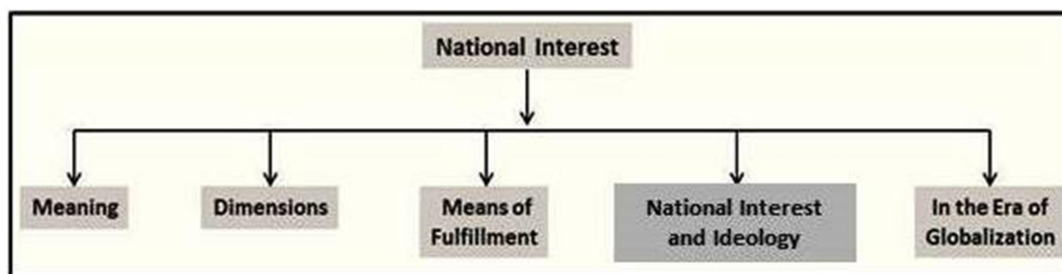
Content

International Relations
Part - 1
(Comparative Politics & International Politics)

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Mukherjee Nagar - A - 20, 102, Indraprasth Tower (Behind Batra Cinema), Delhi - 110009
Old Rajinder Nagar - Shop No. - 63, 3rd Floor, Main Market, Bada Bazar Road, New Delhi - 60
Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 7820042822
E - mail - saraswati.ias@gmail.com **Visit us at :** www.saraswatiias.com

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National Interest

Meaning

The concept of national interest is indeed complex and multifaceted, carrying different meanings depending on the context in which it is employed. As a result, there is no universally accepted interpretation of this concept. Lord Palmerston famously stated that "there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies, only permanent interests." This principle emphasizes that state relationships are driven by national interests rather than fixed alliances or enmities. According to this perspective, national interest is a fundamental and enduring factor that shapes a state's foreign policy. The concept of national interest is considered subjective and abstract, lacking a definitive, objective definition.

National interests can be categorized into core and secondary interests. Core interests pertain to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a nation, and these are non-negotiable; a state may even risk war to defend them. In contrast, secondary interests are subject to negotiation and compromise, allowing for flexibility and give-and-take.

However, Frankel categorizes the approaches to defining national interests into two broad categories: objective and subjective.

1. **Objective:** In this category, national interest is viewed as a concept that can be defined or examined using definable criteria. In non-democratic nations, there is typically no debate or disagreement in the formulation of foreign policy. The ruler or governing authority claims to possess knowledge of the nation's perfect interest, akin to a Platonic perspective. For example, in China, national interest is determined through an objective method.

2. **Subjective:** This category includes definitions that interpret national interest as a constantly changing and pluralistic set of subjective references. In democratic nations, national interest is subjective, and individuals are free to express their opinions on it. This aligns with an Aristotelian perspective. For instance, in India, there was disagreement among political parties regarding the Indo-USA civil nuclear agreement.

Morganthau's Realist Views on National Interest:

- In his book *Politics Among Nations*, Morganthau distinguished national interests from regional interests, each serving different priorities and objectives.
- He equated national interests with power, viewing them as synonymous.
- National interests should be pursued in alignment with a state's capacity. For instance, the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and Russia demonstrates how exceeding one's capacity can lead to prolonged instability and hardship.

- While pursuing their national interests, states should also consider the interests of other nations. This approach helps to maintain global stability and fosters cooperative relationships. In international politics, agreements, bargaining, and diplomacy are essential for resolving disputes. Most conflicts are settled through negotiations and mutual understanding, highlighting the importance of diplomatic efforts in fulfilling national interests.

Dimensions

National interest encompasses the following dimensions:

- Strategic
- Economic
- Political

1. **Strategic Interest:-** Among all the dimensions of national interest, strategic interest is of paramount importance, as it pertains directly to the security of the state. To ensure its safety, a state invests in advanced military equipment and critical technologies, such as nuclear, cyber, and space technologies, which are crucial for maintaining security in the modern world.

2. **Economic Interest:** In today's era of globalization, economic prosperity has become a crucial means of safeguarding national interests. For example, Saudi Arabia recently departed from the petro-dollar agreement established with the United States in 1974, reflecting its desire to reduce dependency on a single nation. Similarly, in 2022, India began importing a significant amount of oil from Russia due to the favorable pricing offered by Russia.

3. **Political Interest:** Political stability is essential for protecting national interests. Additionally, efforts to strengthen a country's global standing—such as seeking a permanent seat on the UN Security Council or joining the Nuclear Suppliers Group—are motivated by political aims to enhance influence and ensure stability.

Means of achieving national interests

National interest is the ultimate goal, achieved through various means, primarily economic strategies, propaganda, military organization, and ideology.

- **Economic strategies**

In today's world of liberalization and globalization, economic interests have become increasingly important. After World War II, George Kennan advised the United States to use dollar diplomacy to counter Soviet influence—a strategy that became known as the Marshall Plan. Similarly, China is using its Belt and Road Initiative to expand its influence, a tactic often called Checkbook diplomacy. Furthermore, China has advanced in critical technologies, presenting a serious challenge to American dominance.

- **Propaganda**

Joseph Goebbels famously said that if a lie is repeated a thousand times, it becomes the truth. This highlights how a state may use propaganda to promote falsehoods as universal truths, when they actually serve its own interests. In the current Ukraine crisis, the U.S. and European countries portray Russian President Vladimir Putin as a villain, accusing him of human rights abuses and even genocide. However, the U.S. does not take a similar stance on the Palestine-Israel conflict.

- **Military Organization**

In the Ukraine crisis, the decision of neutral countries like Sweden and Finland to join NATO is significant. They believe that joining this military alliance is essential for protection against potential Russian aggression. Meanwhile, Taiwan has a security alliance with the U.S., which

guarantees its defense—a stance China opposes, as it views Taiwan as part of its territory. Additionally, India has formed the Quad, a strategic alliance with the U.S., Japan, and Australia, aimed at enhancing regional security and cooperation.

- **National Interest and Ideology**

The relationship between national interest and ideology is complex and multifaceted, with different schools of thought offering varying perspectives on this connection.

Liberals emphasize the importance of ideology, viewing it as a guiding principle for foreign policy. They believe that shared values and beliefs can foster cooperation and harmony among nations. In contrast, Marxists reject capitalist ideology, seeing colonialism and imperialism as tools of capitalist exploitation. Realist scholars, such as Morgenthau, view ideology as a tool to advance national interests.

International relations are primarily shaped by national interests. However, when ideology aligns with these interests, relations can become particularly cordial and friendly. During the Cold War, ideology played a central role in shaping foreign policy, with communist countries promoting socialist solidarity. Yet, conflicts between socialist states, such as the USSR and China in the 1960s, demonstrate that national interests often take precedence over ideological considerations.

The relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia illustrates how national interest can trump ideology. Although the U.S. supports liberal democratic values, it maintains a strategic alliance with Saudi Arabia, a country with a very different political system. Similarly, countries like Vietnam, which do not follow liberal democratic principles, remain important partners for the U.S. Critics argue that this shows the U.S.'s willingness to support non-democratic regimes when national interests are at stake.

In more recent times, events like the Ukraine crisis have shown the consolidation of democratic nations against Russia. However, despite being the world's largest democracy, India has refrained from taking sides in the conflict, focusing instead on its own national interests.

While national interest is the primary driving force in international relations, ideology also plays a key role in justifying and supporting these interests. For example, Pakistan uses the ideology of Islamic solidarity to pursue its own goals. Ideology provides a framework that helps clarify and achieve national objectives, adding long-term coherence to foreign policy. Thus, while national interests dictate state behavior, ideology serves as a means to fulfill and legitimize these interests over time.

Realist vs. Liberal Approaches to National Interest

Realists suggest specific methods to fulfill national interests, such as acquiring arms, maintaining the balance of power, and using propaganda. In contrast, liberals emphasize soft power approaches like trade, business, and economic interdependence. They argue that diplomacy and cooperation are better ways to protect national interests, and that these interests can align with international goals.

Given the ambiguity of the concept of national interest, some scholars, like Raymond Aron, question its validity, even calling it a meaningless or pseudo-theory. However, despite these criticisms, various definitions have been proposed to clarify the concept:

1. The Brookings Institute defines national interest as "the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts."

2. Charles Lecher and Abul Said define it as "the general long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving."

3. Dyke describes it as the interests that states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other.

Analyzing these definitions reveals differences in how national interest is understood. The first two definitions view national interest as a guiding principle or purpose that informs state actions over time. They see it as a set of overarching goals that direct state behavior. On the other hand, Dyke's definition presents national interest as something that states actively pursue through their actions and behaviors in the international arena. This view suggests that national interest is realized through tangible state actions.

After analysis, the first two definitions seem more logical, while Dyke's definition may be seen as less precise or comprehensive in fully capturing the concept.

Types of National Interest

Understanding the different types of national interests can help clarify the concept. According to Thomas W. Robinson, national interests can be broadly classified into six categories: primary, secondary, permanent, variable, general, and specific. Let's explore each of these categories:

- **Primary interests** are essential for the survival and identity of a nation. These include protecting the nation's physical, political, and cultural integrity from external threats. These interests are permanent, non-negotiable, and must be defended at all costs.

- **Secondary interests** are important but not as critical as primary interests. They include things like protecting citizens abroad or ensuring diplomatic immunity for foreign officials.

- **Permanent interests** refer to long-term goals that remain relatively constant over time. Changes in these interests happen slowly. For example, Britain's commitment to maintaining freedom of navigation during its colonial era was a permanent interest to protect its colonies and trade routes.

- **Variable interests** are objectives that a country deems important for its well-being, depending on specific circumstances. These interests can be influenced by factors like political leadership, public opinion, and current events.

- **General interests** are broader goals that apply to many nations, especially in areas like economics, trade, and diplomacy. For instance, it was in Britain's general interest to maintain a balance of power in Europe to prevent the rise of a dominant power.

- **Specific interests** are more narrowly defined and may be related to time or place. For example, Britain considered it a specific interest to maintain the independence of the Low Countries to protect the balance of power in Europe.

In addition to these six categories, Robinson also mentions three types of **international interests**: identical, complementary, and conflicting.

- **Identical interests** are shared by multiple states. For example, both the USA and Britain had a shared interest in preventing any single power from dominating Europe.

- **Complementary interests** are not identical, but they align enough for nations to agree on certain issues. For example, Britain's interest in supporting Portugal's independence from Spain was partly to control the Atlantic.

- **Conflicting interests** occur when states have opposing goals. However, conflicting interests can change over time due to evolving events or diplomatic negotiations. What starts as a conflicting interest may become a complementary or even identical interest, depending on changing circumstances.

The National Interest in the National Security Debate

The concept of national interest plays a key role in the debate over national security, an area that requires substantial resources and is always open to scrutiny, as Adam Smith noted centuries ago. The protection and promotion of national interest justify the continuous allocation of resources to national security efforts. This connection operates on two levels: one is rhetorical and explanatory, while the other involves practical reasoning that helps states prioritize how to safeguard or advance their interests, both operationally and ideologically.

From an explanatory perspective, the national interest serves as a powerful tool to connect action, including resource allocation, to societal values. It forms the strategic narrative that leaders use to justify their decisions and gain support from the public.

However, as Henry Kissinger warned in 1970, when appeals to national interest turn into unchecked nationalism without rational thought, they can become highly destructive. Such approaches assume that society still values the nation-state and sovereign action—concepts that are increasingly challenged in today's global environment.

Robert Cooper examines the coexistence of pre-modern, modern, and post-modern states. Pre-modern states are often seen as "failed states," modern states maintain sovereignty and self-determination in their international relations, and post-modern states focus more on domestic politics than international concerns. In a post-modern world, where security may not always be the top priority, the role of the state diminishes. However, post-modern states still operate within a world of pre-modern and modern states.

In contemporary discourse, feminist thinkers have challenged the traditional concept of national interest, arguing that the nation often fails to consider women's perspectives. They point out that societies are typically patriarchal, with women underrepresented in government and administration. As a result, women often bear the brunt of the adverse effects of conflicts, such as the Ukraine crisis and the Palestine issue, despite not being responsible for initiating wars.

The views of Marxists are also critical of nationalism. They argue that society is economically divided into two classes: the capitalist class, which controls the state government and economic resources, and the working class. According to Marxists, nationalism is often used by the capitalist class to further its own interests and maintain its dominance. Thus, the notion of national interest, in their view, serves to perpetuate the control of economic resources by the capitalist class, often at the expense of the working class.

Conclusion

National interest remains a controversial and multifaceted concept, subject to various interpretations. Despite these debates, it is challenging to base foreign policy exclusively on gender or class considerations. Even states with communist ideologies have engaged with capitalist countries, demonstrating that national interests often transcend such divisions in practice.

National Interest and Global Interest

At the G20 meeting in New Delhi in 2023, the Indian Prime Minister emphasized the need for adopting the principle of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, which translates to "the world is one family." This principle reflects the idea that many contemporary challenges transcend national boundaries and require global cooperation.

Issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the environmental crisis are global in nature and cannot be effectively addressed by individual states acting alone. The pandemic demonstrated that international collaboration was essential for developing vaccines, sharing information, and managing public health responses.

The environmental crisis, including climate change, pollution, and resource depletion, threatens the survival of humanity as a whole. Addressing these issues requires joint efforts from all nations to implement sustainable practices, reduce carbon emissions, and protect natural resources.

In summary, while national interests remain central to state behavior, global challenges necessitate a collective approach. The principle of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* underscores the importance of unity and cooperation in tackling issues that affect the entire world.

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Security refers to a nation's ability to prevent attacks from other countries. In times of war, a nation must emerge victorious and defeat its adversaries. Realists view security mainly as the protection of state borders, while liberals focus on strengthening the economic interests of nations. Marxists, on the other hand, emphasize the broader well-being of humanity.

Realists also introduce the concept of the Security Dilemma, which describes the situation where states feel insecure whether they have weapons or not. A new concern is the Insecurity Dilemma, where countries feel insecure despite having weapons, due to internal threats.

Traditional Threat

- Thomas Hobbes famously asserted that security is the most basic and fundamental need of individuals. The establishment of the state, therefore, aims to ensure the safety and protection of its citizens. While security encompasses defense, it is a broader concept. Realists advocate for bolstering military capabilities and forming alliances to safeguard security, whereas liberals place their faith in democracy and constitutionalism to uphold state security.

- Barry Buzan introduced the concept of the "defense dilemma," which is exemplified in nuclear deterrence and counterinsurgency measures. This dilemma represents a classic conundrum wherein the augmentation of one state's power poses a threat to others. States are thus confronted with a dual challenge: enhancing their own power while simultaneously assuring other states that their intentions are not hostile.

- National security transcends into international security when viewed through the lens of the international society. This global community consists of a society of states wherein peace, order, and legal frameworks prevail. Concurrently, the balance of power coexists with internal laws and international organizations. Threats to international security include military intervention, nuclear proliferation, and climate change. While there is no authority above the state to control states, order is maintained through shared social values. Security threats are not solely external; they also manifest internally through terrorist attacks and insurgencies, often instigated by non-state actors.

- The concept of human security arises when security is examined from an individual perspective. It entails ensuring universal protection of human rights, adherence to humanitarian law, and addressing crimes against humanity, thereby placing the individual at the forefront of security concerns. The philosophy of human security revolves around the notion of the Universal Right of Mankind, which prioritizes the moral well-being of individuals. Scholars such as Andrew Linklater, a Neo-Marxist, and feminists advocate for human security. However, the idea of human security is a subject of debate due to the question of how to safeguard human security without relying solely on the state. Human security gives rise to the concept of humanitarian intervention, which seeks to address threats to human security. The establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) on July 1, 2002, reflects global efforts to uphold human rights and combat impunity for crimes against humanity.

Normative and Instrumentalist Approach

Barry Buzan's perspective, rooted in the normative approach to security, emphasizes the intrinsic value of security as a fundamental human need and right. From this standpoint, security is regarded not merely as a strategic objective but as a moral imperative, essential for safeguarding the well-being and dignity of individuals within society.

On the other hand, the instrumentalist approach to security takes a more pragmatic and materialistic stance. Here, security is seen primarily as a means to achieve and maintain power and dominance in the international arena. Rather than being driven by ethical considerations, instrumentalists prioritize strategic interests and the accumulation of resources and capabilities necessary for national survival and prosperity.

Kenneth Waltz, a prominent figure in the neo-realist school of thought, aligns closely with the instrumentalist perspective. He emphasizes the rational pursuit of national interests, advocating for a clear-eyed assessment of power dynamics and strategic calculations in shaping state behavior and foreign policy decisions. In Waltz's view, states operate within a self-help system where security concerns and the pursuit of power are paramount.

Security of State

Ensuring the security of the state often requires a robust military capacity and strategic alliances to deter potential threats and defend against external aggression. In the context of liberal democratic states, individual security is typically well-protected within the framework of constitutional rights and democratic governance. This alignment underscores the idea that the security of the state and the security of its citizens are interconnected and mutually reinforcing.

It's important to recognize that the state itself is a construct devised by individuals, established to serve the collective interests and security needs of its citizens. Therefore, measures taken to safeguard the state's security ultimately contribute to the protection and well-being of its populace.

However, certain forms of governance, such as totalitarian or authoritarian regimes, may pose a threat to both the security of the state and the individual. Such regimes often prioritize state control and suppression of dissent over the welfare and rights of citizens, potentially leading to internal instability and external tensions. Thus, maintaining the security of the state requires a delicate balance between defending against external threats and safeguarding the liberties and security of its citizens from internal repression.

The Evolution of Security Priorities in International Politics

In international politics, each nation prioritizes its national interests, with security considered paramount. From 1648 until the Second World War, military force has been emphasized, with territorial protection from external threats forming the traditional basis of security.

Recently, NATO's military chief stated that their security strategy includes land security, maritime security, aerial security, and cyber security. He also introduced space security as the new fifth pillar of security. Due to the power competition between the United States and China, the possibility of the militarization of space has increased.

In 1979, U.S. President Ronald Reagan proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as "Star Wars," which aimed to deploy military material in space. Although the Outer Space Treaty, concluded in 1967, aimed to prevent the militarization of space, there have been concerns about its relevance and enforcement since 1979.

The recent conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan demonstrated the effective use of drone technology in modern warfare, highlighting the growing importance of space security. In response to these developments, India has recently tested the Kinetic Missile Defense System, a capability already possessed by countries like the U.S. and China, enabling India to shoot down any satellite in space.

However, the development of such systems increases the risk of space debris, posing serious ecological issues. Consequently, there have been repeated calls for space to be used exclusively for peaceful activities. It is crucial to consider that national security should be aligned with global security to ensure a sustainable and secure future for all.

The Comprehensive and Changing Nature of Security

In the 1970s, terrorism became widespread, and non-state actors began posing a serious threat to state security. The recent attack by Hamas on Israel in October 2023 further highlighted this issue. Despite Israel's globally regarded strong border management, the attack posed a significant challenge.

The rise of terrorism has also blurred the lines between internal and external security. As a result, the understanding of security has broadened beyond traditional military concerns. This shift has changed the concept of the 'security dilemma' into the 'insecurity dilemma.'

The security dilemma suggests that a state can feel insecure, even without a large military, because the military strength of one state may pose a threat to another. In response, states often build multidimensional military power to address these concerns.

In the 1970s, the concept of environmental security emerged, notably discussed during the 1972 Stockholm Conference. The conference emphasized addressing environmental issues alongside traditional security matters. At this time, both terrorism and global environmental challenges gained prominence, showing that military power alone could not solve these complex problems. This led to the idea of the 'insecurity dilemma,' where traditional military solutions were found to be inadequate.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 further demonstrated how uncontrolled economic factors could undermine security. This highlighted that military power alone cannot address economic crises. Recent economic crises in Sri Lanka and Pakistan have shown how national security can be threatened by the lack of economic stability. Similarly, the 1973 oil crisis underscored the importance of energy security.

Dimensions of Energy Security:

1. Energy supply should be reliable and uninterrupted.
2. The prices of energy resources should be regulated.
3. Dependence on any single state for energy should be avoided.
4. Relying on a single energy source is inadvisable; diversification is necessary.

The 1973 oil crisis marked a significant turning point. Oil-producing nations in West Asia used energy as a political tool by cutting off supplies to countries allied with Israel. More recently, during the Ukraine crisis, Russia threatened to cut gas supplies to European countries supporting Ukraine.

After the 1973 crisis, Europe and America began seeking renewable energy sources. The ongoing Ukraine crisis has emphasized the importance of renewable energy, leading the Western world to invest more in alternatives like solar and wind energy.

Non-Traditional Threat of Security

Human Security

Human security is inherently human-centric, while traditional security has been considered state-centric. Human security and human development are complementary, suggesting that prosperity alone does not guarantee human security. In fact, security is typically provided by the state. This raises questions about how human security can be achieved outside the framework of state control.

Differences in the concept of human security also arise due to significant economic disparities globally. States in Africa and South America lag in economic development compared to many countries in Europe and Australia with higher economic standards. Communist China argues that the concept of human development is rooted in capitalism. It points out that American multinational companies exploit global resources, while European nations promote human development and security.

The idea of human security is controversial because it is meaningful only when a uniform economic system and democratic governance are established worldwide.

In conclusion, traditional security is more concrete and systematic, while human security is broader and multi-dimensional. This makes human security harder to apply in practice and often seems more moral and idealistic.

Dimensions of Human Security

The concept of human security, as delineated in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1994, encapsulates a broad spectrum of concerns essential for safeguarding the well-being of individuals. The report identified seven core elements of human security, spanning various dimensions:

1. **Economic Security:** Ensuring access to sustainable livelihoods, employment opportunities, and equitable economic resources.
2. **Food Security:** Guaranteeing reliable access to safe and nutritious food supplies for all individuals.
3. **Health Security**: Promoting comprehensive healthcare services and disease prevention measures to safeguard public health.
4. **Environmental Security**: Mitigating environmental degradation, addressing climate change impacts, and preserving natural resources vital for human survival.
5. **Personal Security**: Protecting individuals from physical violence, abuse, crime, and other forms of personal harm.
6. **Community Security**: Fostering social cohesion, resilience, and harmony within communities to mitigate conflicts and promote mutual support.
7. **Political Security**: Safeguarding democratic governance, human rights, civil liberties, and protection against political repression or persecution.

These elements collectively constitute the framework for addressing multifaceted threats to human well-being, emphasizing the importance of holistic approaches to security beyond traditional military concerns.

Debate about Human Security

Critics of the concept of human security argue that its broad scope makes it difficult to analyze and less useful for policymaking. They believe its focus on moral issues often outweighs practical concerns, which could lead to unintended negative consequences. Additionally, they claim

that human security could allow powerful states to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, weakening state sovereignty and traditional security models.

One key area of debate revolves around the scope of human security. Should its focus be on "freedom from fear" or "freedom from want"? Advocates such as Mahbub Ul Haq and Amartya Sen advocate for the latter, prioritizing freedom from poverty, hunger, and deprivation. In their view, true human security entails addressing the underlying socioeconomic factors that threaten individuals' well-being.

On the other hand, proponents of "freedom from fear," often associated with liberal perspectives, prioritize protection from violence, conflict, and oppression. They argue that ensuring individuals' safety from physical harm and human rights abuses is paramount for achieving human security.

The debate underscores the complexity of human security as a concept and the diverse interpretations surrounding its scope and implementation. Finding a balance between addressing immediate threats to individuals' safety and addressing underlying systemic vulnerabilities remains a challenge in shaping human security policies.

Collective Security

Collective Security, maintained by the United Nations (UN), operates on the principle of "One for All and All for One." This major theme emphasizes mutual support among member states to uphold global peace and security.

"One for all" signifies that every member state commits to providing military assistance and other forms of support to the UN whenever necessary. In times of crisis or conflict, each member pledges to stand united and offer aid to the organization. Conversely, "All for one" dictates that an attack on the sovereignty of any member state is perceived as an assault on world peace. In such cases, the UN intervenes to defend the targeted state and prevent further aggression.

The notion of collective security is inherently idealistic, rooted in the belief that cooperation among nations can effectively prevent conflicts and promote peace on a global scale. Through collective action and mutual assistance, the UN endeavors to uphold the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and international law, fostering a more secure and stable world for all.

Cooperative Security

Cooperative Security, also known as collective defense, is exemplified by security arrangements such as NATO. Unlike Collective Security, Cooperative Security operates on the principle of the balance of power. It is exclusive to member states that are part of the founding body, in this case, NATO. As a result, it primarily benefits the more powerful states within the alliance.

In contrast, Collective Security, overseen by the United Nations (UN), is accessible to all states, irrespective of their size or strength. It is a broader concept that emphasizes the collective responsibility of all member states to maintain international peace and security.

Cooperative Security aligns with a realist approach to International Relations, focusing on the strategic interests and power dynamics among states. It underscores the importance of cooperation among like-minded nations to safeguard their shared security interests.

The Pre-Condition for Collective Security

According to Charles and Colifford Kupchan, collective security entails states agreeing to adhere to certain norms and rules to uphold stability. When necessary, they unite to prevent aggression (Kupchan and Kupchan, 1995). In this context, collective security requires states to embrace following key principles in their interstate relations:

1. **Renouncing the Use of Force:** States must refrain from employing military force to alter the status quo and commit instead to resolving all disputes peacefully. While changes in international relations are permissible, they should be pursued through negotiation rather than coercion.

2. **Broadening the Concept of National Interest:** States must expand their notion of national interest to encompass the interests of the international community as a whole. This entails collective action by responsible states to confront any troublemakers in the system with overwhelming military power.

3. **Overcoming Fear and Building Trust:** The most crucial aspect involves states overcoming the prevalent atmosphere of fear in world politics and learning to trust one another. This system of security, as argued by Inis Claude, relies on states entrusting their destinies to collective security.

4. **Promoting a Benign International System:** Additionally, collective security institutions contribute to creating a more favorable international environment. By fostering greater confidence among states, they enable nations to focus their energies and resources on domestic welfare rather than excessive and unproductive national security arrangements.

Drawback of Collective Security

John Mearsheimer contends that collective security is inherently flawed, offering nine main reasons why it is prone to failure:

1. **Difficulty in Distinguishing Aggressor and Victim:** States often struggle to differentiate between the aggressor and the victim in international conflicts.

2. **Assumption of Universal Wrongdoing:** Collective security assumes that all aggression is inherently wrong, ignoring situations where conquest may be justified against a threatening neighbor.

3. **Challenges with Friendship and Coalition Building:** States with strong historical or ideological ties to certain nations may be reluctant to join coalitions against those allies.

4. **Historical Enmity:** Past conflicts and animosities between states can complicate the effective operation of a collective security system.

5. **Burden-Sharing Issues:** Sovereign states tend to shift the burden of dealing with aggression onto others, leading to challenges in distributing responsibilities equitably.

6. **Delayed Response to Aggression:** The lack of pre-crisis contingency planning and hesitancy to respond swiftly to aggression can impede effective collective security efforts.

7. **Reluctance to Engage:** States may hesitate to join coalitions due to concerns that collective action could escalate a local conflict into a broader international confrontation.

8. **Democratic Resistance:** Democracies may be hesitant to commit to collective action due to concerns about preserving state sovereignty.

9. **Contradictory Views on Military Force:** While collective security abhors military force, it necessitates states' willingness to employ it against aggressors when necessary.

Relations between Collective Security and Balance of Power

1. **Paradoxical**

- Collective Security, an idealist or liberal notion, aims to maintain security through international organization and law, exemplified by the UNO. In contrast, balance of power is a realist concept, based on the capabilities of states.

- Collective Security is responsible for ensuring the security of all nations regardless of their size or strength, while balance of power tends to benefit stronger states.
- Collective Security aims to reduce the likelihood of arms proliferation, whereas balance of power often promotes an arms race due to the security dilemma.

2. **Complimentary**

- Quincy Wright aptly noted that the relationship between collective security and balance of power is paradoxical yet complementary. The UNO, responsible for maintaining Collective Security, is structured based on the principle of balance of power, with the five permanent members of the Security Council being the most powerful nations.
- The UN Charter provides the right to self-defense under Article 51, allowing states to use force in defense of their security, as seen in the US attack on Iraq in 1991.
- The UN Charter also allows for the creation of regional security arrangements like NATO, which can be deployed by the UNO to maintain peace globally. This illustrates how the UNO, in practice, follows the principle of balance of power.
- Scholars like Palmer and Perkins argue that the UNO serves as a balancer in international politics.

Conclusion

Realism and idealism may be contradictory in theory but are complimentary in practice, as seen in the combination of principles in the foreign policies of states. Similarly, balance of power and collective security, despite their differences, complement each other in ensuring global stability.

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INTERTNATIONAL RELATIONS (IR)
(INDIA & THE WORLD)

(Second Part)

Dr. Rajesh Mishra

Content

International Relations
Part - 2
(Foreign Policy)

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Mukherjee Nagar - A - 20, 102, Indraprasth Tower (Behind Batra Cinema), Delhi - 110009
Old Rajinder Nagar - Shop No. - 63, 3rd Floor, Main Market, Bada Bazar Road, New Delhi - 60
Ph: 011 - 40535897, 09899156495, 09667889491, 07820042822
E - mail - saraswati.ias@gmail.com,   **Visit us at :** www.saraswatiias.com

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Nuclear-Free World

India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was a staunch opponent of nuclear weapons and advocated for a nuclear-free world. With the consultation of Homi Bhabha, Nehru established the Atomic Energy Commission in India on August 10, 1948, aiming to harness nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and the nation's economic and technical development. In 1954, he submitted a proposal for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to the United Nations Disarmament Commission, emphasizing his opposition to nuclear proliferation.

Growing Security Concern

China conducted nuclear tests in 1964, following its invasion of India in 1962. This hostility from China, along with tensions with Pakistan, prompted India to revise its nuclear policy. In 1974, India conducted a Peaceful Nuclear Test, demonstrating its nuclear capabilities without aiming to develop nuclear weapons. This test, known as Pokhran-I or "Smiling Buddha," showcased India's potential in nuclear technology. Currently, India opposes signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

- The Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons aims to prevent the escalation of a nuclear arms race and limit the spread of nuclear weapons and technology. It also seeks to promote cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy and achieve complete nuclear disarmament.

- Opened for signing in 1968 and effective from 1970, the NPT prohibits non-nuclear weapon states from acquiring nuclear weapons and nuclear states from assisting others in acquiring them.

- The treaty recognizes five nuclear weapon states: USA (1945), Russia (1949), China (1964), Britain (1952), and France (1960), all of which acquired nuclear weapons before January 1, 1967. Other states are prohibited from acquiring nuclear weapons.

- Four states—India, Pakistan, Israel, and North Korea—possess nuclear weapons but are not recognized as nuclear weapon states under the NPT and are perceived as violators.

- The NPT requires the nuclear-armed states to share nuclear technology and resources with non-nuclear weapon states for peaceful purposes, conditional upon the non-nuclear states signing the NPT.

- The NPT regime is reviewed every five years and was extended indefinitely in 1995.

- The NPT supports the creation of nuclear weapon-free zones. As of 2016, there are five such regional treaties in Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific. Additionally, Mongolia's status as a nuclear-free territory is recognized by the UNGA. Antarctica and outer space are also designated nuclear-free.

India's Objection to the NPT

- Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS) view the NPT as discriminatory because it primarily targets horizontal proliferation (the spread of nuclear weapons to other states) while

allowing vertical proliferation (the enhancement or modernization of existing nuclear arsenals).

- The NPT does not adequately address the distinction between disarmament and proliferation, focusing more on preventing the spread of nuclear weapons rather than promoting comprehensive nuclear disarmament.

- India has consistently regarded the NPT as discriminatory and has refused to sign it. India argues that the treaty is selectively enforced against non-nuclear powers while legitimizing the nuclear monopoly of the five recognized nuclear weapon states (NWS).

- The NPT's approach exacerbates the security dilemma for NNWS by maintaining the nuclear dominance of the NWS, which undermines the security of non-nuclear states.

- India advocates for comprehensive nuclear disarmament to replace the current focus on non-proliferation. India believes that international law should treat all states as equal and sovereign, and thus, the NPT's division of states into NWS and NNWS is inherently unfair and should be repealed.

Peaceful Nuclear Testing

- India's nuclear test in 1974, known as Pokhran-I, was publicly labeled a "Peaceful Nuclear Explosion" (PNE) by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This test was seen as contradictory to India's support for a nuclear weapons-free world.

- The test drew criticism from both the US and Canada, leading to the withdrawal of technical and economic assistance previously provided to India. These countries played a key role in imposing economic and technological sanctions on India.

- Despite the international backlash, India received diplomatic and technical support from the USSR. The initial collaboration in nuclear technology included seven countries: the US, USSR, UK, France, Germany, and Japan.

India's Option in Post-Cold War World

- Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, India faced a significant shift in its strategic environment. The Soviet Union had been a major security partner, and its successor, Russia, moved closer to the US for economic assistance.

- The US emerged as the leader of a unipolar world order, advocating for non-proliferation through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

- Despite the changing global dynamics, India continued to face security threats from China, which had developed nuclear weapons, and Pakistan, which was covertly pursuing its own nuclear capabilities.

- In response to these security challenges and the pressures of a unipolar world, India opted not to sign the NPT or CTBT. Instead, it chose to conduct nuclear tests to assert its security and strategic autonomy.

Nuclear Tests

- **Operation Shakti (1998):** India conducted a series of three nuclear tests from May 11 to May 13, 1998, under the code name "Operation Shakti." These tests marked a significant escalation from the "peaceful nuclear explosion" of 1974, as they aimed to establish a credible minimum nuclear deterrence.

- **Objective:** The primary goal of these tests was to develop and demonstrate India's nuclear capabilities, enhancing its strategic posture amidst growing nuclear threats from neighboring countries, particularly Pakistan, which had developed its nuclear arsenal with China's assistance.

- **Strategic Implications:** The tests were intended to affirm India's status as a major power and to bolster its claim for permanent membership on the UN Security Council. The tests represented a shift towards a more assertive nuclear strategy, contrasting with the 1974 test which was portrayed as a peaceful nuclear explosion.

Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)

- The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), signed in 1996, is a critical disarmament regime designed to ban all nuclear explosions, whether for civil or military purposes. Despite its significance, the treaty has not yet entered into force.

- Under the CTBT, all state parties are committed to refraining from conducting any nuclear weapons tests or explosions. This comprehensive ban aims to prevent the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

- The treaty includes a robust verification regime, which consists of an international monitoring system (IMS) and an international data center. This infrastructure is essential for monitoring compliance and detecting any potential violations.

- For the CTBT to enter into force, all 44 states with nuclear research facilities as of 1996 must ratify it. Each state is required to complete ratification within 180 days of the treaty's implementation. The treaty also provides for a review conference every 10 years to assess its implementation and effectiveness.

- As of now, 36 of the 44 required states have ratified the treaty. The remaining eight states—China, North Korea, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, and the United States—have yet to ratify. The CTBT Organization, headquartered in Vienna, is responsible for overseeing the treaty and its verification processes.

India's Objection to Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)

India's objections to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) center on several key issues. India argues that the treaty prioritizes nuclear non-proliferation while neglecting the crucial goal of disarmament. According to India, true progress towards a nuclear-free world should begin with the reduction of nuclear arsenals by the P-5 countries (the US, Russia, China, France, and the UK), which are engaging in vertical proliferation through advanced computer simulation techniques. These simulations allow these states to refine and enhance their nuclear capabilities without conducting actual tests.

India contends that the CTBT is technologically flawed because it fails to address the ongoing development and modernization of nuclear weapons by the P-5. Instead, it is seen as targeting threshold states like India, Pakistan, and Israel, which have not signed the treaty. Additionally, India views the treaty's Entry into Force Clause as an infringement on national sovereignty and argues that it restricts the transfer of technology, which could hinder the technological and scientific progress of developing countries, including India.

Post-Pokhran Strategy

The 1998 nuclear tests represented a significant leap forward in Indian foreign policy, establishing the principle of Credible Minimum Nuclear Deterrence. According to C. Raja Mohan, these tests demonstrated India's intent to maintain a robust nuclear deterrent. Despite this advancement, India remains unwilling to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). Under the NPT, only states that tested nuclear weapons before January 1, 1968, are recognized as Nuclear Weapons States (NWS). Since India conducted its tests later, it does not hold this status under the NPT. Signing the NPT would subject India to inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), potentially hindering its nuclear research and development.

India also refrains from signing the CTBT, despite having conducted only three nuclear tests in 1998. In contrast, major nuclear powers have conducted numerous tests, as reported by the UN: USA (1032), Russia (715), UK (45), France (210) & China (45).

China and Pakistan, which have advanced their nuclear programs, have also conducted multiple tests. China's nuclear testing included significant advancements, while Pakistan's development of nuclear weapons was closely linked to China's assistance. The US Senate has yet to ratify the CTBT, despite the country having conducted over a thousand tests. The CTBT's scope extends to limitations on fissile material and missile technology. India argues that while its theoretical stance supports nuclear disarmament, the NPT and CTBT focus primarily on nuclear non-proliferation, which does not align with India's strategic goals.

Nuclear Doctrine

C. Raja Mohan considers the 1998 nuclear tests a significant leap forward in India's foreign policy. The doctrine, announced following these tests, has evolved over time. Key elements include:

- **No First Use (NFU):** India's policy of No First Use means it will not initiate a nuclear attack against any Non-Nuclear Weapon State. This policy was amended in 2003 to allow nuclear retaliation in response to chemical or biological attacks.

- **Credible Minimum Deterrence:** India aims to maintain a credible minimum deterrence by developing its nuclear capability across the Army, Air Force, and Navy. In 2018, the term 'minimum' was removed from the nuclear policy, reflecting a shift towards broader strategic objectives. This change signals India's evolving stance on nuclear deterrence and strategic priorities.

- **Civilian Authority:** The decision to use nuclear weapons rests with the civilian leadership, primarily the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister will consult with the Cabinet Committee on Security, the National Security Advisor, and the Chief of Defence Staff before making any decisions.

- **Disarmament Stance:** India is open to abolishing its nuclear arsenal if other nations agree to do so. It supports global, non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament and advocates for a nuclear-free world.

- **Nuclear Research and Preparedness:** India remains committed to advancing nuclear research and maintaining operational readiness, emphasizing the need for effective intelligence and early warning systems. Nuclear forces must be prepared at all times.

- **Safety and Security:** The doctrine emphasizes secure manufacture, storage, and handling of nuclear weapons to prevent accidents or unauthorized access. Effective disaster management measures are in place to address potential nuclear incidents.

- **Lethal Nature and Confidence Building Measures (CBMs):** Recognizing the lethal nature of nuclear weapons, India supports confidence-building measures to reduce their potential danger and prevent accidental use. The focus on CBMs aligns with India's commitment to minimizing nuclear risks and fostering a stable and secure environment.

Debate over India's nuclear foreign policy

The debate over India's nuclear foreign policy, particularly the doctrine of "no first use," revolves around its defensive nature and strategic implications. India faces threats from nuclear-armed neighbors like China and Pakistan, which do not adhere to the principle of no first use. China's conventional military strength is significantly larger than India's, adding to the asymmetry of power in the region. Pakistan has explicitly stated that it will employ any means necessary in a conflict against India. Given Pakistan's lag behind India in terms of conventional military capability, the possibility of a nuclear attack on India remains a concern. Consequently, there are calls for a review of India's NFU policy.

Many thinkers consider India's No First Use (NFU) policy to be beneficial, as it aligns with India's intent to manufacture nuclear weapons solely for its own security, not for attacking other states. China, which also possesses nuclear weapons, has similarly adopted a NFU policy. Therefore, changing this policy by India could lead to unnecessary suspicion and military competition between India and China.

The NFU policy underscores India's stance as a responsible state. India's nuclear capability is intended for its security, not for offensive purposes. Hence, maintaining the NFU policy is seen as prudent and effective. Additionally, it is noteworthy that in accidental or wartime circumstances, any country can promptly alter its policies.

Supporters of the no first use policy, such as K. Subrahmanyam, argue that it is crucial for maintaining a balance of power and avoiding aggressive actions. India's nuclear weapons are primarily intended for retaliatory purposes, relying on second strike capability. This defensive posture aims to deter potential adversaries from initiating a nuclear conflict by ensuring a credible response. However, critics like Bharat Karnad raise concerns about Pakistan's larger nuclear arsenal and its lack of commitment to no first use, undermining the effectiveness of India's policy.

The concept of credible minimum deterrence entails the actual operational capacity of nuclear weapons, with "minimum" referring to an unquantifiable diplomatic threshold. However, in 2018, the term 'minimum' has been removed from the nuclear policy. Sumit Ganguly highlights several reasons for the incorporation of the term "minimum":

- India's stance against promoting a nuclear arms race.
- Prioritization of India's security, particularly after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, which altered international relations.
- Deployment of nuclear deterrence across all branches of the military, including the army, air force, and navy, necessitating the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) for effective deterrence.

Critics, such as Bharat Karnad, argue that India lacks deterrence due to the insufficient development of ICBMs and limited submarine capabilities, exemplified by the single INS Arihant submarine. Additionally, India's capacity for disaster management in the event of a nuclear attack is deemed inadequate.

Moreover, India faces persistent security threats from cross-border terrorism promoted by Pakistan. Some argue that India's nuclear doctrine does not sufficiently address this threat. K. Subrahmanyam emphasizes that minimum deterrence should not be equated solely with the quantity of nuclear weapons, advocating for a nuanced understanding of the concept.

In conclusion, India's nuclear doctrine remains a dynamic and evolving framework, subject to continuous revision in response to changing geopolitical realities. The term "minimum deterrence" may no longer accurately reflect India's strategic posture, indicating the need for nuanced adjustments in the future. Additionally, India has asserted that in the event of biological or chemical attacks on its territory, it reserves the option to utilize nuclear weapons. This underscores the complexity and flexibility of India's nuclear strategy, which aims to safeguard its national security interests amidst evolving threats and challenges.

India's Deterrence

After the second nuclear test at Pokhran, India adopted multi-dimensional strategies in its foreign policy. Several rounds of talks were held between Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh and U.S. Secretary of State Strobe Talbott. India sought to explain to the U.S. that its nuclear tests were driven by specific security concerns and were not intended to promote an arms race. India also assured adherence to all provisions of nuclear non-proliferation.

Efforts were made to normalize relations with China, and India conveyed its security concerns to Japan and Southeast Asian countries. Nuclear confidence-building measures were discussed between Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, with both countries assuring the world that nuclear weapons would not be used in South Asia. To achieve minimum nuclear deterrence, India also emphasized missile development.

Nuclear Deterrence

"Nuclear weapons are meant for deterrence, not war-fighting. Pakistan has benefited from its nexus in nuclear and missile proliferation with China and North Korea. But India is doing fine with the development and modernization of its indigenous credible minimum deterrence," said an official.

The tri-Service Strategic Forces Command is now inducting the Agni-V intercontinental ballistic missile with a range of over 5,000 km, which brings all of Asia, China, and parts of Europe and Africa within its strike range. This follows the induction of shorter-range missiles. Additionally, the new Rafale jets have boosted the existing air vector for delivering nuclear gravity bombs, complementing some Sukhoi-30 MKIs, Mirage-2000s, and Jaguars, which were earlier modified for that role.

However, the third leg of the nuclear triad remains far from credible. India currently has only one SSBN (Sub Surface Ballistic Missile) in INS Arihant, equipped with 750 km range K-15 nuclear missiles. In contrast, countries like the US, Russia, and China have SSBNs with missiles exceeding 5,000 km in range. India has three more SSBNs under development.

Warheads (SIPRI estimates)

Country	Warheads
Russia	6,255 (deployed 1,625)
USA	5,550 (deployed 1,800)
China	350
France	290
UK	225
Pakistan	165
India	156
Israel	90
N Korea	40-50

Super Powers' Changed Orientation towards India

After 2000, U.S. policy towards India saw a significant shift. Instead of isolating India, the U.S. adopted a policy of cooperation to make nuclear non-proliferation measures more effective. This change was reinforced by the major terrorist attack on the U.S. in September 2001, after which America launched the "War on Terror." India fully supported the U.S. in this campaign, leading to the gradual lifting of several sanctions imposed on India.

Following America's lead, Japan and Southeast Asian countries also adjusted their policies towards India. As the Indian economy became the second fastest growing in the world in the 21st century, the global community began to recognize India's stable democracy. Consequently, India was acknowledged as a crucial player in addressing global issues such as terrorism, environmental problems, and security threats.

Nuclear Export Control Regime

Various provisions exist to prohibit nuclear proliferation, supplementing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). These include measures to prevent the proliferation of missiles and other materials:

1. Wassenaar Arrangement:-

Established in 1996 in Wassenaar, Netherlands, the Wassenaar Arrangement has 41 members and aims to curb the export of conventional weapons and dual-use technologies. India joined the Wassenaar Arrangement in December 2017 as its 42nd member.

2. Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR):-

The MTCR is an informal agreement with voluntary participation among 34 countries, aimed at controlling the proliferation of missile and unmanned vehicle technology. Founded in 1987 by countries such as Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States, the MTCR's primary focus is missile control. Despite this, countries like Iran, North Korea, and Pakistan continue to advance their missile capabilities.

- **Membership of India in Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)**

India received membership in the MTCR in June 2016, marking its first inclusion in a nuclear non-proliferation group since the 1998 nuclear test. This membership is significant, especially after China's opposition to India's entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). Notably, China is not a member of the MTCR.

India's MTCR membership opens access to advanced technology from member countries and enhances its capabilities for space missions. For instance, the MTCR had previously barred Russia from supplying cryogenic engines to India. Additionally, India's membership allows it to supply BrahMos missiles to countries like Vietnam, bolstering India's image as a responsible state.

The MTCR provisions do not explicitly state that member countries will refrain from transferring missile technology to non-member countries. Thus, whether India's MTCR membership will yield substantial benefits or merely symbolic gains remains a topic of debate.

3. Australia Group

Formed in 1985, the Australia Group emerged in response to Iraq's use of chemical weapons in 1984. The aim is to control the spread of chemical and biological weapons and identify countries that export them. It currently has 42 members, including 27 members of the European Union. India became a member of the Group in 2018.

4. Nuclear Supplier Group

It was established in the year, 1975 after India's nuclear test (1974). It is also known as 'London Club'. NSG has 48 members. NSG provides that the provisions that countries which have signed the NPT, will be the only ones to be provided with nuclear fuel and technology. India is the only country which, even without signing NPT, is receiving fuel from NSG. India is not a member of this group.

- **Membership of India in NSG**

India is a highly developed state in the nuclear technology sector but has not signed any international treaties to ensure non-proliferation. Therefore, giving India membership is a better option to make nuclear non-proliferation effective. The NPT is the primary condition to become a member of the NSG, which was formed in 1975 with countries that had nuclear reactors and had signed the NPT. Since 2010, US President Barack Obama and subsequent administrations have explicitly supported India's membership in the NSG. India's advanced status in nuclear research underscores the rationale for its inclusion in the group.

- **Benefits of Membership in NSG**

India has received a special exemption from the NSG, allowing it access to nuclear fuel and technology despite not being a signatory of the NPT. This exemption was obtained after the Indo-American Civil Nuclear Agreement in 2008. Membership in the NSG would provide several benefits to India:

- **Status as a Responsible State:-** With NSG membership, India will gain formal recognition as a responsible state in the nuclear domain, reinforcing its commitment to non-proliferation and responsible nuclear behavior.

- **End of Isolation:-** Membership will end India's isolation from the nuclear export system, enabling it to participate fully in global nuclear commerce and technology exchanges.

- **Technological and Economic Benefits:-** NSG membership will provide India with greater access to advanced nuclear technology and materials, facilitating its civilian nuclear energy program. Enhanced access to nuclear technology can drive economic growth by supporting India's energy needs and reducing dependence on fossil fuels.

- **Strategic and Security Advantages:-** Membership can strengthen India's strategic partnerships with other NSG member states, enhancing its geopolitical influence. Reliable access to nuclear fuel will bolster India's energy security, supporting its long-term energy planning and sustainability goals.

- **Enhanced Safety and Standards:-** As a member, India will align with global best practices in nuclear safety and security, ensuring high standards in its nuclear operations.

- **Obstacles to India's NSG Membership**

India's bid for membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) encounters several significant obstacles. NSG decisions are made by consensus, and China is a staunch opponent of India's membership. China's opposition is a major hurdle, as it effectively blocks the approval process required for India's inclusion in the group. In addition to China, other countries such as Switzerland, Austria, and Ireland also oppose India's membership. These nations argue that admitting India could weaken the global nuclear non-proliferation regime, which they believe is crucial for maintaining international security.

Critics of India's membership argue that allowing India into the NSG without signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) would undermine the treaty's objectives. They assert that India's membership should come with the commitment to NPT provisions, including allowing the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect its nuclear research centers. India is hesitant to accept such conditions, further complicating its accession.

Geopolitical considerations and strategic interests also influence the resistance to India's membership. The dynamics of global nuclear politics and shifting strategic alignments impact the decision-making process within the NSG.

There are calls for either granting India the status of a recognized nuclear power state or revising the NSG's membership conditions to accommodate India's situation. Notably, France, a founding member of the NSG, signed the NPT in 1992, suggesting that there might be room for flexibility regarding NPT adherence for NSG membership.

- **Chinese Views on India's NSG Membership**

China's stance on India's membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is notably influential and presents a significant obstacle. China, along with Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland, has advocated for the establishment of standard procedures before granting membership to countries like India that have not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). These nations argue that clear criteria and guidelines should be developed to ensure that non-signatories of the NPT are admitted under a well-defined framework.

China is concerned that admitting India into the NSG could set a precedent that might prevent Pakistan from joining the group in the future. China views India's potential membership as a strategic move that could impact Pakistan's nuclear status and its own geopolitical interests in the region.

Despite support for India's membership from several NSG members, including the United States, Russia, Japan, Canada, England, Germany, and Australia, China remains a critical opponent. This opposition has been a major barrier to India's accession, reflecting broader geopolitical tensions and strategic calculations.

China's position is also influenced by regional dynamics and its strategic rivalry with India. The admission of India into the NSG is seen by China as a factor that could alter the balance of power and affect its own strategic interests in South Asia and beyond.

- **American Outlook on India's NSG Membership**

The United States has several motivations for supporting India's membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). First, India has set ambitious energy and environmental goals, aiming to meet 40% of its energy needs from non-conventional sources by 2030 and produce 63,000 MW from nuclear reactors by 2032. The U.S. sees India's NSG membership as pivotal in achieving these targets. Additionally, the U.S. supports India's inclusion to counterbalance China's growing global influence, thereby strengthening strategic relations with India. This endorsement aligns with the U.S. strategy of enhancing cooperation with key allies in the Indo-Pacific region to maintain geopolitical stability and address China's expanding power.

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