

## ***Book Reviews***

Howard H. Lentiner, *Power and Politics in Globalization: The Indispensable State*  
Routledge: 2004  
227 pages, Price US\$: 15

Lentiner's scholarly study *Power and Politics in Globalization* is a pioneering empirical and theoretical inquiry into the politics of globalization. The author offers an interpretation of globalization that renders the phenomenon less revolutionary than many believers and promoters would accept. He rightly argues that the current process of global integration is, and can be, sustained only as long as the power position of the United States remains dominant and unchallenged. He observes that existing primacy of state power and the ongoing globalization are not inevitable and that they are subject to disruption. According to him, the military power and policy commitment of the United States, supported by other strong states, promises the underpinning for existing international relations. Globalization also depends on developmental states that take advantage of opportunities offered. Drawing upon historical evidence, international policies and state formation theory, Lentiner presents a thoughtful consideration of modern political power structures and the relative desirability of globalization.

In this penetrating study, the author stresses the underlying power arrangements, philosophical position, policy choices, ideological tendencies and historical antecedents that generally shape the international system. Such an outlook necessarily acknowledges the indispensability of states for the continued promotion of political cooperation, economic interaction and suppression of disruptive forces. Instead of fading away, states

remain essential to maintaining a stable international system and a prosperous political economy.

The author tells us that there are many definitions of globalization, but the most useful working definition is that it is a set of pressures emanating largely from the most powerful states with which individual countries need to cope. They have to do so within a system of political economy that is international and that is managed largely by a blind coalition of powerful states led by the United States. Every state is constrained but weaker ones face greater obstacles to their autonomy than the stronger ones. Still choices remain for everyone although always within a context of constraints.

The author strongly criticizes the tendency of predicating the future and endorses attention to history and to actual conditions. Furthermore, his stress is generally focused on politics and power, specifically as manifested in states as the essential ingredients in globalization. Their position implies that the continuation of globalization requires continued choice of major powers, especially the United States, to remain committed to providing the stability required for economic and peaceful intercourse throughout the world.

The author concludes with the remarks if states actually diminish, as some globalizers predict and advocate, the result will be the diminution of globalization benefits and the rise of predation, terrorists, and criminals. Individuals need to have social systems in which they gain protection and scope for growth and development. Only within institutions and systems of power can individuals make major contribution to their societies and thence, to humankind.

614-Harley Street,  
Rawalpindi Cantt.

Col (R) Ghulam Sarwar



Mohammad Yunus, *Foreign Policy – A Theoretical Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 250 pages, Price: Rs.295

Dr. Mohammad Yunus' book, *Foreign Policy – A Theoretical Introduction*, underlines the pressing need for a generally accepted theory of foreign policy. In the process, he renews the classical theories of foreign policy and then propounds a theoretical framework of his own. He maintains that the concept of foreign policy can be traced back to the earliest human society. The various principles of foreign policy have evolved over centuries through interaction between human societies and the ever-changing external environments. To him, foreign policy shapes politics and in turn is itself shaped by the political process.

It is now an established fact that foreign policy first emerged when contacts between the earlier human societies took place. Evolution of foreign policy must, therefore, be traced from the earliest times to the present day. A practical method to analyze the cause of this evolution is to look at the history of diplomacy as diplomacy is primarily the art of conducting and implementing foreign policy.

The learned author, then, presents an outline of the history of diplomacy in order to identify the roots of foreign policy and to trace its evolution. With that purpose in view, he divides the history of diplomacy into four epochs — primitive, ancient, medieval, and modern — with each having its own sub-divisions. These stages or forms of diplomacy correspond closely to the evolving pattern of inter-societal relations over time. Also, these stages reflect the nature of questions that the foreign policy of the human societies of bygone days had to confront against the background of an evolving external environment.

Further, the author brings out that foreign policy is the formulation and assertion of national interests reflecting the vital principles of the state in its dealings with other states. Thus, the foreign policy is conceived and implemented, within various cultural, historical and capability parameters, by those who exercise the existing power of the state at a given time. It is, thus, the national interest that lends to become an argument for justifying the policy choices made by those in power.

We learn from the narrative that generally speaking, foreign policy has two major sets of constraints. One series of constraints can be grouped under the term “capability” and the other under “external environment”. The former is internal to the state related to its domestic policy, while the latter is external to the state in relation to its foreign policy. But this separation is merely for the facility of classification in so far as the two sets are inextricably interactive in nature.

It goes without saying that a state’s capability is primarily related to its foreign policy and diplomatic behaviour. This relationship, however, may vary from country to country, time to time, and situation to situation. It is quite possible to detect some post facto regulations and different selected situations. It may even be useful to do so because it can enhance understanding of the phenomena.

Continuing his discussion, the author reveals that the world politics in fact is literally the external environment of foreign policy. This being the case, the theoretical work on foreign policy should deal both with its formative stage i.e., before the state takes its foreign policy into the international arena, and the operative stage when foreign policy is implemented and is, in this process, quite often completely transformed through a continuous feedback from world politics. The inter-relationship between foreign policy and the world politics varies in three ways viz., from time to time, from country to country and from situation to situation.

As a natural concomitant of the evolution of foreign policy, the narrow bounds of national interests the states have continue to expand through the continuous inclusion in it of the interests of others; and this has not been the result of any triumph of morality, national or international. The one world paradigm has been forcing itself inexorably on human societies as the only way of the survival of human species and is now an undeniable part of the external environment.

To recapitulates, the author maintains that the concept of foreign policy can be traced back to the earliest human society. Various principles of foreign policy have evolved over time through interaction between human societies and the

ever-changing external environment. Foreign policy shapes politics and is itself shaped by the political process.

Contemporary literature on international relations and world politics deals mostly with the interaction of national foreign policies rather than with the concept of foreign policy. Few authors have addressed the question as to what foreign policy really is as applied to all countries with considerable variations in size, capability, power, and political orientation. Dr. Yunus has done well to underline the urgent need for a generally accepted theory of foreign policy. While reviewing the classical theories of foreign policy, he has propounded a theoretical framework of his own.

614-Harley Street,  
Rawalpindi Cantt.

Col (R) Ghulam Sarwar