

## 2 CHAPTER

# Key Terms in International Relations

*After reading the chapter, the reader will be able to develop an analytical understanding on the following:*

- Basic terms in International Relations
- Key concepts and terms used in Nuclear Diplomacy
- Advanced terms and concepts in International Relations
- Terms used in economic integration

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the readers with an authoritative overview of terms and concepts in international relations. This chapter acts as a foundation as well as the entry point to the understanding of the rest of the book. I strongly urge the readers to read each and every term in this chapter carefully before proceeding to read the subsequent chapters of the book.

## BASIC TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Anti-ballistic Missile:** It is a system with two components—namely a radar and an interceptor missile. An anti-ballistic missile protects or defends a designated target against an incoming missile from an enemy territory.

**Accidental War:** There are two meanings to this term. Firstly, it may be used to define a war that may have resulted from a technical malfunction or mishap. In this case, it is unintentional and not deliberate. Secondly, it may be caused due to perceptions misconstrued by a state where it fails to read a particular situation correctly and responds with violence.

**Action–Reaction:** This term is mostly used in conflict analyses and game theory. Lewis Fry Richardson, a scholar who theorized the arms race, explained the concept in the Richardson process. To easily understand this concept, we can take example of two states, A and B. Let's say, for instance, that State B increases its military capability. Perceiving this as a threat, State A reacts by increasing own military expenditure. The reaction by State A is perceived by State B differently. State B feels that increased military expenditure by State A has reduced the margins of safety of State B, and thus State B responds to it, in turn, by increasing its own arms budget. Thus, an action leads to a reaction.

**Actor:** In international relations, any entity which plays an identifiable role or is a stakeholder is termed as an actor. It is a very broad term which is used to signify

personalities, organizations, states, institutions, and so forth.

**Adjudication:** Adjudication is a process of using international law to settle international disputes by referring them to a court of law. The League of Nations, after the World War–I, established the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was succeeded by International Court of Justice in 1945.

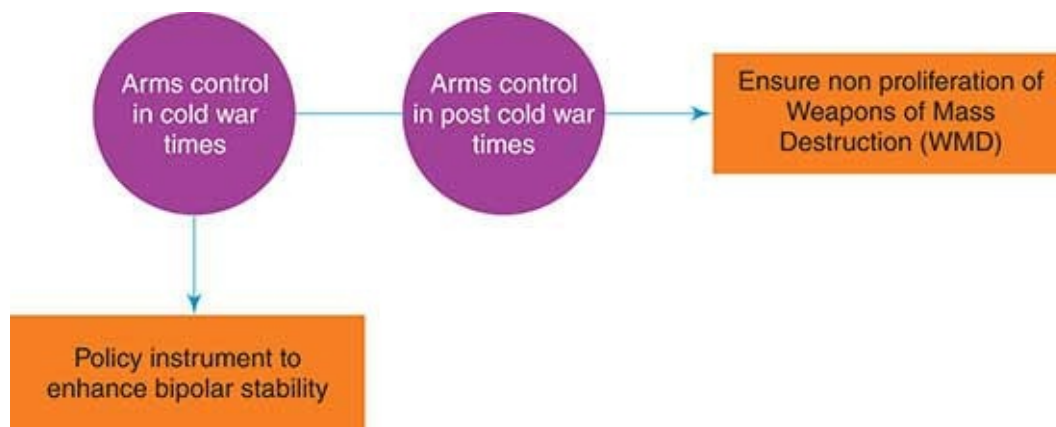
**Administered Territory:** This concept was advocated by Jan Smuts and George Louis Beer under Article XXII of the covenant of the League of Nations to control and administer the colonial possessions of Germany in Africa, Pacific and Turkey in the Middle East. It was a system that did not involve direct annexation and traditional imperialism. The ‘responsible’ states in ‘sacred trust’ of the League of Nations would provide guidance and support to powers incapable of self-governing themselves. The Permanent Mandates Commission established managed the entire process. Frederick Samuel North edge, in his book, *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times* (1986), says that the mandate system was the first ever experiment in the world with international control on dependent territories.

**AIC (Advanced Industrial Countries):** The Brandt Report of 1980 used this term to refer to countries of North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia. The UN also uses the same abbreviation and it refers basically to all developed countries.

**Alliance:** When two or more actors formally sign an agreement to cooperate mutually in security related issues, it is called an alliance. Normally, alliances are defence pacts that operate during the situations of war. Alliances have been most visible during the period of Cold War, but in the post Cold War period today, as explained by Christensen and Snyder, strong alliances would be difficult to envisage given the multipolarity of global politics.

**Arbitration:** In arbitration, the two conflicting parties argue to submit their difference to a third party for settlement. The third party undertaking arbitration announces a binding decision in the process of settling the disputes.

**Arms Control:** It is an exercise where an actor advocates restraint in acquiring, deploying and using military capabilities. The assumption underlying arms control is based on deterrence policies. But arms control theorists, at an ideological level, differ from theorists advocating disarmament. Disarmament scholars advocate a world without weapons or a situation where the threat of using force reduces substantially. The scholars of arms control on the other hand work along the existing structure.



**Armistice:** It is an opportunity between two or more conflicting states to suspend

hostilities and opt for a peaceful settlement. It is never unilateral but bilateral, and is a temporary declaration of peace, providing an opportunity to the conflicting states to terminate the state of war. It helps in maintaining a status quo. From 1949 to 1978, there was armistice between Arabs and Israel (explained in the chapter on the issues in the Middle East-Section-H-Chapter-1).

**Asian Tigers:** It is a term applied to certain states in Asia that had experienced aggressive economic growth within a short span of time. These Asian economies have become a new standard for economic liberalism in the recent times. The five Asian Tigers are Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan. Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia in this context are known as Tiger Cubs while Hong Kong and China are collectively also called Asian Dragons.

**Asylum:** The word 'asylum' means refuge. It is a quasi-legal process where a national of another state gets protection from a state for sanctuary. As per the article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the rights of asylum are vested in a state and not with the individuals.

**Autonomy:** It is a term very frequently used in political discourse. The liberal meaning of autonomy is self-government. The Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, marked the origin of the concept of the autonomy of states. It is stated that the beginning of the concept of autonomy also introduced the concept of anarchy amongst states in the international system.

**Anarchy:** The etymology of this term derives from a Greek word which implies 'without a ruler.' In day to day life, it is used as a term to signify chaos and lawlessness such as it happens when there exists a situation of no stable government or monarchy to maintain peace. Normally, the term, in political discourse, is used when there is some revolutionary upheaval or sociopolitical turbulence. In international relations, anarchy is used specifically to signify international politics where no state has any absolute control on the overall system. The first political philosopher who described international relations as anarchical was Thomas Hobbes. The realist scholars have used the concept of anarchy while formulating their theories.

**Appeasement:** It is a term which is based on an assumption that there would be no war if the demands of an aggressive state are met.

**Balkanization:** The term was used by diplomats in later nineteenth century period to delineate the policy of Russia towards the states of Balkan Peninsula. Balkan is a Turkish derivative for forested mountains. It is used as a term to describe fragmentation of a region into independent but mutually hostile power centers. This term was used on erstwhile Ottoman Empire States of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia.

**Bases:** In the context of international relations, it is a term that signifies a point of military supply and troop concentration. Bases are strategically located and during the Cold War, both the US and the USSR established points of troop concentration in the territory of their allies.

**Balance of Power (BOP):** This term has developed no clear meaning due to multiple interpretations available. However, balance of power as a concept in international relations was used from the sixteenth century to early twentieth century, to describe an instrument

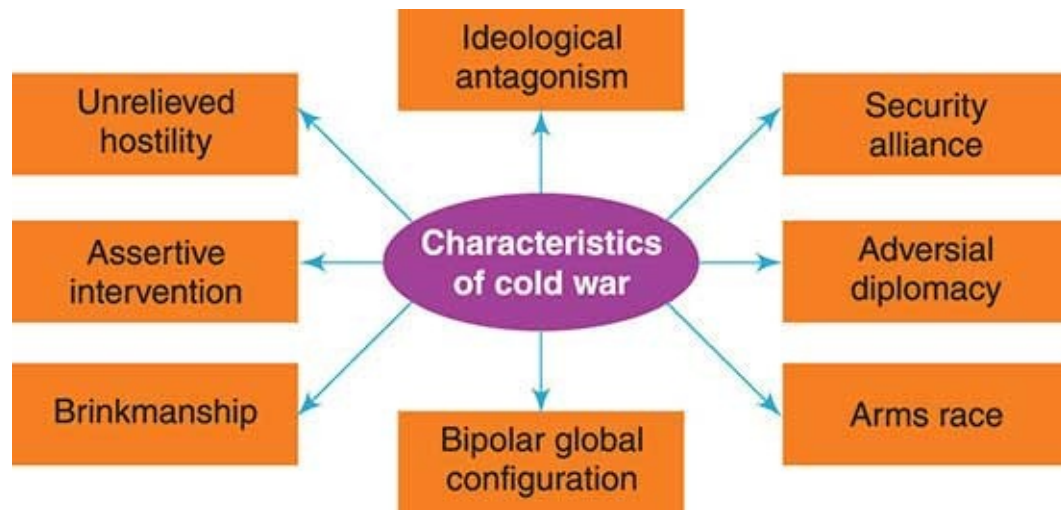
of policy to prevent power dominance. The European state system from 1815 to 1914 was an example of the use of BOP as an instrument to curb the quest for hegemonic ambitions. Hedley Bull asserted that BOP has prevented the formation of a universal empire through conquest. As per Bull, BOP has not only protected the independence of discrete states but has also facilitated the development of institutions like diplomacy and greater power management. As per BOP, the world in which we live in is a system where countries exist in a perfect equilibrium. The BOP theory says that the equilibrium of the system can be disturbed if a state in the system dramatically increases its power. This would compel other state in the system to form alliances or increase their own powers to reestablish balance in the system which had been disturbed in the first place due to the increase of power by one state. A term derived from BOP is Balance of Terror. In Balance of Terror, one state actor credibly threatens another state actor with destruction. During the Cold War, the US and the USSR often used the term in specific references to nuclear deterrence.

**Choke Points:** In context of naval diplomacy, it is a geopolitical term used to signify an international strait whose control could potentially affect commercial transit.

**Civil War:** A civil war is an internal state of violence within a nation where two or more factions fight to take over control of the political or legal apparatus of the state. There are three broad reasons as to why a civil war may happen. A civil war could happen to end colonialism; break away from a state and lastly, to achieve a reunion of separated states. In case of colonialism, there could be a civil war when some people in a colony favour an end to colonialism while a significant body intends to support colonial rule for the fear that the anticolonial insurgents could establish a political and an economic order that may affect those people.

The idea to secede away from a state may also lead to a civil war. In this case, it is an assertion of nationalism by ethnically homogenous people to achieve self-determination. The civil wars driven by a desire to seek reunion too are nationalistic in character. At the diplomatic level, at times there would be diplomatic support to insurgents to help them establish a government in exile. There could be military intervention by third party states when they engage by sending their own forces in case of a war. A case in point is that of India intervening in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) *Muktijuddho* (War of Independence) of 1971. Ironically, the UN has failed to evolve an effective mechanism to prevent third partly states to intervene in situations of civil war.

**Cold War:** The term was coined by HB Scope, who was an American journalist. Walter Lipmann popularised the term, and stated that Cold War describes a situation where there is no war, yet no peace. It is a term that signified the global ideological tensions in the world created in the aftermath of the World War II by the US and the Soviet Union.



**Colonialism:** Colonialism is a form of imperialism where one country tries to control the politics and economy of another country. A country is made into a colony by a mother country, whereby the territory that gets colonised becomes a subordinate and servile country. The period from fifteenth to nineteenth century saw Portugal, British, France, Holland and Spain colonising the Americas, Asia and Africa. In the present context, non-colonialism is a term used to signify domination by developed countries of post colonial independent states. Similarly, internal colonialism as a term is used when a peripheral region is treated as a subordinate by an economically dominant segment of the state. For example, central Asian Republics were victims of internal colonialism post disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union. A process where a colony undertakes independence from a colonial power is called decolonisation. After the World War II, the world witnessed a surge of states gaining independence from colonial rulers and a term called the ‘Third World’ began to be used as a collective expression for these new states.

**Deterrence:** In a simplistic sense, deterrence means a situation where a person A may seek a certain behaviour from person B. If person B does not display the desired behaviour or tries to deviate from the desired behaviour, then person A can deter person B from behaving in an unacceptable manner by threatening person B with punishment. The basic idea of deterrence is to issue a threat to prevent any undesirable behaviour from another state. Deterrence is a special form of a power relationship where an imposer may make a threat upon a target whose behaviour the impostor wishes to oppose. Thus, deterrence is all about negative sanctions.

**Disarmament:** Disarmament is a process to reduce, remove and eliminate certain weapon systems identified by a state. It is normally used in the context of nuclear weapons. Once the process of disarmament is complete, it leads to an establishment of a completely disarmed world.

**Exile:** A situation where a person or group of persons is banished from one place to another. Though it is mostly viewed as a punishment, it could be either self-imposed or enforced.

**Extradition:** It is a legal term that signifies a situation or a process where one state hands over a fugitive to another state. To facilitate the transfer of persons, an extradition treaty is required. In the case of an absence of an extradition treaty, there is no duty upon a state under the international law to undertake extradition. It is normally used for transfer of criminals who seek refuge in a state other than the one where they happened to commit the

offence.

**Failed Nation States:** During the Cold War, the US and the Soviet Union extended aid and support to other states with an intention to contain each other. As the Cold War ended, the term called failed nation state began to emerge and it signifies those states that could not survive without an aid.



**Foreign Aid:** It is a tool of economic diplomacy where the donor state may use monetary instrument to achieve certain policy goals within the recipient state. The most important factor in this scenario is the capability that the donor state needs to possess to assert economic influence on the recipient state. The capabilities are often measured as surplus national resource. At times, foreign aid could be used as a power instrument when it is used by a state actor to reward a behaviour of another state after removal of sanctions.

**Free Trade (related to *laissez-faire*):** It is a form of trading system which involves two actors where the trade of goods happens between the two without any restrictions. It indicates the abstention by governments from interfering in the workings of the free market. Any form of free trade promotes competition and efficiency and therefore is beneficial from an economic point of view. Free trade not only benefits a trader but also the consumers because traders through free trade can access foreign markets while the consumers can get access to imported goods. Thus, free trade promotes growth of interdependence amongst the actors. When actors establish a free trade area, they abolish the tariffs on identified goods amongst themselves and establish a free trade pact which then becomes a prerequisite for the establishment of a customs union.

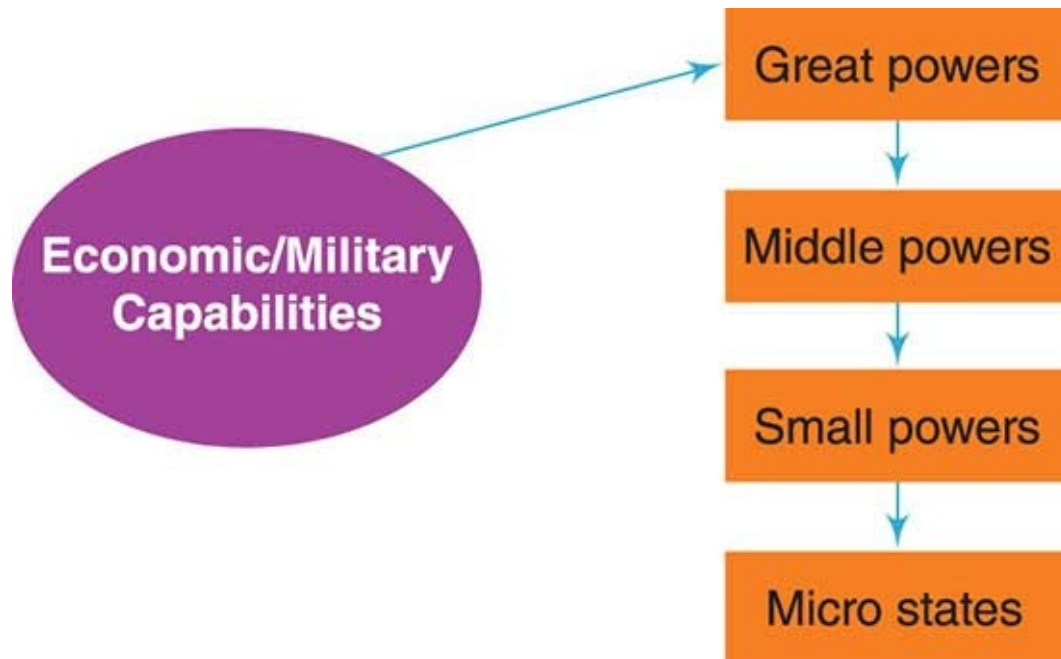
**Genocide:** Genocide means the systematic extermination or mass killings of specific groups of people. Normally, genocide is much broader than simple mass killings and may involve acts like starvation, forced resettlement and even mass deportations, as in case of the Holocaust, which wiped out a significant ratio of European Jews. In December, 1948, the UN General Assembly has passed a Genocide Convention and it came into force in January, 1951. As per the second article of the genocide convention, genocide means destruction in whole or in part, of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.

**Geopolitics:** Geopolitics is a method of undertaking foreign policy analysis which tries to explain the political behavior of the state on the basis of the use of geographical variables. Geopolitics is a dynamic concept. A country may not be as geopolitically important today but may become so in future. For example, since the end of the World War II, the state of West Asia, for instance, Saudi Arabia, has been geopolitically important due to the fact that it possessed an extremely important resource in the form of oil and is located near the sea, allowing for easy trade of oil. However, as the world in the twenty first century is looking for cleaner and greener fuels and alternatives to oil, the countries possessing



natural gas and access to sea may become more geopolitically important in the future. Thus, the world is likely to see a decline of geopolitical significance of Saudi Arabia while Iran and Russia, which are in possession of natural gas, are likely to become geopolitically important in the near future.

**Great Powers:** This term is used in the theory of realism by realist scholars and it signifies the ranking of the global states in terms of their economic and military capabilities they possess. The hierarchy that is established on the basis of capabilities is as follows:



The term called ‘great powers’ found its first written mention in the Treaty of Chaumont in 1817, as, by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Austria, Britain, France, Prussia and Russia were granted the great power status for the first time. In 1944, a foreign policy and IR scholar named William Thornton Rickert Fox replaced the term ‘great powers’ with ‘superpowers’ and since then, the US, Britain, France, Russia and China have been given the status of superpowers.

**Gunboat Diplomacy:** It is a term that has been used with respect to foreign policy since the nineteenth century. Its first mention was seen in the British foreign policy where the British navy would often be dispatched in a particular region to coerce a state or a ruler to pay debts. The British even dispatched naval squadrons to enforce punishments and restore order. Thus, over a period of time, gunboat diplomacy as a term came to be used for naval ships which are used for signalling intentions to an adversary state and are used for power projection.

**Hegemony:** Hegemony in the international system is the political, economic, or military predominance or control of one state over others. A state with adequate capabilities is called a hegemonic power in relationship to which the other states in the system define their relationship. When other states define their relationship with a hegemonic power, they could display a behaviour of opposition, display indifference, or even practise acquiescence with the hegemonic state.

**Hot Pursuit:** It is a legal doctrine mostly associated with maritime law. Nowadays, it is used to cover activities on land where one state may reserve the right to pursue an offender

outside its own territorial limits in national interest. In hot pursuit, the authorised agents of a state begin the action in the jurisdiction of the violated party and engage in the operation till the offender is broken off.

**Immigration:** It involves the movement of people from (one place to the other) from one state to another state in search of better employment and living conditions. It is different from a refugee wave. In immigration, the immigrant moves voluntarily rather than having been forced or evicted due to political or natural circumstances, which is the case with a refugee. In some countries, the immigrants do pose a cultural threat to the receiving state due to differences in their ideologies and beliefs. Immigrants do play an important economic role in a society as they send remittances back to their home state.

**Junta:** Junta means an administrative council or a ruling committee. In 1808, in opposition to the rule of Napoleon, during the Peninsula war, such councils were formed to signify a military government.

**Military–Industrial Complex (MIC):** The term was used by the US president Dwight Eisenhower in 1961 in his farewell speech. It was a term used during the Cold War times to establish a link between economic activity and military expenditure. The economic definition of MIC is that a state has consensus about the fact that if it undertakes military expenditure, it would lead to the generation of employment, which would, in turn, boost the economy. Thus, military expenditure is linked to employment generation. During the entire Cold War period, MIC was a phrase that signified the relationship between the government and defense manufacturers.

**Multipolarity:** Multipolarity identifies an international system with multiple poles or power actors. The first ever mention of the term dates back to the European system of the balance of power. However, the term has become more popular since the end of the Cold War and it refers to capabilities or power potentials of multiple actors to assert dominance in the international system. The US, Japan and the European Union in the post Cold War era are referred to as poles while India is perceived to be a near-polar power.

**Paradiplomacy:** In 1990, an American scholar named John Kincaid proposed the concept of paradiplomacy. If we try to define paradiplomacy in the Indian context, then it is a concept where we analyse and study the role played by a local government or a state government to enhance diplomatic ties with countries in the neighborhood. Paradiplomacy can allow a state to promote trade, culture, flow of economic ideas, and even outsource business and so on. In the recent times, paradiplomacy has been activated by India between India's north eastern states and Bangladesh when Sheikh Hasina visited India in 2017.

**Revolution:** A revolution means a sudden change in the system of governance of a state through violence. A revolution also signifies a change in the value system of the state. For the Marxist and Leninists, a revolution involves a socio-economic change in the society. Scholars like Edward Hallett Carr and Martin Wight feel that revolutions often cause instability and thus are not conducive to maintain order in the system.

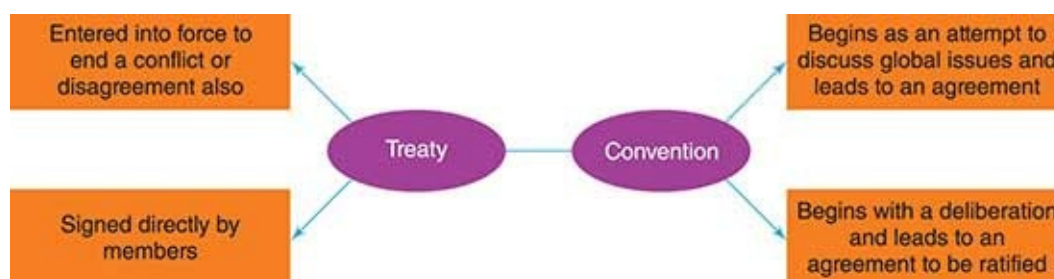
**Sphere of Influence:** It refers to a situation where an outside state exercises particular economic or military exclusiveness over another region. In the context of a sphere of influence, there is no sovereign control over the other territory. When one state exercises



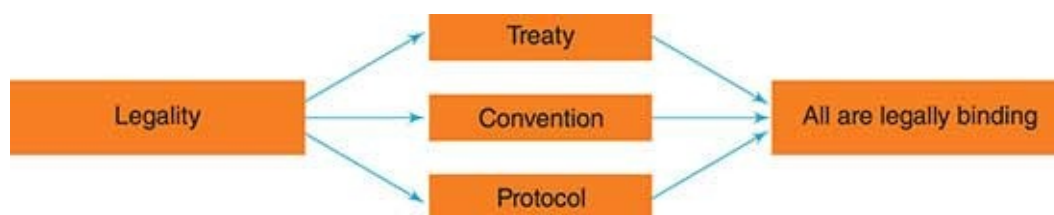
its sphere of influence over another state, it restricts the rights of the other power to exercise influence and also imposes limitations on the autonomy of states on which influence is exercised.

**Tariffs:** A tax on imports is called tariff. It is an important tool of raising revenue; however, at times, countries also use the system of tariffs for protectionism.

**Treaty and Conventions:** A treaty is a written agreement which is signed by countries or international organisations, making it obligatory for the signatory parties to accept certain rules that have been consensually agreed upon in the contract. On signature of the treaty, the signatory parties agree to follow the written obligations while agreeing to accept liabilities on failure to follow said obligations. The treaties are governed through the Vienna Convention (1969), which is also called the laws of treaties or the treaty of treaties. One important thing to remember is that when a state signs a treaty, it remains a party to the treaty even if domestically, after signing a treaty, the state government changes. On the other hand, a convention is a special treaty that concludes the discussion of an issue of global significance leading to the creation of an agreement to be ratified by the member states discussing the global issue. For instance, climate change and its consequences are discussed in conventions attended by several global member states.



**Protocol:** It is also a kind of a treaty but a specialised one as it allows amendments and alterations in the main text of the treaty.



**Signature and Ratification of Treaties:** If a state undertakes a signature to a treaty it means that the state has an interest in following the points mentioned in the treaty. Signature is a legal process but is of two types—simple signature and definitive signature. In a simple signature, a state is not bound to follow the points of the treaty until it ratifies the treaty. Thus, it means that a simple signature involves no obligation on the state as the state reserves the option of putting the treaty before the domestic national parliament allowing its people to have a say in the external matters of the state. On the other hand, in a definitive signature of a treaty, the state expresses its willingness to be bound by all the points of the treaty without the need for ratification of the treaty. When a state ratifies a treaty, it gives its consent to be bound by the treaty. In the ratification of a treaty, the state agrees to get the treaty approved by its national parliament and also indicates its willingness to be bound to other contracting parties in the treaty. In ratification, it gives the national parliament of state a much bigger role to direct state's external affairs.



**Veto:** Veto means an ability or power to stop an undesirable outcome unilaterally. A state needs to possess capabilities to exercise veto.

## ADDITIONAL TERMS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Asia Pacific and Indo-Pacific:** The term Asia Pacific encompasses Oceania, North-East-Asia and South-East-Asia. Asia-Pacific is not a security term but an economic concept used to describe the emerging market economies of South-East and East-Asia. On the other hand, Indo-Pacific is an evolving concept capturing the region from East-Africa to Western Pacific and is a strategic-cum-economic conception with special focus on sea lanes of communication.

**Comprehensive National Power (CNP):** Every country has to undertake some actions internationally. Such actions are based upon the strategic objectives a country may set. To achieve such actions as part of strategic objectives of state, it mobilises and utilises the strategic resources at its disposal. The capacity to mobilise these resources to achieve such actions set by the strategic objectives of a country is called its CNP. When we say mobilisation of 'strategic resources', there is an understanding that these resources could range from economic and military strength to diplomatic strength to national resources and so forth.

**Hyphenation and Dehyphenation:** Hyphenation is looking at two countries together when referring to their bilateral relationship. USA used the policy of hyphenation between India and Pakistan while building relationships with the two during cold war. Let us assume that there are three states A, B and C. In hyphenation, let's say A has hyphenated state B and C. Now, if A augments the capacities of B, because of hyphenation, A will have to factor out its impact on state C. One can understand the above illustration better by replacing state A with USA and States B and C with India and Pakistan. The governments of USA, from Bush to Trump, have finally led to dehyphenation of India and Pakistan. This has allowed the USA to augment military and strategic capabilities of India without worrying about its impact and reaction from Pakistan.

**Joint Naval Exercises:** These are exercises between the navies of two friendly states primarily organised to enhance joint operational skills and doctrinal learning. Such exercises can also be multilateral (MILAN exercise, for example) and are usually theme-based.

**Joint Naval Patrolling:** To address maritime challenges, two countries may resort to a cooperative deployment of their navies. These arrangements could be made for prevention of piracy, tackle illegal smuggling, illegal fishing and so on.

**Natural Ally and Strategic Partners:** Natural allies are states sharing common cultural, political, economic and historical values with each other, as, for instance, the USA and

Britain did in the Second World War. On the other hand, if two countries don't share the values as natural allies, but they witness a similar security threat, to mitigate the same, the two countries may come together and pool their resources, and then the two could become strategic partners but not natural allies, for example, USA and USSR in world war against a common security threat from fascists. (Indian concept of explanation, See [Section-E, Part-D, Chapter 3](#))

**Non-Traditional Security Threats:** These threats are very different from traditional security threats which primarily encompass environmental, economic and societal threats. Some of the prominent non-traditional security threats include migration, poverty, climate change, terrorism and Responsibility To Protect etc.

**Nuclear Safety and Nuclear Security:** Nuclear safety is concerned with safeguarding civilian nuclear infrastructure while nuclear security is concerned with ensuring that nuclear materials, technology and weapons do not fall into the hands of non-state actors or terrorists. The then president of USA, Barack Obama, in 2009, initiated the Prague Summit or Nuclear Security Summit to raise issues related to nuclear security. India has ratified the convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials since 2005 and has been a party to the International Convention for Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.

**Overt and Covert:** When a country does something outright, in the open, it is called as an overt decision. India tested nuclear weapons in 1998 and overtly became a nuclear weapons state. Covert are actions done undercover and in a hidden manner. For instance, the RAW uses covert operations to keep Pakistan under check.

**Research and Analysis Wing (RAW):** During the British period in India, they created an organisation to gather external and domestic intelligence. This organisation was called the Intelligence Bureau (IB). After India became independent, the IB continued to gather external intelligence for India. After the defeat of India in the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962, a need was felt to have a separate organisation for external intelligence. During the Indira Gandhi government, in 1968, the separate agency called RAW was finally created with Rameshwar Nath Kao as its first chief. The RAW is a wing under the cabinet secretariat and is directly answerable to the Prime Minister. One of the important responsibilities of the RAW is to carry out covert operations with an intention to safeguard the national interests of India. The personnel of RAW are not called agents but research officers. RAW has its own service called RAW Allied Services (RAS). The RAW has successfully undertaken campaigns related to psychological warfare, subversion, sabotage and assassinations. In the chapters ahead in the book, we shall study some of the core operations of RAW.

**Strategic Depth:** Let us suppose that there are three hypothetical states—A, B and C. Strategic depth is a policy whereby state A may try to enhance its influence in state B to the extent that it emerges in a position to prevent the state C to exercise political influence in the state B. For instance, Pakistan has enhanced its presence in Afghanistan to ensure that there is a favourable regime in Afghanistan since a regime favourable to Pakistan in Afghanistan will allow Pakistan to limit the political influence of India in Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan pursues a policy of strategic depth against India in Afghanistan.

**Strategic Restraint:** It is a term used for conflict resolution where a state would not use

force to resolve conflicts but deploy diplomatic and psychological options to attain objectives instead. In a policy of strategic restraint, a state prefers not to use violence and force to resolve crises and disputes. An alternative term to strategic restraint is resolve where the state may resort to using force as an option in situation of crises. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters ahead, India uses a mixture of both resolve and restraint in its foreign policy towards hostile states.

**Tactical and Strategic Nuclear Warheads:** Tactical nuclear warheads are short or small yield nuclear warheads which are used immediately in proximate locations while strategic nuclear warheads are long range nuclear warheads having capability of intercontinental ballistic strikes.

**Thucydides Trap:** A term used to signify a situation where a rising power establishes fear in an established power, leading to a conflict.

**War and Conflict:** When two countries have a disagreement which is not resolved, there could be tensions. Such tensions could manifest as a fight by one aggrieved party against the other. Such a fight or violence is called a conflict. Between two countries, if there is a violent spat or a disagreement on any issue, it may lead to a conflict. The conflicts have to be resolved through dialogue and negotiations to prevent a full-scale war. A war is a type of a conflict where the two countries may indulge in violence when one party officially declares and discloses the need to resort to violence to protect its sovereignty, rights and existence. The 1962 Indo-China disagreement over the border question led to the Sino-Indian conflict. Neither side 'declared' war, and consequently, 1962 is called a conflict. On the other hand, in 1971, India declared war on Pakistan after Indian base was attacked by Pakistan.

## KEY CONCEPTS AND TERMS USED IN NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY

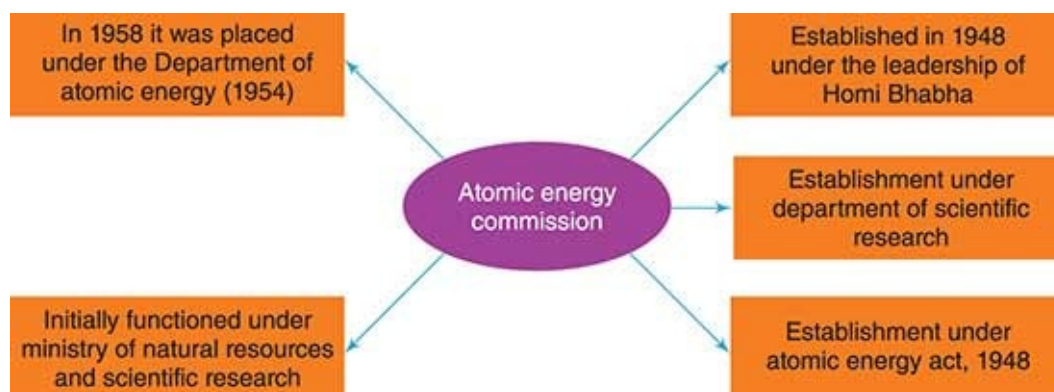
**The 123 Agreement:** It refers to the section 123 of the US Atomic Energy Act, 1954 under which the US undertakes nuclear commerce with various countries. The US used this section to enter into agreements with various countries pertaining to nuclear cooperation. In 1963, India and the US had signed the 123 agreement for Tarapur Atomic Power Station. The US, after passing the Hyde Act in 2006, signed a 123 agreement with India in July 2007, thereby making an exception by allowing the US to permit nuclear commerce with India despite India being a non-signatory to the NPT. After the NSG specific waiver (explained in detail in the chapter of India-US relationship in the later part of the book), the 123 agreement was approved by both the houses of the US congress, thereby enabling the 'US-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Non-Proliferation Enhancement Act.'

**Additional Protocol:** Additional protocols are basically safeguard agreements. After it was revealed that Iraq had violated the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, a need was felt to have extra safeguards. Under the old IAEA safeguards, all NPT signatories would specify their nuclear sites and IAEA would carry out inspections in the specified sites. Thus, IAEA, under the old safeguards, could only carry out inspection for unauthorised activities only at designated or specified sites declared by a country. This basically left an option open for states to carry out covert nuclear programmes. Thus, in 1993, the IAEA designed Additional Protocols (AP) to tighten the existing safeguarding



regime. But the AP was kept voluntary for a state. India, as part of the Indo-US nuclear deal, signed the AP with IAEA. Indian specific Additional Protocols (AP) do not give IAEA the right to hinder or interfere with activities which are outside the scope of India's safeguard agreements, thus recognising that India reserves a right to a military nuclear program outside IAEA agreement.

**Atomic Energy Act, 1962:** It was in 1948 that India passed its first atomic legislation to establish a framework to manage the Indian nuclear sector. The Atomic Energy Act, 1948, modelled on the British Atomic Energy Act, established the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) as the main regulatory body. In 1962, the Atomic Energy Act 1948 was superseded with a new Atomic Energy Act of 1962. Both the legislations have only centralised the Indian State Control over nuclear related activities.



**Atoms for Peace:** It was a programme which had its origin in the speech of US President Dwight Eisenhower at the UN General Assembly in 1953. In the speech, Eisenhower not only highlighted the dangers of nuclear weapons but also proposed peaceful use of nuclear technology. During the Cold War, the US began to use the programme to win allies in the global order. The US declassified nuclear documents and began to transfer nuclear technology to other states for peaceful use. India, Pakistan and Iran took advantage of the declassified knowledge to build up peaceful nuclear programmes.

**Civil Nuclear Liability Act:** The Indian Parliament, in August 2010, passed the Civilian Liability for Nuclear Damages Act (CLNDA). The legislation is important because India, after the signing of the Indo-US nuclear deal, would have to buy nuclear technologies from various countries. The law manages the liabilities of suppliers. Now, the Indian version of the CLNDA is perceived by many stakeholders as unworkable due to significant ambiguities in the legislation. For example, there is ambiguity about calculation of potential liability of a supplier. Due to this ambiguity, most of the insurance companies are reluctant to provide insurance coverage to the suppliers. Thus, in turn, due to the lack of insurance coverage, the suppliers are reluctant to supply parts and take part in Indian nuclear projects. There are other differences in the Indian law and other liability legislations. For instance, Indian law has limited the total compensation to 320 SDR or 450 million US dollars. Under the Indian law, the supplier of a nuclear part can also be held liable for faulty supply of equipment in case of a disaster.



There is a case made for an insurance pool where contribution by Indian government and insurance firms could mitigate the challenge of unwillingness to provide insurance cover.

**Deterrence:** Explained in the earlier section.

**First Strike:** First strike is a nuclear strategy of identifying and completely destroying enemy countries' nuclear forces. The attacker needs to not only have complete idea as to where the enemy has kept its nuclear weapons (to destroy them) but also needs to have some additional reserve of nuclear forces to prevent any devastating reprisal in case of an unsuccessful first strike. The first strike should not be seen as same as the first attack. A first attack would be a limited attack that may not destroy the enemy's nuclear forces.

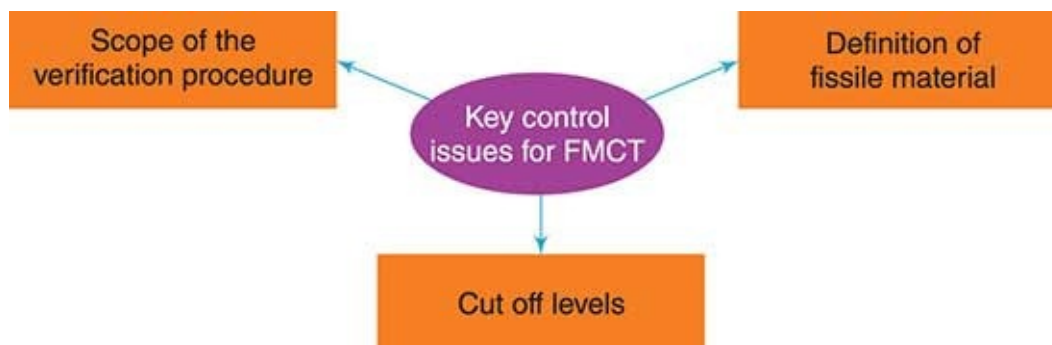
**First Use:** If a state is not able to defend itself with conventional military forces or feels that there is uncertainty in its capacity to defend itself through conventional forces, it may reserve a right to the first use of nuclear weapons. Normally, when a state feels that its adversary may possess significantly superior conventional forces, it may be compelled to adopt first use. But first use does not mean early use, as states having first use may still resort to use of nuclear weapons as last resort. India has no first use doctrine.

**Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty:** The first ever version of CTBT was proposed by Nehru in 1954 to ban atmospheric nuclear testing. It was later in 1993 that the Conference on Disarmament began to negotiate a CTBT. A text of the CTBT was finally prepared in 1996. The treaty decided to ban all forms of nuclear testing worldwide. The treaty till date has not come into force. As we shall see later in the chapter detailing India's Nuclear Policy, India due to various reasons, has refused to sign the treaty. As India refused to sign the treaty, the treaty itself could not be enforced as it was based on consensus of all parties in the Conference on Disarmament (CD). In September 1996, Australia took the text of the treaty to the UN General Assembly where while voting, India along with Libya opposed the treaty. The treaty can only come into force if all parties at the CD sign the treaty.

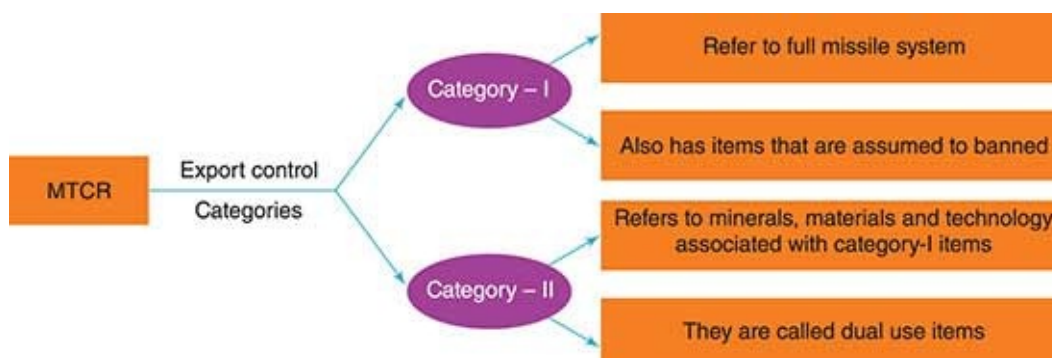
**Conference on Disarmament (CD):** It is a disarmament negotiating agency with its headquarters in Geneva. Five members from NATO and five members of Warsaw Pact in 1960 in Geneva had established the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament or the TNCD. To encourage further dialogue between the US and Soviet Union, the UN, in 1961, established Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENCD). The ENCD added eight members from the Third World and the ten from TNCD. The ENCD, in 1969, was rechristened and reconstituted as Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) and finally the CD replaced CCD in 1979. The CD has been instrumental in negotiation of CTBT (as explained above) along with acting as a forum to negotiate First Missile Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) and prevention of arms race in outer space treaty.



**Fissile Material Cut off Treaty (FMCT):** FMCT is a treaty being proposed to prohibit production of highly enriched uranium and plutonium. Regarding the scope of verification procedure, there is unanimity that the procedure should be strong, effective and also politically acceptable. Many countries have advocated that the procedure should not be the same as prescribed under NPT. Some sections in the Indian establishment are of the view that FMCT should have mechanisms whereby all states comply with all obligations. India's ambassador at the CD has reiterated that India would only favour a treaty if it intends to ban future production of fissile material only.



**Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR):** To prevent the proliferation of unmanned delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons, an informal agreement has been established called as MTCR in 1987 by the US, United Kingdom, Canada, France, Germany, Italy and Japan. As per the MTCR, it places a ban on the transfer of such missiles that can carry more than 500 kilogrammes or have a range beyond 300 kilometres. In 1992, the MTCR expanded its mandate to add unmanned aerial vehicles.



India joined the MTCR in June, 2016. In 2015, India's membership to join the MTCR was blocked by Italy. China is not a member of the MTCR.



**Peaceful Nuclear Explosion:** When a nuclear explosion is carried out for non-military purposes, it is called a PNE. Such explosions are permitted by the NPT. Theoretically, characterising a test as a peaceful is very difficult. In 1974, India undertook a PNE at Pokhran.

## KEY CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The purpose of this section is to explain some of the major concepts in international relations<sup>1</sup>.

**Balance of Power:** Explained in detail in the earlier section as well as the ensuing chapters on the rise of the nation states.

**Collective Security:** In a simplistic sense, collective security is equivalent to the doctrine of 'one for all and all for one'. The idea of collective security is to create mechanisms legally to prevent an aggression by any state in the system against other states. This situation entails a collection of nation states enforcing peace by informing the aggressor state of a credible threat of sanctions or military actions. The essence of collective security is to use military action to enforce peace and to use overwhelming power collectively as a punishment to the aggressor. In a system of collective security, the states remain sovereign but relinquish the quest of using force to settle disputes among themselves to maintain peace among the members of the system. If a state illegally uses force against another state in a situation of collective security, it is assured of assistance from others, where by the state itself relinquishes its own ability to unilaterally use force. NATO is a collective defense system and not a collective security system.



The first attempt of collective security found mention in the League of Nations but as the idea behind the formation of the League of Nations, that of preventing another world War, failed, its successor, the UN, did not bring up this issue for discussion.



In the post-Cold War times, the idea of cooperative security has become more popular than the idea of collective security. The eastward expansion of NATO in the post-Cold War period justified the idea as it is also based on the logic that peace is indivisible and cooperative security therefore advocates use of regional institutions for collective action.

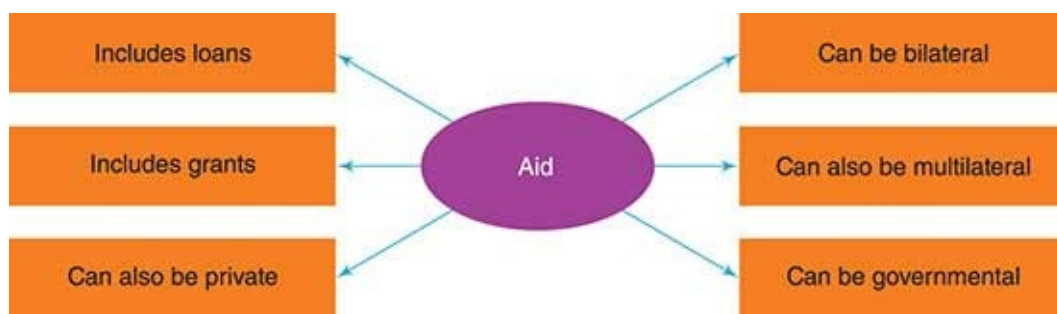
**National Interest:** It is used as an analytical tool in foreign policy to identify the objectives of foreign policy of a state. National interest is always those basic determinants used by a state to guide state policy in relation to other states in an international system. According to Charles Beard, the term 'national interest' gained momentum in political lexicon during sixteenth century in Europe, when it replaced *raison d'état* during the

gradual development of the idea of nationalism. The idea expressed was of development of interest of the whole of the society. Later on, it was used in the international relations as an exercise of state power.

In the subsequent sections of the book, we will see that the concept, in theoretical political analysis, is mainly used in the school of Realism and Hans Morgenthau was its most influential advocate. Morgenthau, as shall be later examined, advocated that the primary national interest of a state is acquisition and use of power, especially that of military power. Later theorists went on to say that the interests of a state are diverse and guided by shifts in the international environment. The root of national interests remains survival and security of a nation.

## ADVANCED TERMS AND CONCEPT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Aid:** It is a generalised term signifying a transfer of goods and services by two international actors on a concessional basis to each other. Aid can be given with certain strings attached but can also be granted without expectations of favour. The concept of aid gained popularity during Cold War times when aid was used as foreign policy tool by the US through the European recovery programme.



**Ambassador:** An ambassador is a principle enabling vehicle for official communications between states. An ambassador is a career diplomat of a sovereign state residing in another foreign state. It was in the fourteenth and fifteenth century in Venice and Milan, when the modern practice of resident ambassadors appeared. However, it was only in the Congress of Vienna in 1815 that recognised Corps Diplomatique and established the concept of resident ambassadorial system.

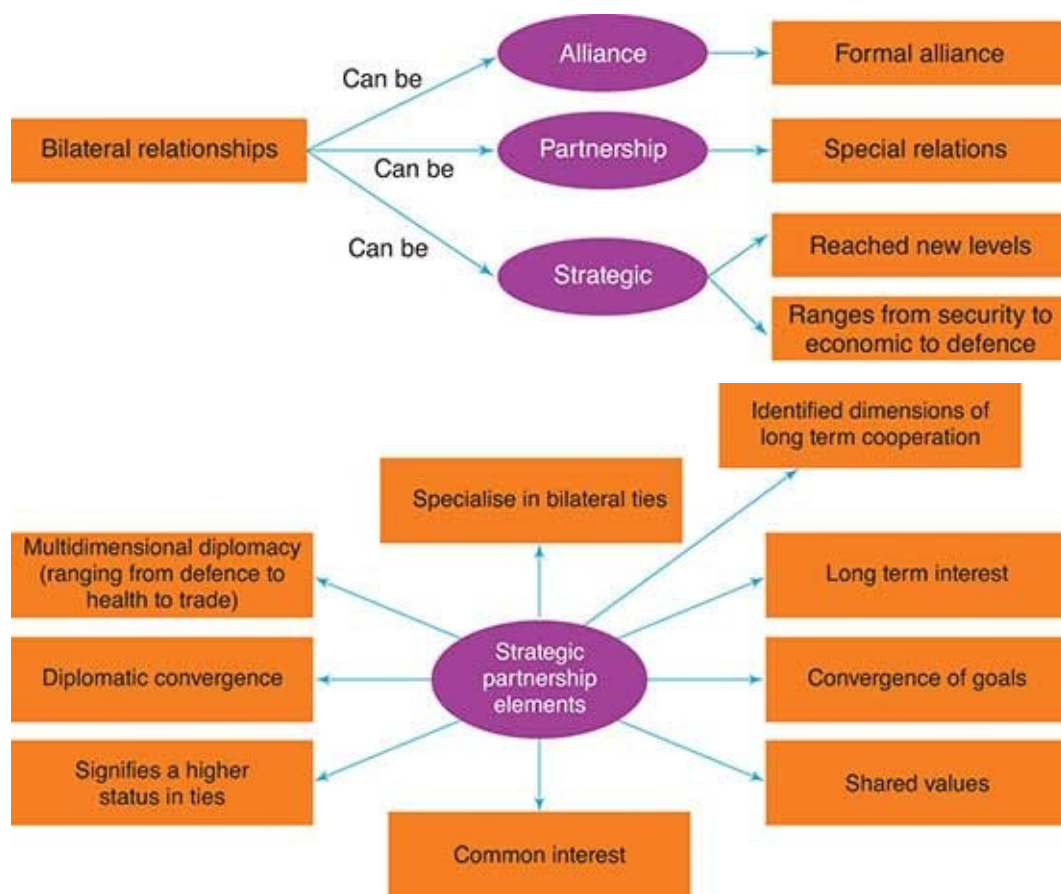
**Capability:** It is a term used while analysing the concept of power. The focussed attribute considered in case of capability is the possessions of the state actors involved. Earlier, the military and economic possessions were used as terms to signify the capability of a state. However, now, even diplomatic skill are equally recognised. In order to be powerful and more ‘capable’, one state should always possess more attributes than other actors.

**Economic Sanctions:** It is a form of economic statecraft whereby one state may resort to deliberately coercing another state actor to follow certain policy objectives. It involves an imposer–target relationship. The imposer uses tools of statecraft to compel the target to behave in a specifically desired way by threatening or imposing economic limitations, including boycotts and embargoes. Normally, in economic sanctions, the imposer tries to control access of goods and services for the target.

**Hot Pursuit:** It is a legal doctrine which has been primarily associated with the high seas.

In the recent times, the states have started using the doctrine of hot pursuit on land to pursue offenders which may normally be in the territorial jurisdiction of a foreign state. Such kind of a pursuit of offenders in a foreign territory may happen only in exceptional circumstances. The actions in such pursuits are always carried out by law enforcement officials of a state.

**Strategic Partnership:** Two countries normally have bilateral diplomatic relations. However, as the depth in bilateral diplomacy increases, the countries would favour changing their diplomatic niceties into strategic partnership, just stopping short of an alliance. The important elements of cooperation could manifest in the form of convergence in security diplomacy, defense diplomacy and even commercial diplomacy. The origin of the concept of strategic partnership goes back to the Cold War era. During the Cold War, states were allied to the two power blocks. However, as at the end of the Cold War the states found themselves independent, each of them began to stitch an important relationship with a more superior power by using the term strategic partnership.



**India and its Strategic Partners:** In SP, countries normally identify elements of vital diplomatic convergence. The concept of SP, as it has evolved in the last few decades, allows a state to enter into a cooperation-cum-partnership only in those areas where the two states feel that there is enough convergence, despite there being a lack of formal alliance. In other words, unlike an alliance that is binding for nations on all issues in all situations, SP convergences are always in areas where both states envisage a long term cooperation. India, since the end of cold has signed SP agreements with many nations. We will read about such agreements in detail in further sections of the text. For India, the common yardstick while entering into such an agreement is whether the other country has a critical role to play vis-à-vis our national security and national interest.

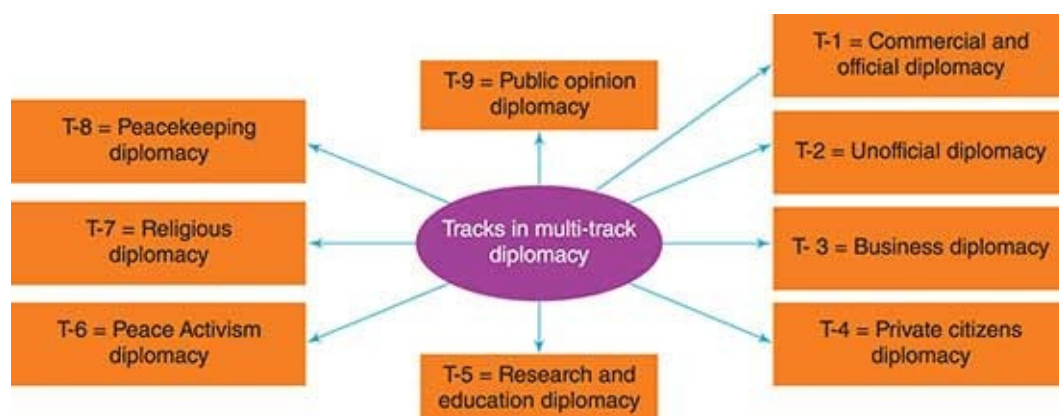




**Summit Style Diplomacy:** The origin goes back to the Cold War times when Winston Churchill used the term to define the summit meetings between the leaders of great powers. It is a form of international negotiation where leaders meet, negotiate and resolve issues. In summit level meetings, Churchill favoured face-to-face interactions with the leaders. In fact, Lloyd George also advocated that to settle things, leaders should meet face to face and talk. He is, in fact, known as the initiator of the idea of summit style diplomacy. In modern times, leaders meeting face-to-face to resolve issues are more common.

**Different Tracks of Diplomacy:** The word tracks in this context means channels used by international state order to undertake negotiations.

- **Track-I:** This means official diplomacy where heads of the states and diplomats and other government officials interact and negotiate to resolve issues.
- **Track-II:** This means use of non-official actors like NGOs, civil societies, business houses, media persons and even conflict resolution specialists negotiate to resolve issues.
- **Multi-track:** Multi-track diplomacy is a term coined by Dr Louis Diamond who has identified nine different tracks of diplomacy. The word track is mentioned as (T) in the below diagram.



**White Shipping Agreement:** When two states agree to conclude a white shipping agreement, both decide to exchange information with each other related to movement of non-military commercial merchant vessels. Since, in the waters around a state, a lot of vessels from small fishing ships to big trawlers move around, such an agreement reduces threat and brings more predictability and stability in the seas. Indian navy is striving to achieve complete Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) in waters around India. For the MDA to succeed, white shipping information exchange agreements help in knowing the vessels' countries of origin, countries enroute and destination points, thereby helping in

collating MDA.

**Net Security Provider:** It is a term associated with a country which can ensure a stable, peaceful and secure neighbourhood in the region it is based in.

**Backchannel Diplomacy:** When two adversaries carry out secret communication through secret lines to achieve a diplomatic breakthrough, such communications are called backchannel diplomacy. For example, Barack Obama and Hassan Rouhani opened up backchannel diplomatic talks that led to the US-Iran nuclear deal in 2015.

**Pariah State:** Any state in the international community which is perceived as an outcast is called a pariah state. It is also known as a global pariah.

**Ping-pong Diplomacy:** In the initial years of the Cold War, the US perceived China as a threat because of the Chinese propensity to lean towards the Soviet. In Early 1970s, the US and China began to exchange table tennis players. These table tennis matches paved a way for the two to open up communication channels which ultimately culminated in Nixon's visit to China. The ping pong refers to the table tennis opening up diplomatic channels of communication.

**Soft Power Diplomacy:** A concept of diplomacy coined by Joseph Nye where he explains that it is a form of diplomacy exercised by a state to win its avowed aim without resorting to military coercion or by extending an economic inducement as a carrot.

**Brown Water Navy:** It is a naval force which comprises of small ships, like patrol boats and gunboats, that are used to assist other mother ships. These vessels are primarily used in rivers.

**Green Water Navy:** It is a naval force which has capabilities to carry out offensive operations in the littoral zones of a state. They operate in coastal waters.

**Blue Water Navy:** It is a naval force having capabilities to project power abroad in foreign territories. The naval force can project power in deep oceans far away from the domestic waters of the state. Such ability to project power is possible through acquisition of aircraft carriers. India has aspiration of becoming a blue water navy.

## **TERMS USED IN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION**

Economic integration between the states is a process driven by different kinds of agreements. Here, we will try to understand the technical differences amongst the different terms so that it eases out our reading of the book in its entirety where such terms would be frequently encountered.

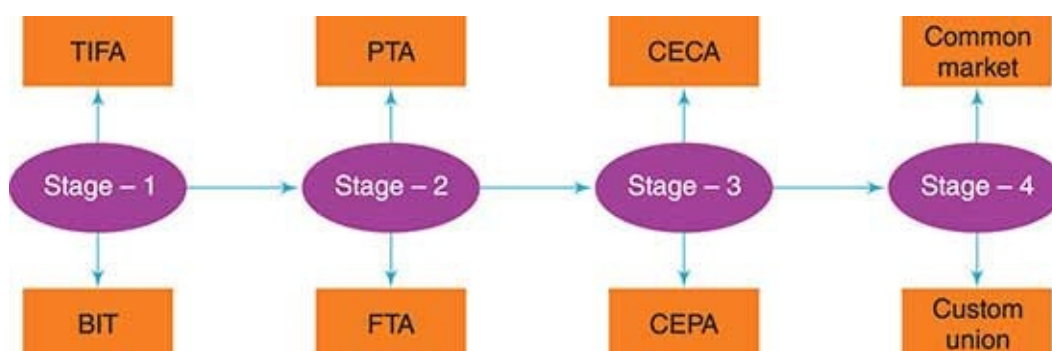
Any economic integration opens up with agreement to remove disputes. In the first stage, the states may conclude a Trade Investment Framework Agreement or TIFA . Whenever two states intend to expand trade and resolve any bilateral disputes, TIFA is their usual first step. In 2009, ASEAN and the USA concluded a TIFA. At the same level, in the first stage, a Bilateral Investment Treaty or BIT too could be envisaged. The BIT is signed to invite Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and to pledge to protect the investments of investors in each other's territory. Germany and Pakistan had concluded the first BIT in the world in the 1940's.

The second step in the integration is to first conclude a Preferential Trade Agreement

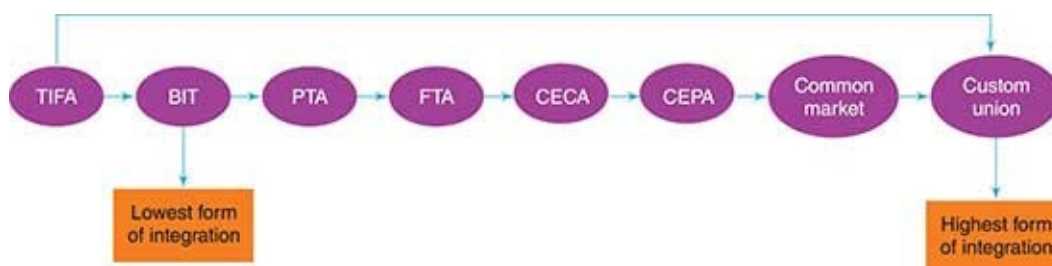


or PTA. In a PTA, the participating states not only make the non-tariff barriers insignificant but also the tariff barriers stand to be reduced. The PTAs are a prelude to a Free Trade Agreement or FTA. In an FTA, the states eliminate tariffs on goods and services. The FTAs, by removing barriers to trade, promote a competitive advantage by boosting specialisation and division of labour. If countries envisage integration beyond an FTA, then they conclude a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) or Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). In CECA, the countries not only promote trade in goods and services by liberalising tariffs, but also establish an investment regime. On the other hand, in a CEPA, apart from liberalisation of trade in goods and services there are agreements on investments, intellectual property and fair competition.

The last stage is known as a Common Market where there is free movement of capital and labour from one nation to another apart from the free trade in goods, services and investments. The Common Market removes all technical, physical and fiscal barriers amongst participating states. The highest form of economic integration, however, is when the group of states decides to charge a similar import duty for imports and allowing complete free trade amongst the group. Such an integration mechanism is called a Customs Union.



The theoretical mechanism of integration is as follows:



**Three World Theory:** The First World refers to the club of rich nations and this term came into use during the Cold War to signify the nations of the West led by the capitalist US. The Second World during the Cold War signified states economically and militarily stronger than the Third World and the countries led by USSR had this tag. A stereotypical term, Third World, was used to signify states which were decolonised after the World War II and were less industrialised and relatively poor states. Though the Third World countries were mostly non-aligned countries, the tag was also associated with the communist state of Cuba.

1. As mentioned in the syllabus of Political Science and International Relations optional (Paper-II, Part – Comparative Political Analysis and International Politics, item (6) for the Main examination conducted by the UPSC.