

Appendix: Tables 1 and 2

Table 1 What theories of International Relations understand by the concept of national interests

Theoretical approach	Realism	English School	Marxism critical	Liberalism	Constructivism
<i>Conception of the national interest</i>	The nation has a common interest in its survival & security in an anarchical world	Enlightened self-interest Obligations to humanity may override national interests	Cosmopolitan & Internationalist National interest conceals class divisions in capitalist societies	Anti-statist & ambiguous about role of national interests	Identity & interests are symbiotic – social construction Inter-subjective (ideational) rather than material
<i>Means & purpose</i>	Military power & alliances Interests are permanent & unaffected by ideology or changes in government	Wrong to set policy without regard for its impact on others & international morality Broader definition of interests	Bourgeoisie seeks to pass off its interests as national interests No common economic interests in class-divided societies	State can be captive to special interests National interest leads to protectionism & corruption of markets (foreign investment)	Shared ideas & normative practice changes as do interests – not permanent Political & cultural context of policy & interpretation
<i>Obligations</i>	No duty to aliens or to advance internationalist ideals	Universal interests mean parochial attachments may need to be relinquished	State is ruled by ruling class National interests will surrender to class interests	Globalisation: free trade & unrestricted commerce take priority	States have corporate interests not reducible to individuals

212

Table 2 Examples and problems with theoretical approaches to the national interest

Theoretical approach	Realism	English School	Marxism critical	Liberalism	Constructivism
<i>Examples</i>	Common interest in territorial integrity & deterring invasion East Timor (Jakarta lobby)	Refugees Human rights & Aid Arms control & disarmament Environmental challenges Humanitarian intervention	Disparities of wealth & income under market capitalism – winners & losers from free trade	Globalisation is eroding state sovereignty & relevance of national interests	Physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being, collective self-esteem (Wendt) Norms of appropriate behaviour
<i>Problems</i>	Persecuted minorities Secessionists Shifting boundaries Military-industrial sector Global challenges? Nations without states (Kurds)	Challenges to international society & universality (Asian values, Islamist terror, religion & culture)	What about the persistence of nationalism? Divisions within ruling class (trade policy)	Nation-states remain preferred political community despite economic globalisation Politics engenders nationalist thinking	States as moral agents too? Relationship between material & ideational interests? Role of nationalism?