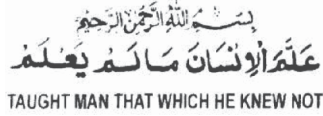


# NATIONAL INTEREST: A CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

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# **NATIONAL INTEREST: A CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE**

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## NATIONAL INTEREST: A CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

*Ehsan Mehmood Khan, PhD*

*The objectives of foreign policy must be defined in terms of the national interest and must be supported with adequate power.*

– Hans J. Morgenthau<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

*National interest has evolved into a guideword for national security objectives and the currency of international relations (IR). Whereas the realist school of thought is the key proponent of national interest, it does come into debate of other schools of IR too including strategic debates and security studies. Various scholars and institutions contextualize and categorize national interests varyingly. Even though, national interest is one of the most matured concepts of IR scholarship, yet it remains under the debate in academic and policy spheres. There are five main issues under deliberation apropos the national interest as follows: first, the interplay of power and morality in formulation and pursuit of national interests; second, longevity, durability and permanency of national interests; third, the interaction between national and public interests, and the process of interest adjudication, which is the function of the political system; fourth, Islamic perspective on national interest; and fifth, the future of national interest in the wake of growing power of the non-state actors, which have started challenging the notion of national interest. This paper revisits the concept and context of national interest with strategic arguments on different debates on national interest. Important attributes of the power potential affecting national interests as considered and conceptualized by the author have also been discussed briefly. The research is descriptive, explanatory, analytical and perspective in nature.*

**Keywords:** National Interest, National Power, National Security Strategy, Human Security, Pakistan.

### **General**

**I**nterest form to be the nucleus of human relationship from individual to communities, and nations to alliances. The term ‘interest’ is used in a number of ways and with a host of prefixes and suffixes. A few examples are: personal interest, individual interest, group interest, community interest, ethnic interest, parochial interest, party interest, commercial interest, economic interest, security interest and national interest etc. The list goes on. While all these phrases hold good at the domestic level (and some even at the international level), national interest reigns supreme at the national and international levels. National interest is an expression of national purpose, aspirations and objectives. Simply put, it is stepping stone to attainment of national purpose. It explains the state behaviour as to why it is as it is. It has evolved into one of the most important terminologies in strategic lexicon of IR and security studies. In most cases, “statesmen think and act in terms of interest.”<sup>2</sup> Thus, we may even term it as the currency of international statecraft. In the words of Morgenthau, “It is not only a political necessity, but also a moral duty for a nation to always follow in its dealings with other nations but one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule for action: The National Interest.”<sup>3</sup>

The term national interest traces its origin in 16<sup>th</sup> century usages in Italy and 17<sup>th</sup> century statecraft expressions in England. During these times, phrases such as *raison d'etat*, dynastic interests, interests of the 'sovereign' or monarch, will of the prince, dynastic interests and national honour etc were used that eventually evolved into the catchphrase 'national interest'.<sup>4</sup> Various related terms had also been used in Germany, France and other European countries. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) paved the way for newer concepts including the phrases signifying 'national interest'. Later, the American political scientists extensively used this phrase in the course of explanation of constitutional matters and the deliberations on political philosophy.

Today, the 21<sup>st</sup> Century statesmen, scholars, policymakers, strategists, bureaucrats, diplomats, business leaders, civil society activists, media professionals and commoners discuss national interest from various angles. What and what not should be a national interest comes under debate in addition to the interplay of national and public interest. However, this paper aims at giving a conceptual perspective only. The identification of interests of a particular country goes beyond the purview of an academic inquiry in this paper.

### **National Interest and the School of Political Realism**

Conceptual value and analytical usefulness of national interests have remained under argument between various schools of thought. Realism is the chief proponent of national interest. All variants of Realism underline the value of national interest and the struggle for power. The proponents of Realism advocate that the states exist within an anarchic international system in which they are ultimately dependent on their own capabilities, or power, to further their national interests.<sup>5</sup> Simply put, the realist thinking focuses on 'nature' of the three levels to include international system, state and individual. That the international system is 'anarchic', the states seek 'power', and the individual human nature is 'selfish', is the core thesis of Classical Realism, wherein the national interest serves as a nucleus of the entire construct. The critics contend that the concept of national interest, though ostensibly appealing, suffers from serious pitfalls. Stanley Hoffman rebuffs it being "oversimplified and wrong-headedly dogmatic."<sup>6</sup>

To the proponents of national interest, the most important national interest is the survival of state, including its people, political system and territorial integrity. Other major interests for realists include preservation of the culture and economy. The Realist theorists and proponents study the nature of issues on realistic rather than moralistic or legalistic grounds. They contend that, as long as the world is divided into nation-states in an anarchic setting, national interest will continue to play its role in the interstate relations.

The Machiavellian doctrine that "anything is justified by reason of state (*Ragion di Stato*)" carries an empirical testimony to corroborate that the states

would attain their national interests using all available means and methods, and that the ends would justify the means when it comes to realize the national interests. We must note that whereas Realism as a structured and accepted discipline of study was not introduced until around the World War II, the concepts engrossing Realism had been debated for centuries in the writings of the statesmen and scholars. Thucydides, Chanakya (Kautilya), Ibn Khaldun, Han Feizi, Niccolò Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes are but a few to name in addition to some of the modern day Realists like Hans J. Morgenthau, George F. Kennan, Herman Kahn and E. H. Carr. All of them looked at the national interests with a particular emphasis as the general and continuing ends for which sovereign nation states act in the international relations as well as the domestic statecraft. The proponents of any of the variants of Realism do not relegate the importance of national interests. The key ones to note are as follows: Robert J. Art – Neorealism; Robert Jervis – Defensive Realism; Kenneth Waltz – Structural Realism; Stephen Walt – Defensive Realism; John Mearsheimer – Offensive Realism; and Robert Gilpin – Hegemonic Stability Theory.

### **Defining National Interest**

There is no single definition of national interest. It is an abstraction. Anything that is ‘good’ for the nation may be deemed in its interest to attain as long as it serves to attain and maintain the national purpose. With this in view, various forums and individuals have defined national interest varyingly. A few such definitions have been cited here.

*The Commission on America’s National Interests.* National interests are the fundamental building blocks in any discussion of foreign policy.<sup>7</sup> Interests are the foundation and starting point for policy prescriptions.<sup>8</sup>

*Brookings Institution, USA.* National interests are “the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts.”<sup>9</sup>

*Dictionary of Diplomacy.* National interest “is deemed by a particular state to be a “vital or desirable goal in its international relations.”<sup>10</sup>

*National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad, Pakistan.* National interests are the most important wants and needs of a nation. At the highest level of abstraction, national interests are the “wellspring” from which national objectives, policy and strategy flow. The overriding national interests are normally stated in terms of national survival, national identity and wellbeing. Preservation of territorial integrity, freedom, independence, socio-political institutions and honour are fundamental to the survival of a nation (defined by NDU for academic purposes).<sup>11</sup>

*The US Army War College.* National interests may be defined as “desired end states based on values and strategic analysis. Expressed as policies.”<sup>12</sup>

Michael G. Roskin . “What is good for the nation as a whole in international affairs” is national interest and “what is good for the nation as a whole in domestic affairs is the public interest.”<sup>13</sup>

Charles Lerche and Abul Said . National interest is “the general long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and government all see themselves as serving.”<sup>14</sup>

Evans and Newnham . A diverse, pluralistic set of subjective preferences that change periodically, both in response to the domestic political process itself and in response to shifts in the international environment. The national interest therefore is likely to be what the policymakers say it is at any particular time.”<sup>15</sup>

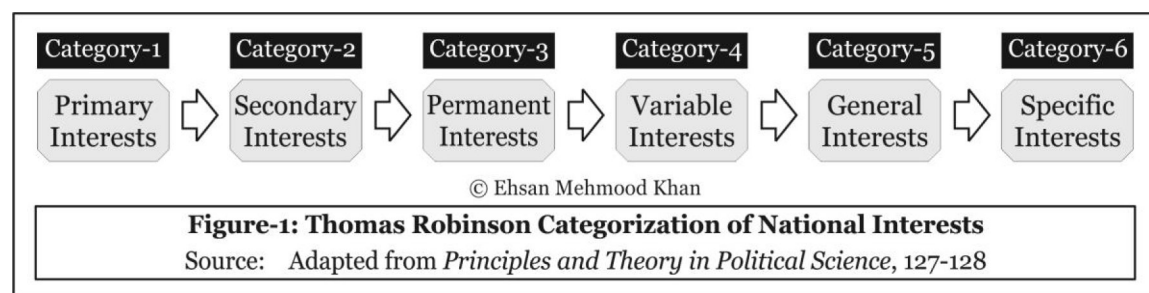
Vernon Van Dyke . National interest is an interest which the states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other.<sup>16</sup>

### Categorizing National Interests

From the point of view of intensity or importance, national interests have been classified and categorized by various scholars and institutions varyingly. Categorization and classification is aimed at informing the policymakers on the extent of significance of a given issue. It is also meant to underscore the intensity as to how much should a state care for an interest, what should be the extent of means used to attain an end or interest and the decision on the ways. In other words, categorization provides for a gauge for cost-benefit analysis as well as an operational framework for dealing with this subject of national importance.

Some of the phrases or terminologies used while categorizing the interests are as follows: core, vital, very important, extremely important, important, less important, primary, secondary, permanent, specific, general and peripheral. A few sets are being discussed here.

Thomas W. Robinson’s Categorization. Thomas W. Robinson has broadly classified the national interests into six categories (Figure-1):<sup>17</sup>



Primary Interests . These include the preservation of physical, political, and cultural identity of the state against encroachments from outside powers. These are permanent interests and the states must define them at all costs. No compromise of these interests is possible.

*Secondary Interests.* These are less important than the primary interests though quite vital to the existence of the state. These include the protection of citizens at home and abroad.

*Permanent Interests.* These refer to the relatively constant and long-term interests of the state. The change in the permanent interests is rather slow. An example could be found in desire of the powerful states for freedom of navigation on the high seas so as to be able to maintain linkage with their allies (colonies in the past), extend security outreach and protect trade.

*Variable Interests.* These refer to the interests of a nation, which are considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances. These can diverge from both primary and secondary interests and are largely determined by “the cross current of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics, and political and moral folkways.” Change in situations or circumstances may make such interest redundant being no-more-required. For instance, the US interest to contain the influence of USSR ceased to exist with the demise of Cold War.

*General Interests.* These refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in a several specified fields such as economics, trade, diplomatic, intercourse etc. For instance it is general interest of some of the states to maintain strategic military balance in their region.

*Specific Interests.* Through the logical outgrowth of the general interest, specific interests are defined in terms of time or space. For instance, it was in the US interest to support other nations in combating communist insurgencies during the Cold War.

Robinson also refers to three other interests which he calls “international interests.” These include identical interests, complementary interests and conflicting interests. *Identical interests* refer to those held in common by a number of states. Identical interests may turn into complementary or conflicting interests. *Complementary interests* are the interests of different nations completing each other by means of convergence or otherwise. Economic and energy interests of the US and the major European countries are identical as well as complementary. *Conflicting interests* refer to the interest wherein the nations are physically, militarily or diplomatically at odds with each other. The US and Russian interests in Eastern Europe, or the USA’s and Chinese interests in Asia-Pacific region are examples of conflicting interests.<sup>18</sup>

**Joseph Frankel’s Classification.** Joseph Frankel proposed a classification of the uses of the term ‘national interest’ into ‘aspirational’, ‘operational’, ‘explanatory’ and ‘polemical’.<sup>19</sup>

*Aspirational Interests.* On the aspirational level, national interest refers to some ideal set of goals, which the states would like to realize.<sup>20</sup> The ideological



leaning of the government, the cultural makeup and aspirations of the public and historical memories may serve to fuel the aspirational interests of a nation. The Pakistan-China *all-weather and time-tested friendship* has aspirational linkages that stem from pleasant memories of support to each other on domestic and international levels through decades.

*Operational Interests.* At the operational level, national interest is the sum total of interests and policies actually pursued.

*Explanatory-Polemical.* At the explanatory-polemical level, in political argument, the concept of national interest is used to explain, evaluate, rationalize or criticize foreign policy.

**Categorization by the Commission on America's National Interests.** The Commission on America's National Interests, in its July 2000 report on America's National Interests identified a hierarchy interests as follows: vital interests, extremely important interests, important interests, and less important or secondary interests.<sup>21</sup>

*Vital National Interests.* Vital national interests are conditions that are strictly necessary to safeguard and enhance Americans' survival and wellbeing in a free and secure nation.<sup>22</sup>

*Extremely Important National Interests.* Extremely important national interests are conditions that, if compromised, would severely prejudice but not strictly imperil the ability of the US government to safeguard and enhance the wellbeing of Americans in a free and secure nation.

*Important National Interests.* Important national interests are conditions that, if compromised, would have major negative consequences for the ability of the US government to safeguard and enhance the wellbeing of Americans in a free and secure nation.

*Less Important or Secondary National Interests.* Less important or secondary national interests are not unimportant. They are important and desirable conditions, but ones that have little direct impact on the ability of the US government to safeguard and enhance the wellbeing of Americans in a free and secure nation.

The Commission on America's National Interests summarizes the interest under these four categories but also goes on to identify five world regions of interest as follows: (1) China, Japan, and East Asia, (2) Russia, (3) Europe and NATO, (4) the Middle East, and (5) the Western Hemisphere. It has also listed six functional issues that must be taken care of world over to pursue the US national interests. These include: nuclear futures – US and worldwide, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, transnational crime, and drugs, international trade and investment, cyberspace and information technology, and the global environment.<sup>23</sup>

**US Army War College's Categorization.** The US Army War College, in its official academic guide on national security issues, categorizes national interests as survival, vital, important and peripheral interests.<sup>24</sup> *Survival* interest is the very essence of the actor's existence. *Vital* interest is linked with the wellbeing of an actor. *Important* interests are significant but not crucial for the actor's wellbeing. *Peripheral* interests are neither a threat to the actor's security nor to the wellbeing of its populace.<sup>25</sup>

**National Defence University (NDU) of Pakistan's Categorization.** The NDU Pakistan's academic guide for the students of national security and war course categorizes national interests as vital, most important, important and peripheral.<sup>26</sup>

*Vital Interests.* These are directly connected to the survival, safety and vitality of a nation.

*Most Important Interests.* These include interests, which if unfulfilled will affect vital national interests.

*Important Interests.* These include those national interests, which affect the wellbeing of a nation or the world as a whole. If unfulfilled, these are unlikely to affect vital national interests.

*Peripheral Interests.* These are harder to define. Anything that does not fall into the above three categories but is still in the nation's interest is peripheral.

### **Power-Focused vis-à-vis Morality-based Interests**

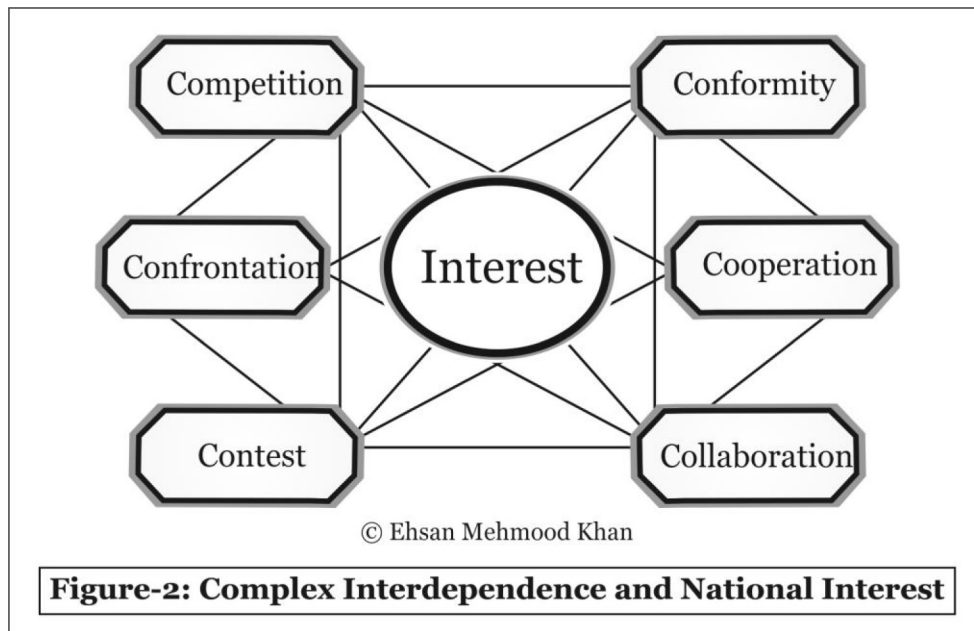
A great debate goes on as to whether it is legitimate to pursue national interests *sans* morality. For instance, if a nation's survival or sovereignty is threatened from within or without, it often needs to take such actions that may be detrimental to the values of humanity, morality and national ethos thereby putting the human security in jeopardy at the cost of state security. Realism is one such school of thought that virtually approves of the attainment of national interests at all costs. On the other hand, liberal school of thought considers advancement of national interests through the values of cooperation, collaboration and mutuality.

It is a contest between power and morality. Power is the focal point in national interests. It is the essence of national interests. It creates a clash of interest between the states *sans* morality. However, practically speaking, power and morality go hand in hand. States do endeavour to maximize power through advancement of national interest but cooperation in the spheres of human security and human rights, economic collaboration, and spread of values like democracy and freedom go on concurrently. Thus, power *sans* morality would crumble, and morality *sans* power is an impracticable proposition.



Interstate relations in today's world are no more as compartmented to have total enmity or complete friendship between different countries. Due to the nature of national interests and the complexity of interstate relationship, the states often make a choice for complex interdependence in today's fast changing world wherein contest, competition and confrontation between them take place in concert with conformity, cooperation and collaboration. All are aimed at attaining the national interests in the most desired and effective manner.

Figure-2 illustrates.<sup>27</sup>



It is the interplay of all these facets that leads to attainment of the national ends i.e. the interests. As an example, trade cooperation between India and China continues on the sidelines of strategic rivalry between them in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere around the world. To note, there are a number of longstanding territorial and non-territorial conflicts between India and China. A few to cite are India-China Aksai Chin Conflict, India-China Sikkim Conflict and India-China Arunachal Pradesh / South Tibet Conflict. Both fought a major war in 1962 and their standing armed forces are deployed along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) since then. They have had military clashes during the recent years. However, while maintaining the state of contest and conflict over the aspects they disagree, they are cooperating and collaborating in the areas of mutual benefit.

So is the case of the US and Russia. They continue to cooperate on a host of matters while contending with each other on many others. At any rate, the power-focused interests, being linked with the survival and security of the state itself, are of primary importance and the morality-based interests, often being linked with cooperation to and from other states, are secondary in importance. The power maximization is blamed only when it is pursued at the cost of human blood. On the contrary, morality cannot be exercised at the cost of national

security. In the words of Henry Kissinger, “We cannot abandon national security in pursuit of virtue.”<sup>28</sup> In the final analysis, both lead to the single end: attainment of national interest.

It may also be kept in view that the interests of states are also crisscrossed by the interests of many supra-state, sub-state and non-state actors and entities. A few to mention are as follows: international organizations, regional organizations, multinational corporations, state institutions including military forces, political parties, militant organizations, interest groups, pressure groups, religious entities, super-empowered individuals, media conglomerates, and others. All these have their interests. In some cases, these entities are more powerful than many of the states and thus have both constraining and enabling effect on the national interests of all states in the system. To note, according to Andy Williams, a pressure group can be defined as a group of like-minded people who are organized with a view to influencing the formulation of government policy.<sup>29</sup> According to H. Zeigler, “A pressure or interest group [in American Society] is an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the context of governmental capacities.”<sup>30</sup>

### **Are National Interests Permanent?**

Certainly, the existential and survival matters fall into the permanent interests of the states. However, there are other interests that change with time. Likewise, there are interests that advance the security interest of a state and work towards maximization of its power, there are others that are based on its values, national purpose, ideological leaning and public aspirations. There are three different views on this issue. *First*, national interests are permanent. Those holding this view often quote such maxims as from Lord Palmerston: “We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal, and those interests it is our duty to follow.”<sup>31</sup> However, Lord Palmerston did not refer to permanent nature of a given national interest. He purely referred to the significance of interests while using the words “eternal” and “perpetual.” *Second*, most scholars and statesmen think that national interests do adjust to the varying situations. For instance, Evens and Newnham believe in changing nature of national interest during different times, under different circumstances and with different policymakers leading a nation state.<sup>32</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau also believes in adjustable nature of interests. He deems that the interest cannot have “meaning that is fixed once and for all.”<sup>33</sup>

“We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal, and those interests it is our duty to follow.”

– Lord Palmerston

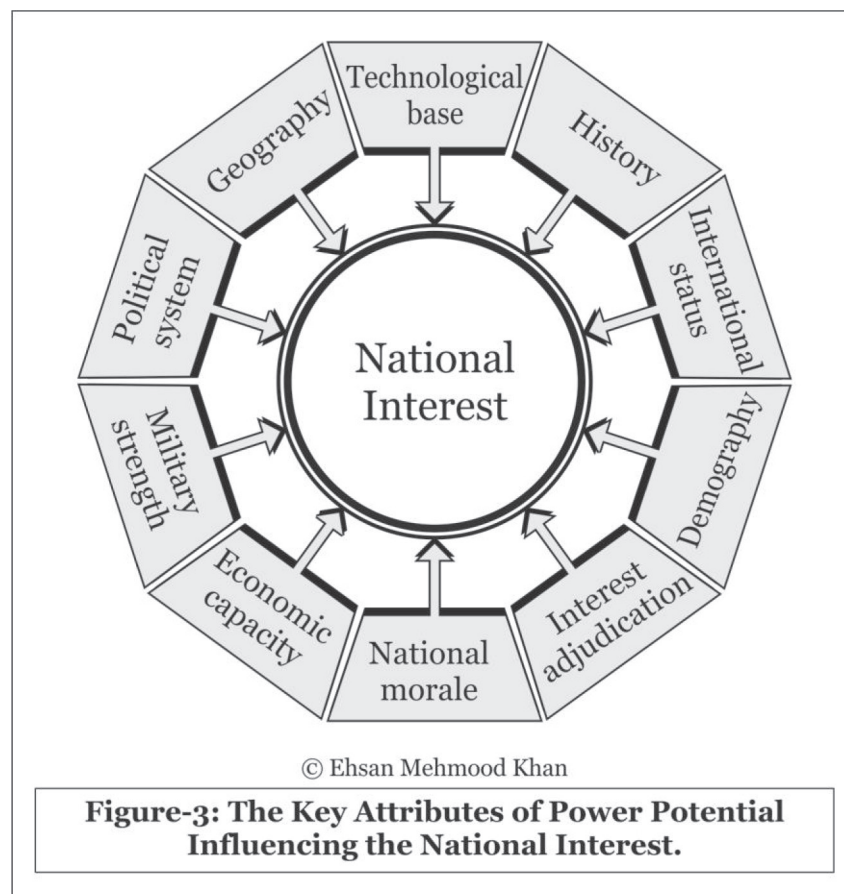
Let us take an example from the Cold War. It was in the national interest of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to spread communism

across the world. The Cold War is over. The USSR does not exist anymore. Its main successor, the Russian Federation, is struggling with the disintegration after-shocks, has changed the system at home and the pursuits abroad, and thus the spread of communism is not its core national interests though it is striving to attain and retain the status of a major power in Eurasia and the world at large. Similarly, the US interest to contain communism on the globe does not exist any longer. Pakistan's interest that the people of Kashmir should get the right of self-determination in the form of plebiscite in keeping with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on the subject would cease to exist as soon as it so happens. However, Pakistan's interest for national integration, and security against internal and external threats cannot subside under any circumstances.

Third, yet others argue that some of the interests are permanent. These interests enjoy timeless value, universal applicability and non-negotiable status such as survival, security and sovereignty of the state. National values and wellbeing of the populace also fall in the same category but may have to be overlooked under special circumstances e.g. in times of war when the survival of state is threatened and is to be safeguarded.

#### Attributes of the Power Potential affecting National Interests

Ten key attributes of a nation-state's power potential influence the makeup, definition and determination of its national interest (Figure-3 illustrates).<sup>34</sup>



**Geography.** Geography is a key facet that defines a nation-state and its national power potential. Everything from absolute location to relative location, and physical geography to human geography matters. Territorial area (size), type of soil, cultivability, climatic conditions, availability of water and distance from equator contribute a great deal to national power potential, and directly affects the national interests from geo-politics to geo-strategy and geo-economics to geo-humanism.

**History.** Historical memories including unfinished agendas of independence, pre and post-independence wars and conflicts, territorial and non-territorial disputes, and other unmediated grievances do affect the internal and external power relationship, and thus the national interests.

**Demography.** Population size, characteristics, ethnic and religious composition, literacy rate, scientific education, average age and the matters of health and happiness directly contribute to national power potential. The interests of security and prosperity are defined and affected by demography.

**Political System.** Type and functionality including diplomatic dexterity affect national power potential. Political inclusivity of all communities is imperative. It strengthens the national polity, boosts national power potential and defines national political and security interests.

**Interest Adjudication.** Interest adjudication is the function of political system and within this, it is product of a functional social contract. The belief of the people in social contract – the constitution – and its functionality play a great role in national power balance and its makeup. It is particularly important in such cases wherein the state is heterogeneous in ethnic makeup. It affects the national interests concerning societal cohesion and national integration.

**Military Strength.** Military strength of a state is both a means and an indicator of national power potential. On the other hand, military element itself depends on a number of other factors such as economy, population characteristics and national security objectives. It largely defines and determines the attainment of national security interests of a state.

**Economic Capacity.** Economic capacity is both an outcome of other attributes and a basis for many of the facets of power. Economy *per se* is one of the vital national interests of each state. *Inter alia*, geography, natural resources, demographic characteristics, industrial power, trade capacity, agricultural potential and economic governance contribute to the national economic progress.

**Technological Base.** Technological base not only boosts the economic potential of a nation but also the national power potential as a whole. As a matter of fact, each great power in the history has been a technological power of the time. Nuclear technology has an added impact on a nation-state's power

potential. It affects a number of vital and important national interests.

**International Environment.** International environment and the role and relevance of a state have a direct effect on its power potential. International relations are actually founded to meet national interests.

**National Morale.** National morale is founded on the pride of people in the nation, its standing in international community, its governance strength, psychosocial conditions and public opinion. It is both a reason for and a result of national power potential. National moral epitomizes national interests and objectives.

### **Interests and national values**

National interests have a strong relationship with core national values. Each nation looks forward to protect its values at home and abroad. National interests, thus, personify national values in expressive and normative terms. The blend of the American values and national interests provides an apt example of this. Marybeth Ulrich notes:

American interests since colonial times flow from American values. [This includes] the roots of these values and their preservation as the primary national interest. This unique heritage may at times make it difficult to separate American values and interests, thus leading to the simultaneous pursuit of seemingly conflicting interests. This phenomenon continues to manifest itself in modern-day foreign policy dilemmas, such as when the United States is torn between promoting democracy and facilitating a stable international order.<sup>35</sup>

Geography is a key facet that defines a nation-state and its national power potential. Everything from absolute location to relative location, and physical geography to human geography matters. Territorial area (size), type of soil, cultivability, climatic conditions, availability of water and distance from equator contribute a great deal to national power potential, and directly affects the national interests from geopolitics to geo-strategy and geo-economics to geo-humanism.

This denotes that both liberty and security are in the interest of a people or state. None can be relegated or neglected. The acme of leadership dexterity lies in balancing the both. This would also work towards striking a balance between national and public interests. It is also of note that security in some cases and at some point in the history of nations becomes synonymous to liberty, freedom, independence and survival of states and societies. To this end, Barry Buzan notes:

Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence.<sup>36</sup>



## **Supreme Sacrifices for National Interest**

To realize, national interest may call for supreme sacrifices by the members of a nation. Henry Kissinger notes, “When you’re asking Americans to die, you have to be able to explain it in terms of the national interest.<sup>37</sup> However, mere references may not suffice. People, soldiers and civilians alike, need to be schooled, motivated and convinced as to why it is important or necessary to lay down one’s life for the sake of nation or its interests. After all, to save one’s life is a supreme personal or individual interest. Same is the case of a family or the community one hails from. Thus, it is a matter of unswerving belief that national interest is above and beyond one’s personal and parochial interests.

## **National Interests and the International Structure**

National interest is the currency of international relations and international statecraft. The states interact with each other through the lingo of interest. However, the ways and means used, and the manifestation of the ends correspond to the power potential and the status of the nation states within the system. The interests of the superpower(s) remain on top of the priority of international order, followed by the second tier powers and so on. The smaller states often have to conform to the desires and interest fulfilment of the major powers even at the stake of their sovereignty and integrity.

## **The Question of Sovereignty**

The question on some of the notions linked with the nation and national interest, for instance sovereignty, remains. Sovereignty is an abstraction. It has different measure and magnitude with different nation states depending on their power potential, ambitions and the status within the international system. As an example, a superpower like the United States can afford to take a unilateral action to counteract against a threat to its sovereignty, and embark on the doctrine of pre-emption as a proactive action against a potential threat. Conversely, Afghanistan or Iraq cannot assume a similar role. Similarly, the Russian Federation can choose to pursue such as it did in Crimea in 2014 and Ukraine in 2022, using both the soft and hard powers. However, Ukraine could not follow the suit. In 2014, Ukraine endured loss of a part of population and territorial area i.e. Crimea, and saved its remaining territory. Even the international community could not stand by Ukraine in face of opposition by a major power i.e. Russia. This also leaves another lesson. The policy choices of the weaker states vis-à-vis the major powers in the system are limited. They often need to forego sovereignty for the sake of survival, and even sacrifice a part of territorial area to retain the remaining territory. However, the West and significant part of the world stood by Ukraine in the aftermath of Russia’s military action in 2022.

### **Justification of the Means and Ends (National Interests)**

The concept and practice of national interest does not recede even within the boundaries of the nation state. With other notions like sovereignty, integrity, legitimacy and authority shaping fast due to the emerging realities and the effects of globalization, the conceptions of nation and interest *per se* are also transforming. What and what not is a national interest remains a matter of debate. The idea of protecting national interest vis-à-vis other nations at “all costs” cannot be applied in the same fashion at home. The ends cannot justify the means in inland processes. The means also have to be justified. The instruments of statecraft, especially the hard power such as military forces cannot be applied without the qualms of conscience. Indiscriminate use of force in the name of national interest to kill, torture and imprison all those who are against the misuse of political power and privileges of the ruling classes is a dangerous proposition.<sup>38</sup> The concept of minimum use of force has to be applied to deal with a domestic challenge including pacification of an internal threat posed by the rebels or insurgents. Even to repel an external threat, proportionate rather than maximum use of force or fire – proportional to the challenge – is to be employed. Indiscriminate scale or enormity of means to meet or maintain a national interest or objective can be questioned both from home and abroad. Thus, the reality needs to subsist within the folds of morality, legality and legitimacy.

The means apart, the ends too need to pass the test of reason and rationality. The national interests of a state are often at odds with those of the other states. This points to hurting the interest of a counterpart in an endeavour to attain own – zero-sum relationship. Is that rational? Certainly not but the Realism-based interstate relationship is founded on realities rather than rationalities. Yet, ‘might’ cannot be ‘right’ in all cases and under all circumstances. The state security cannot take precedence over human security whether it is the case of a state’s own populace or the people of another state. The value of national interest cannot hyperbolically outweigh the worth of public interest. If it does, it has a cost. After all, the nations are made up of people. The interests of people are analogous albeit they may belong to different states. The interest of humanity cannot be put into jeopardy for the sake of state interests. The answer may be found in calibrating the national interests with the public requirements.

### **Formulation of National Interests**

Considering the function of postmodern international state system, it is of utmost importance for a nation state to determine its national interest. Certainly, there are interests such as sovereignty and survival, which cannot be negotiated or compromised. There are others which need to be reviewed and reappraised regularly. On this, Robert J. Arts, a professor of IR at Brandeis University in the US, notes:



The most fundamental task in devising a grand strategy is to determine a nation's national interests. Once they are identified, they drive a nation's foreign policy and military strategy; they determine the basic direction that it takes, the types and amounts of resources that it needs, and the manner in which the state must employ them to succeed. Because of the critical role that national interests play, they must be carefully justified, not merely assumed.<sup>39</sup>

Henry Kissinger, too, is convinced that the identification of national interests is crucial for the development of policy and strategy.

Hypothetically, national interests are rooted in the history, values and aspirations of a nation, and are thus indirectly identified by the entire nation through an informal process which may involve an extended debate. However, practically, the government being the vanguard of a nation, determines its interests. Alan Stolberg notes, "For the US, the executive branch of the federal government has primary responsibility for determining the national interests that address perceived needs and aspirations external to the geographic borders of the nation."<sup>40</sup> However, "the determination of internal or domestic interest," he notes, "is more complex with executive and legislative bodies at federal, state, and local levels interacting in the political process to reach decisions."<sup>41</sup> But, as a matter of fact, public interest is aggregated and articulated through a lengthy process, and is the function of the political system of the country.

### **Interest and the Units of Analysis of International Relations**

The interest can be studied at supra-national and intra-national plane in the light of the units of analysis given by Buzan, Waever and Wilde. This way, 'Interest' is relevant to the *international subsystems* (groups or units such as EU, SAARC, ASEAN and SCO etc), *individual units* (actors such as communities, ethnicities, intrastate political entities and multinational corporations), *subunits* (e.g. institutions and groups within the units such as lobbies, bureaucracy, corporate sectors organizations, trade unions and other meso level establishments).<sup>42</sup>

### **Interests of the Constituent Units**

In some cases, interest of the constituent units of a nation e.g. states or provinces gains precedence over the national interest. It becomes tricky for a nation when these constituents start pursuing their interest even by dealing with the foreign countries directly. The First American Republic from 1776 to 1789 was a case in point. To this end, Marybeth P. Ulrich notes:

The US constitution was adopted from 1781 to 1789. The first Constitution of the United States as embodied in the Articles reflected something of an idealized view of American political philosophy. Under the Articles, the United States were a loose confederation of independent states ... The powers to impose taxes or to raise troops were reserved to the individual states ... It was clear that the weak central government established under the Articles was unable to prevent war, mount and sustain military operations should war

occur, or even prevent internal rebellion. ... Their aversion to sending taxes to Congress is also well known. States were even conducting their own foreign policy with external countries, despite the fact that the Articles strictly forbade such actions.<sup>43</sup>

### **Interest and the Democratic Filter**

Democracy, especially a federal system of government works to filter the national and public interest at various tiers to include county or districts, state or province and the centre. In Federalist number 10, James Madison noted: “The Federal Constitution forms a happy combination in this respect; the great and aggregate interests being referred to the national, the local and particular, to the state legislatures.”<sup>44</sup> Marybeth Ulrich believes that in a republic interests are filtered through representatives who may filter the passions of the people.<sup>45</sup> In sum, democracy provides a set of filters to moderate the interest of all – individual, communities, federating units and the nation as a whole. A democratic system also provides for shared, yet separated, intrastate power.

### **National Interest and Public Interest**

National interests are often seen and studied in terms of international relations and thus foreign policy. Charles Evans Hughes, the US Secretary of State from 1921-1925, conservative internationalist by intellectual leaning and foreign policy outlook, who opposed President Woodrow Wilson on the League of Nations and asserted in 1923: “Foreign policies are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest arising from some immediate exigency or standing out vividly in historical perspective.”<sup>46</sup> But it may be kept in view that foreign policy in itself is a depiction of the internal policy of a nation state. Considering this, we can say that the national interest too is depiction of public interest. Let us take the example of World War I & II. It was in the interest of the warring states to fight great wars. The question arises as to whether it was in the interest of the populace of these states too or not? Millions of people were killed or maimed for survival of the states and their economies. In some cases, neither the state survived nor their politico-economic structure, yet, countless people of these ‘defeated’ and ‘obliterated’ states laid down their lives. It is here that one finds the state security pitched against the human security.

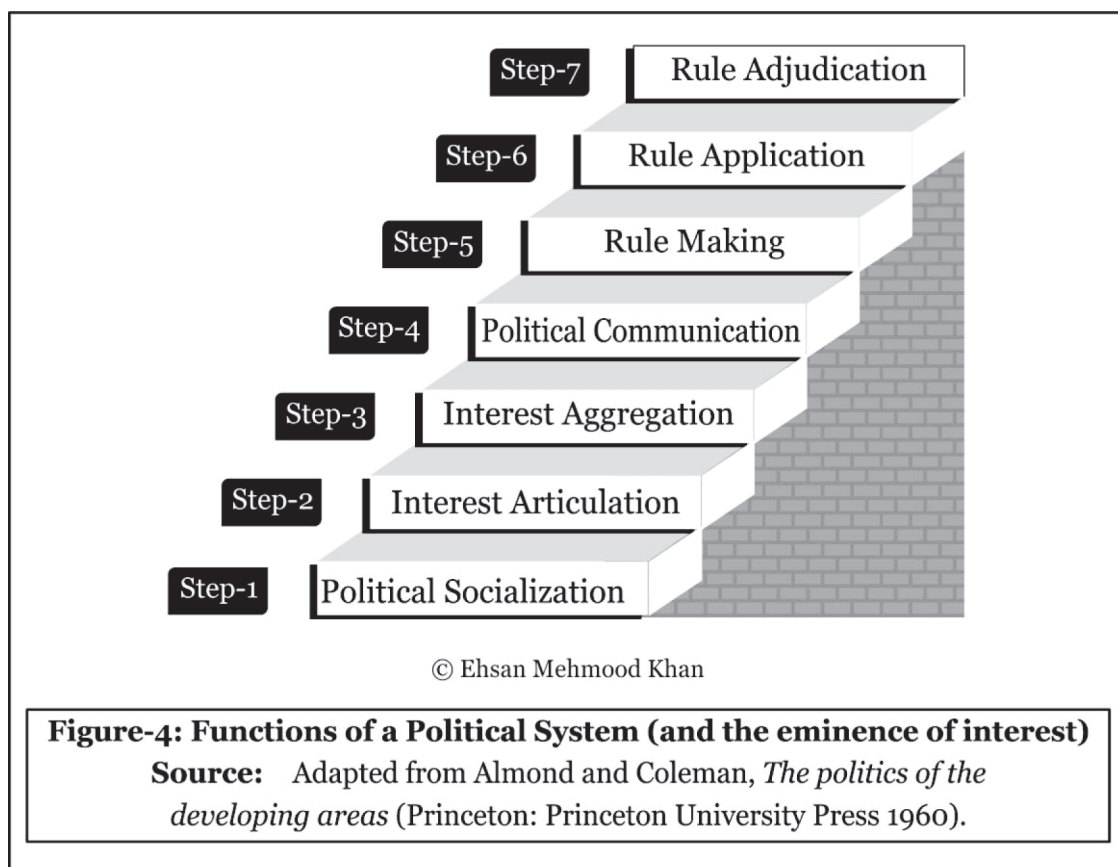
### **Adjudication of Public Interest**

Adjudication of intrastate public interest is the function of political system steering the affairs of a given state. Interest forms to be the central section in the string of a political process. Almond and Coleman listed seven functions of all political systems: political socialization, interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communication, rule-making, rule application and rule adjudication.<sup>47</sup> Figure-4 illustrates. It may be seen that ‘interest’ is the core of the entire system. The political socialization process integrates people into the

political structure and culture of a state. This sets in motion a process of interest articulation and aggregation, which pass through the stage of political communication, and eventually turns into rules. It leads to interplay of rule application and adjudication. This denotes that the public interests are adjudicated even during the course of application. Let us glance over the focal part – interest articulation and interest aggregation.

**Interest Articulation.** Gabriel Almond et al define interest articulation as, “the process by which individuals and groups make demands upon the political decision makers that we call interest articulation.”<sup>48</sup> In characterizing the interest articulation function in a political system, and in comparing it with that of the peer political systems, we need to identify four main types of structures involved in the process: institutional interest groups, non-associational interest groups, anomic interest groups, and associational interest groups.<sup>49</sup>

**Interest Aggregation.** Interest aggregation is defined as “the activity in which the political demands of groups and individuals are combined into policy programs.”<sup>50</sup> For example farmers’ demand from higher crop prices, public preferences for lower taxes, environmentalists’ demand for natural resource quality, and the interests of the businessmen often have to be balanced together in determining an economic programme. Interest aggregation also includes the tools and techniques used by the individuals on the way of personal interest aggregation, and by the groups or communities to meet shared interests.



## **Evolution of National Interest into Policy and Strategy**

National interests are a source of national goals and objectives for various features of national security. National interests also determine the means and magnitude of instruments of national power to be employed to attain a given goal or objective. The students, scholars and practitioners of international relations, peace and conflict studies, policy studies, strategic studies, security studies, political science and other similar disciplines must clearly comprehend the difference between national interest and policy/ strategy. Interests and policies are two different facets. For instance, to be part of ABC alliance is the policy of countries J, K and L to meet the given national interest, and not the national interests *per se*. Policies are formulated and operationalized to realize the interests. Alan Stolberg notes that “National interests also help to determine the types and amounts of national power employed as the means to implement a designated policy or strategy.”<sup>51</sup> The Commission on America’s National Interests (CANI) espouses that the “interests are distinct from policies to protect or advance these interests.”<sup>52</sup> Policies may be flawed or faulty; interests cannot be. For instance, the vital (and permanent) interest of a state apropos its defence, integrity and sovereignty can in no way be erroneous or incoherent. Nevertheless, the policy (and strategies thereof) to ensure it may be debatable. It is acme of leadership skill to translate national interest into functional policies and working strategies. According to Philip Zelikow, “The formulation of policy objectives should convert a general sense of the national interest, a ‘non-operational-goal,’ into a prioritized agenda for action.”<sup>53</sup> In sum, identification of national interests is the first phase of the entire process. Realistic and workable policies for attainment of these interests, allocation of means and operationalization of these policies in the form of strategies and plans are the next important steps.

## **Choices with the Smaller Nation-States**

Theoretically, to pursue national interests in accordance with their aspiration and national purpose is the right of each nation-state on the globe. International law and ethos endorse equality between the states. Practically, however, the case of smaller and weaker nation-states is different from the powerful states in the system. The smaller nations often accept infringement of their sovereignty by the stronger states so as to remain viable territorially as well as politically. For instance, whereas the dominant states can use coercive diplomacy as a tool to advance their interests, the smaller nations cannot go beyond cooperation, collaboration and persuasion so as to save their national interests from being hurt. At times, they even have to submit to the demands of the stronger states. Thus, the national interests of smaller and weaker states are indirectly linked with the interests of the powerful states.

## Islamic Perspective on National Interest

Islamic perspective on national interest is linked with the Islamic concept of nation, state and sovereignty. As for nations, the Holy Qura'n notes: O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Verily, the most honourable of you with Allah is that (believer) who has At-Taqwa (the most righteous of you). Verily, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Aware."<sup>54</sup> As regards sovereignty, the Holy Quran notes: "Sovereignty belongs to none but Allah."<sup>55</sup> However, the man has been delegated to exercise the authority based on the commands of Allah (SWT), Who is Lord of the universe. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan puts it into perspective as: "Sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah [SWT] alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust."<sup>56</sup>

Islam sees Muslims as an *Ummah* i.e. nation as a whole *sans* politico-territorial boundaries. Thus, the security and prosperity of the entire Muslim community, otherwise part of any state, is in the *Ummah's* interests. However, today's international system is made up of 193 nation-states and a number of self-governing, autonomous and semi-autonomous states and regions. Muslims are living virtually in all states of the world. The largest Muslim organization, Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), has 57 member states. Viewed from this angle, the pursuance of national interest in accordance with the popular concept of international relations in vogue is not un-Islamic if it does not otherwise contradict the Islamic commands and injunctions in any way, and does not put the security of the Muslim people into jeopardy.

## The Constitution of Pakistan and 'Interest'

The constitution is the quintessence of national interest of a country. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, the idea of national interest in general resembles the constitution of the US and "its content can run the whole gamut of meanings which are logically compatible with it [i.e. national interest]." <sup>57</sup> Pakistan is no exception. In the Constitution of Pakistan, the word "interest" has appeared 65 times signifying in 16 different characters to include: <sup>58</sup> public interest – Articles 10 (5) & (6), 15, 23, 24 (3) (d), 151(2) & (4), 199 (b), 230 (3); interest of public order – Article 16; interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes – Articles 2 A (The Objective Resolution), 36 and 37 (a); interest of the sovereignty, integrity, solidarity, wellbeing and prosperity of Pakistan – Article 17 (1) & (2), oath of the President vide Article 42, oath of the Prime Minister vide Article 91 (5), oath of federal minister or minister of state vide Article 92 (2), oath of Chairman or Deputy Chairman of Senate vide Articles 53 (2) and 61, oath of member of Senate vide Article 65, oath of Governor of province vide Article 102, oath of Chief Minister or provincial minister vide Articles 130 (5) and 132 (2), oath of speaker of deputy speaker provincial assembly vide Article 53 (2) and 127, oath of member provincial assembly vide



Articles 65 and 127; interest of services – Article 27; interest of free competition [in the realm of] trade, commerce or industry – Article 18 (b); interest of the glory of Islam – Article 19; general interest of people – Article 38; common interest, Council of Common Interests (CCI) – Articles 40, 153, 157 (3) and explanation below the Article 161; interest in contract – Article 63 (k), (l) & (i); interest of province, federal capital or the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) or any of the inhabitants thereof – Articles 148 (2), 155; interest of justice – Article 186 A; interest of the economic life, financial stability or credit of Pakistan or any part thereof – Article 235; interest in property, movable or immovable, and any means and instruments of production – Article 260 (1); interest (the economic terminology) – Articles 161 (explanation below), 260; personal interest – oath of the President vide Article 42, oath of the Prime Minister vide Article 91 (5), oath of federal minister or minister of state vide Article 92 (2), oath of Chairman or Deputy Chairman of Senate vide Articles 53 (2) and 61, oath of member of Senate vide Article 65, oath of Governor of province vide Article 102, oath of Chief Minister or provincial minister vide Articles 130 (5) and 132 (2), oath of speaker of deputy speaker provincial assembly vide Article 53 (2) and 127, oath of member provincial assembly vide Articles 65 and 127, oath of Auditor General of Pakistan vide Article 168 (2), oath of chief justices and judges of Supreme Court and High Courts vide Article 178 and 194, oath of Chief Justice or judges of Federal Shariat Court vide Article 203 (7), and oath of Chief Election Commissioner vide Article 214;

It may be noted that the phrase “national interest” has not appeared even once in the Constitution albeit it embodies the *modus operandi* for attaining the national interests and *modus vivendi* for maintaining national integrity. The term “interest” used therein, as noted above, indeed points to the national interests in various forms. It includes both national and public interests. The Constitution, which is the social contract, not only works to aggregate the public interest but also watches over the national interests. To cite as an example, Article 2 A guarantees fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality is manifestation of public interest. Likewise, *inter alia*, Article 40 signifies one of the national interests in these words:

The State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

Similarly, the references to sovereignty, integrity, security and defence of the state manifest vital national interests.

## The Future of National Interest

The future of national interest is essentially linked with the future of nation-state system. A number of notions hitherto monopolized by the nation-state have been challenged by various sub-state elements such as civil society, academia, intelligentsia, media, corporate sector, societal elite and even the educated commoners. *Inter alia*, national interest, too, is under debate. There are sections of international civil society that advocate preferring public interest over national interest, and human security over state security. This also denotes that in certain cases national interest and public interest cannot be moderated or aggregated, and thus cannot move onto a converging axis. Thus, public interest is gaining against national interest both ontologically and phenomenologically.

State is no more the sole constituent or building block of the international system. There are a number of other actors that have taken over several roles earlier possessed and performed by the state. Such actors exist in all continents, regions and states of the world. Likewise, these elements are playing their role across all spheres of human life ranging from super empowered individuals to interest and pressure groups, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations of various kinds to multinational corporations with worldwide presence.

The theories of international relations and security studies, particularly the different variants of Realism and the related ideals refer to a challenger in the system. A growing power, often a state discontented with its share in existing distribution of power in the system, poses a challenge to the superpower(s) or major power(s) so as to attain a rightful share and status. The challenge has evolved manifold. The non-state challenge posed by sub-state, supra-state and sans-state actors has a synergetic effect towards the decay of power of the state it has held for centuries. The monopoly, legitimacy, authority, supremacy and sovereignty of state has been challenged both in moral and functional realms. There are people, groups and organizations that have taken over the jobs earlier understood as inexorable functions of the states, not in rhetoric but in essence. Let us take example of a vital national interest. The number 1 vital national interest of any state is its own security against existential internal and external threat. Defence and security policies, and military strategies are formulated to ensure security and sovereignty. These policies and strategies are backed by adequate means – military and non-military – which call for allocation of compatible budgetary allocations.

In post state of nature times, the human society has experienced various kinds of rules and governance. Whereas better part of the 21<sup>st</sup> century mankind is under democratic governance of various shades and grades, some of the states are still under dictatorial or monarchical regimes. While national interest has the same meanings in case of such regimes too as are for democratic states, the application of the idea is different in that its first and foremost function is the



survival of the regime and not the security of the state or wellbeing of its people. Security of the state is linked with the safety of the ruling elite. The wellbeing of the people is not among the top priorities. This practice cannot continue indefinitely in future.

The civil societies have started questioning the military allocations on moral grounds considering the poverty and deprivation among masses and other human insecurities. Parsimonious allocations to human security – the sphere of public interest – and extravagant allotment of resources, as viewed by the liberal civil societies, for states security needs, the domain of national interest, is being constantly criticized especially in the states wherein human security situation is dull and drab. Analytical comparisons are often drawn between the defence and development budgets, and questions raised with regard to the necessity of the former when people of the state need more. This is but one example. Other national interests, vital or otherwise, are also facing question marks. The entire decision-making process and the determinants of national interests remain under the scrutiny of the non-state actors that often influence the decisions and limit the choices of the states. Similarly, both the structural and functional aspects of the states are coming under debate. Whereas the chief proponents of national interest – Realist scholars and statesmen – study the concept with little reference to moralistic reasoning, due to the key role played by human nature as the classic Realist believe and international structure as the Neorealist uphold, in an environment of international anarchy. A priori hypotheses of national interest rooted in theoretical conceptions are being overruled by the determinants of public interest founded on empirical deductions.

Non-state actors are gaining status equilibrium with the states in some spheres and are influencing the state behaviour in other areas. A number of non-state actors have enhanced global outreach than most states. They have stronger economic backbone, added credibility, more influence, and better bargaining power in the international system than most of the states and thus influence their national interests. To be true, the powerful states and state actors are keeping the case of the states alive and dynamic. Otherwise, the heavyweight non-state actors would fast erode the role, repute and status of power of the states. Yet again, the states are dependent on so many non-state actors in so many aspects that they often feel helpless before them and their national interests remain hostage to these dependencies. This vulnerability of the states is increasing with each

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tick-of-the-clock due to the reason that the non-state entities have fewer liabilities towards the masses compared with the states that owe a whole heap of responsibilities and thus accountabilities. Thus, with the passage of time, national interests of weaker states in the system are steadily reducing to a point where it remains no more than a footnote to the interests of major powers and the powerful non-state actors. Besides, the intensity of national interest notwithstanding, which may be analogous in case of all states, sanctity or inviolability of the bounds of national interest are different in case of different states depending on the power of a given state.

The Realist theorists e.g. Morgenthau view national interest in a bond with power, and explain as to why states behave as they do. If it is taken as true – and indeed it is – it is reasonable to believe that the declining sway of national interest owes much to the declining power of the state in face of the non-state challengers. Does this mean that the state would need to attain and maintain balance of power against the non state contenders too, at least in non traditional and non military spheres? It is a new catch-22 particularly for the otherwise weaker states. In this case too, the concept of national interest comes under threat.

Another tight spot for the national security is its relative subjectivity compared with the public interest, which can be interpreted better and can be translated into a normative-functional paradigm for implementation. It may be noted that no state or its inhabitants may be bothered about the national interest of another state. However, public interest and human security issues of people of any state can sensitize the entire international community irrespective of caste, creed, region, religion or colour of skin. Thus, national interest does not always pass the test of morality when pitched against public interest. The answer may be found in keeping it aligned with the interest of populace and not tangent to it.

The notion of internationality embedded in the concept of national interest keeps it aloof from domestic concerns. It looks at the internal construct and dynamics as means and instruments of power to realize national interests rather than the resources that can be employed for collective good of the nation. This too raises the eyebrow of morality.

Let us see the constructive side of the national interest. It draws on a sense of nationhood, national identity and national purpose. Identity is one of the strongest linkages of an individual or group. Nationhood brings people from

National interest would continue to play an important role not only in the interstate relations but also in the intrastate relations in the dynamic future international system. Thus, understanding the process and interplay of national interests is a matter of prime importance for the scholars, policymakers, peace and security analysts, military strategists, and students of international relations and other related disciplines.

all socioeconomic classes onto the platform of a same single identity. Thus, it also works towards a common national interest. Eventually, if well aggregated and adroitly moderated by the national leadership keeping the civil society and interest groups on board, national and public interests may epitomize both the will of nation and its populace. Due to this, national interest would and should retain its function at all three levels of international relations.

## **Conclusion**

Even though composed of human beings, the character of states is unlike human souls. Human beings keep forth their interest only to the extent that they serve them and their kith and kin well. If they have to choose between their friends and the interests, they might decide on the former. The case of states is different. More often than not, they pick out the latter. The assertion of Lord Palmerston, a renowned statesman of 19<sup>th</sup> century, before the House of Commons in 1848, bears testimony to the fact: “It is a narrow policy to suppose that this country or that country is to be marked out as the eternal ally or the perpetual enemy of England. We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal, and those interests it is our duty to follow.”<sup>59</sup> To encapsulate, national interest would continue to play an important role not only in the interstate relations but also in the intrastate relations in the dynamic future international system. Thus, understanding the process and interplay of national interests is a matter of prime importance for the scholars, policymakers, peace and security analysts, military strategists, and students of international relations and other related disciplines.

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- <sup>38</sup> For a sound perspective on the issue, see Raja Saim-ul-Haq Satti, "Understanding the 'national interest'?" *Islamic Research Foundation International, Inc*, [http://www.irfi.org/articles2/articles\\_2801\\_2850/Understanding%20the%20%27national%20interest%27.HTM](http://www.irfi.org/articles2/articles_2801_2850/Understanding%20the%20%27national%20interest%27.HTM) (accessed March 8 2014).
- <sup>39</sup> Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 45.
- <sup>40</sup> Alan G. Stolberg, "Crafting National Interests in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," in *US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*, 14.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> A detailed perspective may be found in Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
- <sup>43</sup> Marybeth P. Ulrich, "American Values, Interests, and Purpose,": 6-7.
- <sup>44</sup> James Madison, "'Publius,' The Federalist X," *Daily Advertiser*, New York, November 22, 1787. Reprinted in *The Debate on the Constitution: Part One* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States: 1993), 410.
- <sup>45</sup> Ulrich, "American Values, Interests, and Purpose,": 8.
- <sup>46</sup> Glenn P. Hastedt, *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 2002), 214.
- <sup>47</sup> Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman, ed., *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) and John R. Fisher, "System Theory and Structural Functionalism," in John T Ishiyama and Marijke Breunin, ed., *21<sup>st</sup> Century Political Science: A Reference Handbook* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2011), 76.
- <sup>48</sup> Gabriel Almond et al, *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* (London: Longman, 2010, 9<sup>th</sup> ed), 79.
- <sup>49</sup> Howard J. Wiarda, *Comparative Politics: Critical Concepts in Political Science, Vol 1* (London: Routledge, 2005), 184.

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- <sup>50</sup> Gabriel Almond et al.
- <sup>51</sup> Alan G. Stolberg, 13.
- <sup>52</sup> The Commission on America's National Interests (July 2000), 20.
- <sup>53</sup> Philip Zelikow, "Foreign Policy Engineering: From Theory to Practice and Back Again," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring 1994): 162.
- <sup>54</sup> Al-Quran, 49:13, Translation by Yusuf Ali. Parenthesis by the author.
- <sup>55</sup> Al-Quran, 12:40, Translation by Justice Mufti Taqi Usmani.
- <sup>56</sup> Preamble to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
- <sup>57</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, "Another 'Great Debate': The National Interest of the United States," *The American Political Science Review*, XLVI (December, 1952), 972, cited in Ken Kiyono, "A Study of Concept of the National Interest of Hans J. Morgenthau: As the Standard of American Foreign Policy," *Nagasaki University's Academic Output Site*, Japan, [http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10069/27783/1/keieikeizai49\\_03\\_04.pdf](http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10069/27783/1/keieikeizai49_03_04.pdf) (accessed March 11, 2014).
- <sup>58</sup> All reference to the Constitution given from relevant articles as indicated.
- <sup>59</sup> Ward and Gooch, 160.











**National purpose** National Security **National objectives** National aims  
National security strategy **National security policy** National integration  
**NATIONAL PROSPERITY** **National interests** National power **Identity**  
National values **National morale** National honour Survival General interests  
Vital Interests Integrity **Specific interests** Most Important Interests  
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