



# آژانس تگلاره

چگونگی روابط و حقوق بین الملل در نظام های متفاوت؟

کنفرانس علمی و تحقیقی و درخواست مقالات

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از طرف غلام مصطفی بیدار

رییس و مسؤل آژانس

اطلاعاتی و مطبوعاتی تگلاره

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بخش مطالعات درازمدت و استراتژیک

# International E-Conference on

## Taking Sides

### Clashing views on Controversial Issues in World Politics An introduction to International Relations and World Politics Globalization

Is the Islam has Solution for International Globalized Process?  
For Strategic Studies

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Non for Profit Section

By: Taglara Information & News Agency

## APPROACH TO POLITICS

### OUTLINE

#### What Is Politics?

- Interpretations
  - Competitive
  - Cooperative
- Definitions
  - Restrictive
  - Comprehensive
  - Collective interests

#### Alternative Styles of Politics

- High versus low
- Violence versus hybrid versus persuasion
- Hierarchical versus pluralistic

#### Four Approaches to Politics

- Realist politics
  - Concepts: Power, interest, rationality, prudence
  - Proponents
  - Characterizations
- Idealist politics
  - Concepts: good life, change, moral principles
  - Proponents
  - Problems: implementation, internal di-visions
- Marxist politics
  - Concepts: economic determinism. Classes, state
  - Dynamics: dialectic, surplus value, revolution, Communist Party
- Scientific politics
  - Method: observation, generalization reliability, validity
  - Problems: limited generalizations, assumed, incorrupt

#### Dilemmas between Power and Justice

- Principles of justice
- Goals of realism
- Representative philosophers
  - Kautilya
  - Thucydides
  - Confucius
  - Plato

## PERSONALITIES

### Politics and Style

James Madison  
Mahatma Gandhi  
Aristotle  
Pericles  
Karl von Clausewitz

### Realists

E.H. Carr  
H. Morgenthau  
Wolfers  
G. Kennan  
Machiavelli

### Idealists

de Saint-Simon  
W. Wilson  
B. Russell

### Marxists

K. Marx  
F. Engels  
Vladimir Ilyich  
Ulyanov

## Dilemmas between Power and Justice

J. Rawls  
W. Brandt  
Thucydides  
Kautilya  
K'ung fu tzu  
Plato  
Socrates  
Ibn Khaldun  
Guicciardini

## KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

### Politics and Style

Politics  
Federalist Papers  
values  
authoritative  
concept  
public affairs  
polis  
high versus low Politics  
violence versus persuasion

hierarchical politics  
pluralistic politics

**Realist and Idealists**

realist  
normative  
power  
interest  
prudence  
idealist  
ideologue  
pacifist  
world federalist

**Marxist**

Marxist  
empirical  
pragmatist  
bourgeoisie  
proletariat  
state  
revolution  
dictatorship of proletariat  
Article 15  
imperialism

**Scientific and Eclectic**

behaviorists  
inductive  
eclecticism  
Peloponnesian War

**Dilemmas between Power and Justice**

justice  
Arthasastra  
prescriptive Republic

**LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPICS**

Compare and contrast the arguments of two of the major approaches to international relations. Support the contention that the traditionalist and scientific approaches can be synthesized. Why would a middle ground be preferable?

## THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### OUTLINE

Status of International Relations

Subdivision of political science

Interdisciplinary

Historical evolution of discipline

Pre-World War I

history: diplomacy and strategy

law: treaties and legal practices

philosophy: human nature, war, peace, Justice

World War I

inadequacy to secure world order

Wilson's "war to end war" outlook 1920s

International Relations as separate discipline

idealist approach adopted

war viewed as accident and sin

world government viewed as antidote to problems

1930s and World War II

impact of Axis policies

origin of realist approach

1950s

realist approach debate with idealists

behavioralist orientation as antitraditionalist

Post-behavioral approaches

The Traditionalist, Scientific, and Postbehavioral Schools of Thought

Traditionalist

study: patterns of action and reaction among sovereign states

realist: clashing of interests "inevitably" leads to war

idealist: develop institutions for peaceful settlement of disputes assumptions

diplomatic and military behavior multifactorial

key: balance of power, pursuit of notional interest, world order, diplomacy of prudence

theory

Proponents: Aron, Hoffmann, Morgenthau, Niebuhr, Wolfers,

Morgenthau's political realism

State behavior: rational actions to maximize benefits within limits of prudence

power: Capability to dominate thoughts and actions of other foreign policy elites

tangible and intangible Components

other fundamental concepts national interest balance of power: status quo

versus revisionism world order contributions of traditionalist school historical

empiricism regard International Relations as subdivision of political

realism political scientists focus on "order" traditionalists focus on "disorder"

Scientific/behavioral school with traditionalists both varying degrees  
interdisciplinary key difference: quantitative techniques and model-criticisms of  
traditionalists

Theories" too vague, inclusive, impressionistic, flexible scientific remedies:  
empirical method, inductive reasoning, comprehensive testing of hypotheses,  
repeated observation and testing methodology differences; tuition viewed as  
unstructured, "wisdom approach" behavioral intermediate or middle range  
theories proponents

Broad-range theorist: Deutsch, Kaplan, Rosenau

Middle-range: Singer and Small (war and alliance policy linkages)

Microscopic and systemic: Ole Holsti (content analysis, belief system)

contributions of scientific school" more promise than performance" more  
process analysis than substantive experimentation leader of methodological revolution  
and "pre theories"

post behavioral orientation

1960s and 1970s eclectically oriented Studies Rummel study democratic states with free  
enterprise: fewer wars authoritarian systems have more wars

Libertarian (free enterprise democracies) do not fight selves 1980s status  
field fluids with both traditionalists and scientific approaches newer theoretical orientations  
dependency theorists focus on class analysis world order  
theorists: global institutions to preserve globe  
interdependence: synthesis of approaches in regime analysis

Qualifications of International Relations

Specialists

Knowledge of law and history with broad general education  
Specialized knowledge of one regional area  
Statistical skills, including computerized research techniques  
One foreign language plus overseas study or residence  
Theories and Theory Building international Relations

Goals

Hoffmann: systematic study principal variables, explain and prescribe

Singer: empirical description. predictions, and explanation

Similarities: generalizations should be empirically derived, logically sound, to describe, explain,  
predict

Units and levels of Analysis of International Politics

Defined Units: actors

purposeful action

individuals. organizations nation states geographic regions level of analysis  
micro (component partly)  
macro (Wholes)  
individual, nation-state, international micro studies

individual national leadership styles  
traditionalists: biographies  
scientists: elite idiosyncratic behavior /operational codes macro studies  
nation-state and international system  
Morgenthau, Aron (Traditionist), Deutsh, Kaplan  
mixed: Thucydides mixing units and actors individual: psyche (ego, id, superego) roles state:  
groups, classes, parties, firms, organizations, and anomie collectivities  
international systems: regions, voting blocs, transnational and international organizations,  
regimes, parties, movements, multinational corporations ( MCN s)

Research problems

link insights from levels and actors and units build middle-range propositions at each level of  
analysis for future general theory

The Utility of Theory in International Relations

Analogy of Babe Ruth: theorist verge implementer

Policy scientists between empiricist and normativist utilizes theory to prescribe policy

Limitation on Theory Building International Relations

Personal involvement conscious limitations of perspective socialization processes ,  
subconscious limitations: perceptual distortions

ambition: conformity and compromise defense against distortions: multiple nonbiased  
observation

Characteristics of data

unavailability of pertinent data

secrecy of proceedings diplomatic

archives restrictions availability of data proliferation of public sources computerized  
information-retrieval banks

major limitations: disagreements over units of analysis definitions of key concept remedies  
value-free vocabulary make international relations reflect global rather than American needs

Process of acquiring knowledge problems in formulating theory adequacy of samples

temptation to use historical analogies (Domino theory) obtrusiveness of researcher humans in  
behavioral experiments simulation and game theory validity problems: students or bureaucrats  
participate encounters are spar per transactions Gilpin's pessimism Hoffmann's analogy folktale  
of Nasreddin Hodza



## PERSONALITIES

Woodrow Wilson

The Traditionalist, Scientific and Post behavioral Schools of Thought

Raymond Aron

Stanley Hoffmann

Hans Morgenthau

Reinhold Niebuhr

Arnold Wolfers

Karl Deutsch

Morton Kaplan

James Rosenau

J.D. Singer

Melvin Small

Ole Holsties

J.F. Duller

R. Rumbled

Theories and Theory Building in International Relations'

Stanley Hoffmann

J. David Singcr

Thucydides

John F. Kenncdy

Plato

Aristotle

Machiavelli

Khrushchev

Robert Gilpin

Nasreddin Hodza

## KEY TERM AND CONCEPTS

idealist approach

ralist

behavioralist

traditionalist

pastbehavioral

The Traditionalist , Scientific, and Postbehavioral Schools of Thought

traditionalist

political realism

power

operational definition  
balance of power

Irrendentist  
operationalization  
content analysis  
belief system  
pretheory  
libertarian states  
paradigm

theories and theory Building in International Relations

Theory  
Prescriptive  
hypotheses  
policy scientist  
unit of analysu  
level of analysis

macro/micro operational codes  
missile crisis  
Justice  
political development  
directive  
domino theory

simulation/game theory

LECTURE/ES5AY/DISCUSS~ON TOPICS

Discuss the history of international relation as a distinct field of study.

Explain the level-of-analysis problem in international relations, noting whether it is more or less troublesome than in other social Sciences.

What approaches have been proposed or use to bridge the gap between the theory an. practice of international relations?

Discuss the major obstacles and means to surmount the limitations facing theorists engage in the study of international relations.

How should an international relations specialist be trained? What idiosyncratic characteristics are required?

Should the field of, and academic courses al international relations be abolished?

## THE BALANCE OF POWER AND ITS VARIATIONS

### Introduction

The case and choices of Melos realist-idealist debate opposing positions

Melian and Athenian feults lessons: uncertainty of relying on balance of power for order role of intangible element of hope

### The Concept of Balance of Power

Concept defined (Haas): equal distribution of power equilibrium  
unequal distribution of power equilibrium dominance of one nation-state system of relative stability and peace System of instability and war power politics  
universal law of history  
guide for policy makers

prerequisites for system existence multiplicity of sovereign political actors without one dominate

Sate power differentiation: great/intermediate/smaller  
great powers share perpetuation of status quo

Comparisons with national and municipal power balances  
lack of autonomy of national and municipal action intentional; no central authority to limit actors

Balance of power as a compromise halfway between world order and inters national chaos provides pecking order of nation-state perpetuates status quo, autonomy frustrates single state dominance prevents rise of powerful international authorities.

protects domestic system from external interference

### Classical Balance of Power in Modern History

First Golden Age: 1648-1789

characteristic

deemphasis of religious conflict

mercantilism eroded by free trade

absolute monarchies replaced by popular sovereignty systems

wars ritualized, limited in intensity little civilian involvement Corporate mentality" of elites"

French Revolution impact:

Napoleon's citizen armies Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"

nationalism fused with popular sovereignty

ideology of radical new order through unlimited wars

European reaction defeat of Napoleon Congress of Vienna restores balance of power

Second Golden Age: 1815-1914

characteristics

stable and ideologically homogeneous balance of power system

agreement on rulers/ruled relationship

laissez-faire government against popular, nationalist revolts wars

limited goals

controlled by international law Of war

eroding of balance ~1870s~

Industrial Revolution unleashes social forces

ascending mass nationalism

development of imperial armies

competing interests between ruling elites manufacture of weapons

Revolutionary age: twentieth century destabilizing revolutionary forces

imperialist nationalism fascism: Italy and Germany Communism: USSR, China

free enterprise capitalism: U.S. and allies

characteristics

elites' and masses' national and international goals

wars are total, ideological, moralistic impact of nuclear weapons

restoration of balance-of-power requirements acceptance of governmental legitimacy by major powers

noninterference in internal affairs of others

downplay of ideological differences

deescalation of international conflict

Defining Political and Other Systems

System: set of interacting units with identifiable boundaries

social: society, polity, economy subdivisions

natural as solar system

mechanical as computer

social as polity

size and inclusiveness variations  
small (family) intermediate (social classes)  
large (international)

processes: relationships of actors Variations of World Political Systems (Kaplan)

The oligopolar (or classical balance of power) model  
Characteristics five major powers no regional or international organizations  
alliances limited (specific. short time frame)  
pragmatic foreign policies wars limited  
international law functioning  
19th century Europe critique  
Balance of Power behavior can exist with limited nuclear arms  
Supranational organizations do not preclude functioning of balance

The loose bipolar (cold war) model  
(1947-1971)  
characteristics two superpowers heading bloc structure

nonaligned peripheral states  
bloc ideologies and social/economic political systems  
differ emphasis on nuclear weapons critique  
bipolarity after WWII results from nonnuclear capabilities  
alliances are long-term, highly formal wars total

The tight bipolar model  
characteristics  
no historical equivalent  
no nonaligned nation-states  
two major empires ideologically uncompromising  
spinoff possibility into less conflictive "duopoly"

The Unit veto or nuclear proliferation model  
characteristics  
no historical equivalent  
highly unstable and deadly most  
states have nuclear capabilities collective suicide environment states minimize international  
contacts  
no conventional wars

critique  
press states to centralized global authority  
nuclear accident  
The collective security model

characteristics

ideal model with no historical counterpart

voluntary system of control

military force prohibited

no alliances

aggression met by collective economic and military sanctions

peaceful system

critique

too idealistic and impractical

similar to balance-of-power system

assumes state agreement on

definition of aggression

voluntary adherence to restrictions e

xpects UN to function without impinging on state sovereignty

expects states to refrain from alliances, etc.

The Multibloc or interregional model two types

5-7 spheres of influence, with dominant major power

integrated economic and political regions

The national-fragmentation or multipolar model

multi-movements fragment system

transformation of nation-state resistance to global political change

multitude of inter- and intra-conflicts

The post-nuclear war model

pessimistic visualization of earth after nuclear war (winter)

tyrannical regimes only able to establish order

The hierarchical or monopolar model pyramidal international regulation evolved from UN or

conquest and Control by one nation-state separatist tendencies with conflict

The conflict quotient of various international systems

assumptions type of system affects level of conflict

low conflict preferable

bipolarity-multipolarity debate

Waltz: global U.S.-USSR bipolar

Deutsch and Singer: multipolar balance of power

Rosecrans: bi-multipolarity balance of power

conclusion: conflict increases, war occur regularly, regardless of system A Parting Word

Assumptions of balance-of-power system rational leaders in control diplomacy and limited war for survival of state and government limits of prudence

Critique

balance of terror

frog and scorpion story

PERSONALITIES

The Concept of Balance of Power

Ernst Haag

The Balance of power in Modern History

Napoleon Bonaparte

Henry Kissinger

Prince Metternich

Leonid Brezhnev

Czar Alexander I

Ronald Reagan

Benito Mussolini

Mikhail Gorbachev

Richard Nixon

Variation of world political systems

Morton Kaplan

Adolf Hitler

The Conflict quotient of Various international Systems

Kenneth Waltz

K. Deutsch

J.D. Singer

Richard Rosecrans

Winston Churchill

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Peloponnesian War

Sparta

Athens

Melos

## The Concept of Balance of Power

balance of power  
equilibrium  
autonomy  
categories of State  
power

## The Balance of power in Modern History

Peace of Westphalia  
Austria Hungarian French Revolution  
Empire mercantilism  
Ottoman Empire corporate mentality  
fascism ~Liberty, Equality,  
Security Council  
Fraternity  
processes Congress of Vienna  
functions  
extended/nuclear families matr~archical

personalistic parties  
types of nation. states  
political party type

## Variation of World Poetical Systems

oligopolar  
ECMEA  
European Community  
OAS  
loose bipolar  
tight bipolar  
duopoly" unit veto  
security  
multibloc  
NATO  
Warsaw pact  
multipolar  
post-nuclear war  
nuclear winter



monopolar

The Conflict Quotient of Various International Systems

^Munich mentality" balance of terror bi-multipolarity

LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPICS

Discuss the role of perception in foreign-policy decision making as demonstrated by the Melian case study.

Explain the fundamental characteristics of a balance of power system. Can or does such a system exist contemporarily?

Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the balance-of-power models. Toward which models does the international system seem to be developing and why? Which types would provide for more or less conflict?

What is the significance, if any, of studying hypothetical models of international relations? Is the tale of the deadly scorpion pertinent to human decision making in a nuclear age?

## THE NATION-STATE AND NATIONALISM

### Outline

### Definitions

Nation: shared ethnic and cultural identity of a people

State: political unit: territory, population, autonomous government

Nation-State: : fusion of cultural and political boundaries

Nationalism: self-identity with territory (language, history, etc.) and organized political system

National self-determination Wilson Fourteen Points (points 10 Article 1(2) of UN Charter Ethnic Pluralism and Nation-States

State positivists define as legal entity state equality

Ethnicity homogeneous versus heterogeneous (most)

Connor conclusions:

variations in ethnic percentages in states  
many ethnic groups coexist in many states

Approaches to analyzing ethnicity and nationalism objective: focus on observable, readily quantifiable attributes

subjective: focus on emotional, ideological, and patriotic feeling eclectic: nationalism and patriotism, focus on communications practice (marriages), and integrated educational system

The Roots of Nationalism Antecedent~ Sumerian agricultural city-state independent, no central authority conflict settlement treaty of 3000 B. C. (earliest) Ancient Greece Pericles' funeral oration: nationalist and patriotism

Macedonian Empire: early supranational integration

Roman Empire

Nationalism and Multinationalism co-existing

two systems of law in world government

demise: split into Ottoman and Western half

Western centralized system: Spain, England, France

loose, pluralist agglomerations absolute monarchies

absolute monarchies

dynastic legitimacy predominant

Rise of Modern Forms of Nationalism Variations

18th C English, American, and French Revolutions

heterogeneous and homogeneous nationalisms

U.S.: Declaration of Independence and "e pluribus unum"

French nationalism

M. Robespierre N. Bonaparte

North American frontier, unification of Germany (1864-1871)

organic school: state expansion lebensraum

Hegel: Volksgeist

role of individual: ~means" of the state

National sovereignty shifting focuses of sovereignty

J. Bodin (1530-1596) object: strengthen fragmented France means: monarch source of unity

constraints: God and natural laws only

T. Hobbes (1588-1679) object: strengthen government rationale: humankind's brutishness in state of nature means: all authority concentrated in sovereign

French Revolution (1789) sovereignty transfers from monarchy to people

ants rule for peoples who

retain people, who retain power to revolt

differentiating sovereignty internal (state Over citizens) versus

external (recognition by states of equality of other states) H Grotius: Power . . . not subject to the control of another in practice: substance and letter of sovereignty varies

Herz's discussion of nation-state and nationalism

nation-state protects individuals by maintaining impermeable territories

individuals recognize authority with power of protection technology and weaponry determine type of political organization

Schwarz and gunpowder from feudalism to territorial states legitimacy

international law: delimit territorial jurisdiction war as ultimate settler of disputes political  
democracy: transformation from dynastic to participatory system  
collective defense systems  
modern doctrine of popular sovereignty transfer power from monarch to people  
ideology of mass nationalism  
mass conscription  
government control mass media  
centralization of educational systems  
Challenges to Impermeable Nation-state

Advance of military technology (multidimensional warfare)

Vulnerability (to modern war/nuclear, psychological and economic weapons)

Growth of supranational organizations competing regional alliances European Community or  
Nordic Council role of international civil servants

Role of transnational movements German National Socialists Marxism

Third World Movements

Polish events

Prospects for Nationalism

Unity of Nationalism

Provides sense of identity and belonging

Provides social evolution through competition and managed conflict

Destructiveness of nationalism view of hierarchy of peoples

Used of armed force to impose world view

Idealists versus realists

Structural reform of system necessary power and its struggles are inherent

Rising or Waning?

Increase in UN membership growing pressure of ethnic separatism

Integration and disintegration simultaneous processes

Synthesis of Nationalism and internationalism

Personalities

Rousseau

Nations and States

W. Wilson

Ethnic pluralism and Nation-States

W. Connor

## The Roots of Nationalism

Sumerians

Pericles

Philip of Macedon

Alexander the Great

The Rise of Modern Forms of Nationalism

M. Robespierre

N. Bonaparte

Adolf Hitler

B. Mussolini

G.W.F. Hegel

National Sovereignty

J. Bodin

T. Hobbes

H. Grotius

J. Herz

B. Schwarz

Challenges to Nationalism

A. Beveridge

J. Herz

George Orwell

Hitler

K. Marx

F. Engels

J. Stalin

Prospects for Nationalism

Barbara Ward

Key Terms and Concepts

“We” versus “they”

Nations and states

Nations

State

Patriotism

Nationalism

Self-determination  
Fourteen Points  
Point 10  
Art. 1(2) UN Charter

Ethnic Pluralism and Nation-States

State(positivists)  
De jure  
Objective attributes  
Subjective attributes  
Eclectic (synthetic)

The roots of Nationalism

Tigris and Euphrates  
Ottoman Empire  
Holy Roman  
Empire

The Rise of Modern Forms of Nationalism

American Revolution  
French Revolutions  
Declaration of Independence  
Mass conscription  
Organic school  
Lebensraum  
Duce  
Volksgeist  
Kamikaze  
'e pluribus unum"

National Sovereignty  
Sovereignty  
State (Bodin)  
Citizenship  
State of Nature  
French revolution  
Internal sovereignty  
External sovereignty  
Power of protection

Challenges to Nationalism

European Community  
Nordic Council

·New Order  
German National Socialism

(Nazism) SS Praetorian slate

Communist Manifesto

Socialism in one states  
MPLA

National communism

CPSU 25th Congress

Lecture/Essay/Discussion topics

Country, nation, and state are distinct concepts although frequently employed synonymously  
Explain the distinctive nature of each.

If a people desired no international contact and could effect such extreme isolation. would  
nationalism still have purpose and function

How does a state manipulate or control the emotionalism of nationalism? In what way does this  
vary with the governmental system or does it?

What are the subjective and objective tests of nationalism?

Discuss the impact of national self-determination on the global system in the twentieth

## POWER AND CAPABILITIES OF NATION STATES

### OUTLINE

Imprecision of Power as a Concept

Definitions

Kautilya: power as attribute, "possession of strength" power derived from knowledge, military might, valor

Morgenthau: power as relationship, to control minds and actions of all social relationships

Degree of coercion as a central ingredient of power only ingredient versus one of many

power is Relationship of independent wills"

Operational definition of power

ingredients force: threat or use of coercion for political objects influence: instruments of persuasion authority: voluntary compliance to others' orders

umbrella concept of power as means, both means and ends, end dynamic, ongoing, and feedback relationships of power actual versus potential power divisions of power: political, military, moral

key: will to employ most important

Attempts to Operationalize the Definition of Power

Ray Cline's theory:  $P_p = (C + E + M) \times (S + W)$  perceived power equals critical mass + economic capability + military capability  $\times$  strategic purpose + will to pursue national strategy conclusions:

U.S. superiority in tangibles (military/economic capabilities) ~ USSR superiority intangibles

(strategy and will) Robert Dahl's theory: power relationship To shift probability of outcomes"

techniques: measure voting with majority

weakness: nondifferentiation of leaders/followers of legislation requires access to legislative records

K. Deutsch's theory: power as currency to "buy" important values and attain objectives

Dimensions of power:

Domian: over whom and what power is exercised

internal: people, territory, wealth (GNP)



External: sphere of influence, equate with alliance systems, colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, dependency, and intervention

Rosenau's theory: penetration: members of one polity serve as participants in political processes of another-military presence, foreign aid, size of military missions, economic dependence, cultural diffusion

Range: difference between highest reward and worse punishment

Reward and punishment mechanism: internal/external components; specific measurements

Scope: all classes of behavior, subjected to governmental power internal and external

reward and punishment mechanism: internal/external components; specific measurements

scope: all classes of behavior, subjected to governmental power

The power Profiles of Nation-States (Said and Leites) Tangible elements(attributes) power population

intangibles: health, age, literacy, loyalty, etc.  
territory

intangible: climate, natural boundaries, number of neighbors, etc.  
geopolitics: fusion of geography, strategy, and politics

Mackinder: heartland (control large land mass of Eurasia)

Mahan: naval control of high seas and strategic sea lanes  
natural resources and industrial capacity

industrial components required.  
distribution of products economically necessary

examples Gorbachev: perestroika

Japan, France, Germany agricultural capacity

ability to feed troops and population over long war

intangibility: communist countries less productive democratic countries distribute less equitably  
military strength and mobility

measurable aspects: funds spent, number of troops

intangibility: mobility, readiness, training, leadership, etc.

Intangible elements Attributes of power leadership and personality leaders noted

Impact of individuals bureaucratic organization efficiency

philosophy on proper role, method of operation and functioning

communists emphasize large-scale bureaucracy in all sectors

democratic-competitive: defense, taxation, regulatory only

strict separation of politics from professional bureaucracy

establish political control over bureaucracies type of government as factor in power

Aristotle: aristocracies, democracies tyrannies, ochlocracies best and worst

communist models: Soviet, China, Yugoslav

democratic-competitive models: Private-enterprise to socialist

authoritarian military regimes to monarchical rule societal cohesiveness multivariate, very intangible

characteristics of disunity: terrorism~ political prisoners, riots, demonstrations, strikes, etc.  
reputation

importance: hardest to measure example:

U.S. as "pitiful, helpless giant" in Vietnam conflict foreign support and dependency international

connections: alliances, aid, bases, integration

positive versus negative aspects accidents

death of leader, earthquake, famine, epidemic, crisis

intangibles cannot be predicted

Can we Return to a Single Useful Concept of Power?

An aggregate measure by combining all variables

Best indicator: elusive qualities as prestige, status, reputation

## PERSONALITIES

The Imprecision of Power as a Concept

Kautilya

H. Morgenthau

B. White

Attempts to Operationalize the Definition of Power

R. Cline R. Dahl K. Deutsch

T. Parsons J. Rosenau

The Power Profiles of Nation~States

A. Said C. Lerche H. Mackinder

A. Mahan M. Gorbachev L. Brezhnev

Intangible Elements (Attributes) of Power

Napoleon A. Hitler W. Churchill F.D. Roosevelt

J. Stalin M. Zedong M. Gandhi J.F. Kennedy

C. deGaulle R. N. Khrushchcv Aristode

Can We Return to a Single Use full Concept of Power?

Hobbes

KEY TERMS

The Imprecision of Power as a Concept

power attributes relationship coercion influence

authority realpolitik actual power potential power

Attempts to Operationalize the Definition of Power

$P_p = (C + E + M + (S + W))$

critical mass intangible internal/external domain sphere of influence NATO

ANZUS WTO reliable/valid measures penetration range of power punishment and reward

The Power Profile of Nation-States

capabilities tangible/intangible population territory

geopolitics heartland theory perestroika mobility

Intangible Elements (Attributes) of Power

leadership efficiency polity

aristocracies

democracies

tyrannies ochlocracies societal cohesion reputation accidents

LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPICS

Discuss the traditionalist and scientific explanations for the concepts of power, influence, and force.

Explain the measurement of state capabilities according to the perspectives of domain, range, and scope.

DUKE the tangible and intangible elements of power, noting which are more or less important and why. Does the concept vary from periods of peace to war?

Comment critically on the following statements:

Cannon fodder is not required to be literate.

An insular country (Britain, Japan) is less powerful and more vulnerable than continental countries (USSR, Germany) are.

Equitable distribution of a tangible power element (foodstuffs) is less important than the number of products produced.

Unity comes out of the barrel of a gun.

## NATIONAL INTEREST AND OTHER INTERESTS

### OUTLINE

National interest as Rationale for Action

Alcibiades- Napoleon - Lincoln- Hitler , Stalin-L.B. Johnson

Defining the National interest: An Art or a Science?

Plato (objective/science): polis basic assumptions a few individuals trained in collective good—  
leaders

no corruption of individuals

implementation by "loyal, well trained, obedient" bureaucrats use of his theory  
by dictatorial forms of government focus on substance not procedures

Aristotle: public good processes democratic: open debate decisions: syntheses of conflicting  
interests

assumptions

collective interest involves diverse preferences of individuals and groups

pluralism or collective interest equated with majority will, issue

by issue public interest decisions are reviewable and changeable

Case study of Bay of Pigs invasion and Cuban missile crisis

Conclusions: national interest = synthesis of objective and subjective approaches Seton-  
/Watson: state interest, government interest divisions relate to other variables

Ideologies: Guides for the Definition of National interest or Rationalizations for its  
Beautification?

Defined Formal ideologies: Marxism Leninism

informal ideologies: Western System of thought

Basic elements

Marxism - Leninism: economic determinism; class struggle; state viewed as instrument of  
capitalists; Communist Party role; internationalization of working classes; inevitability of war  
between socialism and capitalism; capitalist internal contradictions  
realist critique: why then conflicts between communist regimes?

Western: individual rights paramount objective; free enterprise and tyrannies assumed  
aggressive; U.S. leader of free world, special responsibilities of containment

critique: value and principle versus pragmatism Hans Morgenthau on National Interest

Concepts of interest and power

Criticisms: abstract, imprecise

Questions of elusiveness of national interest and Morgenthau's answers

National interest versus group, class, elite, etc.

Morgenthau: compromise conflicting political interests

Scope and range of national interest

Morgenthau: proportionate to its capabilities

How related to interest of other countries

Morgenthau: rationality of prudent diplomat

How related to requirements of global or regional security

Morgenthau: national interest only is basis of policy

Can national interests be pursued prudently?

Morgenthau: concrete and demonstrable national advantage Lincoln and Civil War

Morgenthau's pessimism or policy preferences containment and peaceful coexistence

survival of nation

morality versus cynicism not issue alternate conceptions of collective morality versus cynicism

not issue alternate conceptions of collective morality

The Fragmentation of National interest

Grounds for foreign-policy decisions

moralistic

legalistic

realistic

Criteria for definition of national interest operational-philosophy criteria

synoptic orientation

incremental orientation

ideological criteria formal ideologies

informal ideologies

moral and legal criteria

defined: keeping treaties, general Western ethics lifeboat ethics question conflicting political values (L. Miller) pragmatic criteria

orientation: solve "disjointed and finite problems" motto: "if it works, it's good" criterion of

action: utility professional-advancement criteria conformist behavior: "go along to get along"

nonconformist: "whistle blowers" partisan criteria: political party or faction bureaucratic-

interest criteria: organizational infighting ethnic/racial criteria: group benefits sought foreign-

dependency criteria: external impact on decision making Global Interest and Objectives: (Folk and Mendlovitz)

Problems: war, poverty, racial oppression and colonialism, environmental decay, alienation

Global objectives: minimize violence, maximize social/economic welfare, social/political justice, ecological balance, participation in government decision making

Personalities

Alcibiades

Defining the National interest: An Art of or a Science?

Plato

Aristotle

J.F. Kennedy H. Seton-Watson

The Fragmentation of National Interest

Lynn Miller

R. Aron

Global Interest and objectives

R. Falk            S. Mendlovitz

KEY TERMS

national interest

Defining the Interest: An Art Science?

polis public good  
Bay of Pigs

state and  
government interest

Ideologies: Guides tot the Definition of National Interest

ideology buffer zones

territorial integrity

Hans Morgenthau on National interest

national interest nationalist

universalism prudence

Collective security

idealism versus realism

Th Fragmentation ot Notional Interest

synoptic orientation

pragmatic

incremental lacunae

life boat ethics

pragmatic

"go along to get along" Whistle blowers

Global Interests and Objective Minion of the Earth

lecture/Essay/Discussion Topics

What is the best source to articulate

the interest - individual national leaders?

foreign policy elites?

the electorate? the media? Discuss the criteria for defining the interest. What impact do domestic politics external forces have on the national interest? Given global problems, is the concept National interest" archaic?



## FOREIGN POLICY Decision Making

### OUTLINE

Definition and Questions Theorizing about Foreign Policy

Protheoretical orientations versus non-theoretical orientations de Tocqueville's analysis

Categories of decision making in foreign policy

critical, Important, routine decisions issue

categories: military, political, economic, environmental, etc.

geographic criteria: east-west, north-south domestic interest groups major categories:

programmatic, crisis, tactical

Rosenau's variables idiosyncratic (individual) perceptions, images, personal characteristics  
difficulty in measurement

Fromm's study: leader's destruction complex

variable impact greater in crisis role variables

defined: job description, expected behavior rules Thomas a Becket role of opposition

conclusions: less constrained role, personality affects policy

Allison and Halperin's (bureaucratic variables) includes: structure, standard operating procedures, etc. policies reflect conflicting interests of bureaucracy decisional nonrationality  
policy versus implementation

National variables environmental attributes population attributes economic outputs

Social Variables

National character, culture, shared images, historical memories

example: Munich Agreement

Systemic variables

international system

policies and actions of other nation-states

effects: objectively and subjectively constrains small more than great powers

The Study of Foreign-Policy Decision Making

Scientific/eclectic scientists  
snyder, bruck, Sapin: Operational code of individual decision makers  
G. Pige: decision to enter South Korean conflict

Rosenau: issue area/linkage theory  
O. Holsti: J.F Dulles's belief system  
George: operational Code of Bolsheviks  
Braybrooke, Lindblom: Disjointed incrementalism, "Satisfice"

A. Etzioni: mixed scanning-between rationalist and incrementalist bureaucracy watchers catch  
22 and PFC wintergreen

G. Allison  
Rational-act model  
organizational-process model  
bureaucratic-politics Model  
H. Kissinger: Foreign-service bureaucracy  
Kolko's Marxist-Socialist orientation premises: power elite defined national interest

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Kolko's Marxist- Socialist-orientation premises: power elite defines national interest  
case: Vietnam War ^.

#### Formal Attempts to Compare Foreign Policies

R. Rummell: factor analysis  
findings: international relations is structured behavior test validity of traditional assumptions,  
trade, and conflict internal and external conflict relationships

Zinnes and Wilkenfeld: cooperative foreign policy  
state categorized as: personalist, centrist, polyarchic

findings: personalist has more internal conflict  
centrist has low levels internal conflict  
polyarchic has less external conflict of intense variety

#### PERSONALIZES

A. de Tocqueville	T J. Rosenau	~ H E. Fromm	T. a becket
M. Halperin			
M. Kaplan			

#### The Study of Foreign-Policy Decision Making

R. Snyder H.W. Bruck N. Leites C. McLellan ). Roscnau O. Holsti J.F. Duller T. Schclling P.F.C.  
^wintergreen D. Braybrooke

Revisionist Critique of Decision-Making theory

G. Kolko R. Barnes

W.A. Williams H. ~tagdoff

formal Attempts to compare Foreign Policies

D. Zinc J. Wiled

R. Rummel W. Wilson

KEY TERM; foreign policy  
Theorizing about Foriegn Policies  
Theory  
dependent variable  
independent variable  
programmatic decisions  
crisis decisions  
tactical decisions  
idiosyncratic

charismatic standard operating procedure SOP  
national character  
Munich Agreement  
systemic variable  
perceptions

The Study of Foreign-Policy Decision Making

beleifes, roles, reify, ssue area, linkage theory, belief system, operational code theory  
Bolsheviks ,peaceful coexistence  
incrementalism, satisfice  
mixed scanning  
bureaucracy  
papadigm  
rational actor  
"where you stand depends on where you sit"

Revisionist Critique of Decision- Making Theory

" Where you sit power elite depends on where you stand"

Formal attempts to compare foreign Policies

factor analysis

libertarian regimes

personalist

centrist

Polyarchic

authoritarian

LECTURES/essay/...

What is meant by foreign policy, and how is similar to or different from domestic policy?

Discuss the major variables influencing the formulation of foreign policy.

## DIPLOMACY AND STATECRAFT

### OUTLINE

Historical Antecedents of Diplomacy

Nizam al-Mulk

Ancient China, India, Egypt

Institutional forms: embassies in Europe procedures of agents congresses to formalize functions  
Definition of Diplomacy

19th century: "application of intelligence and tact to conduct of official relations . . ."

20th century: politicians framing policies

Functions and processes distinctions: statecraft versus professional diplomacy Diplomatic  
Exchanges among Nation-States

Categories of diplomatic missions ~Convention on Diplomatic Relations ambassadors:  
accredited to host state head  
ministers: accredited to host state head

charge d'affaires: accredited to host foreign minister

Fundamental rules agreement: letter of credence, presentation of credentials extraterritoriality:  
theory versus practice (Teheran embassy takeover) privileges and immunities: exceptions to  
jurisdiction responsibilities of diplomats: voluntary compliance, noninterference consular:  
Convention on Consular Relations) exemptions and responsibilities

Function of diplomacy: ultimately India cafes interstate relationships The Functions of  
Diplomatic Missions

Routine registering births, deaths, marriages issuing, validating, replacing passports extradition  
of criminals protecting citizens and property social activities

Substantive functions

reporting: observation/intelligence

political versus economic versus military reporting social, cultural, educational reporting  
memorandum of conversation raw intelligence negotiating: transmission of messages manner  
and style of delivery important influenced by stereotypes about country process central to  
policy and implementation

Staff restraints noninterference in internal affairs of host state persona non grata degree of interference more in smaller, dependent states

## The Structure and Instruments of Diplomacy

### Implementation

U. S.: National Security Council integrated intelligence estimates Department of State and Foreign Service organized functionally and geographically personnel characteristics embassy structure chief of mission foreign service officers staff/USIA/C IA

### Instruments of diplomatic relationships

positive: good-will gestures foreign and other aid

negative: vocal "disappointment," etc. propaganda punitive economic policies: quotas, embargoes, boycotts, etc. The Changing Scope of Diplomacy

Technological revolution: transportation and communications negative impact: role of ambassador diminished hot-line diplomacy summit diplomacy

### shuttle diplomacy

positive impact: new functions of ambassador complex network of attaches supervised covert intelligence operations

shift from generalists to specialists role of ambassador

centralizer: evaluates all reports

decentralized: delegates responsibilities stating embassies abroad professionals versus political appointees advantages and disadvantages of staffing types role of women/spouses risks of terrorism, etc.

### Secret versus Open Diplomacy (Harold Nicolson)

Statecraft open policy making by elected officials reflects public needs and pressures

Negotiations (secret) professional diplomats reflects understanding international interactions personality contributes to negotiation success

Advantages people as check and balance to policy makers public opinion may adopt adventurist policies slows hasty decision making so no surprises

Disadvantages secrecy increases miscalculation and possible nuclear holocaust time permits balancing options

Key criticism~

publicly derived policies imprecise, not specific Moralistic aura, umbrella like slogans public debate sharpens and improves policies public debate prevents unaccountability, no foreign adventures by leader

### Scholarly Position

prefers publicly debated policy making  
prefers nonpublicly aired and scrutinized negotiations

public diplomacy cause posturing, minimum Of compromising

### Nicolson's conclusions

politicians: trial lawyers, combative ad versarial mentality, prechial, in adequate knowledge of foreign cultures unsuccessful in negotiation requiring compromise diplomats: pliable, indifferent to pub recognition and applaud, study foreign cultures closely, dislike controversy, avoid publicity

### Profile of the Effective Diplomat

#### 16th Century European Conception

Trained theologian

Classical education

Expert

Nicolson's main diplomatic qualities truthfulness: essential to good reputation

precision: intellectual and moral accuracy

calmness: good temper, patience, detachment

modesty: central quality, avoid vanity

loyalty: to governments, ministries, staff, fellow ambassadors, certain degree to host country

other qualities: intelligence, imagination, knowledge, discernment, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage, tact

Guidelines for effectiveness suppress personal preferences implement executive instructions

faithfully understand needs and interests of host country recognize and assess public opinion

do not dramatize reports do not be over suspicious think of your successors do not be

contemptuous of local customs and traditions Criticisms of diplomats

excessively internationalist frame of mind

develop special affiuity for diplomats other nation-states

skeptical of democracy

lethargy: avoid initiatives (Conservative and fatalistic organicists

### The Prevalent Profile of Effective States craft

Characteristics of politicians ~Machiavelli~ avoid being despicable and hated love of people

best fortress for state safer to be feared than loved good prince should not tales property from

others trust in own power rather than good will of others legislate good laws and back them with good arms rely on both laws and force imitate the fox and lion do not trust mercenaries be prudent

Kissinger realpolitik: measured pessimism global catastrophe inevitable; diplomamacy postpones It leaders should be pragmatic, secret live, flexible, accept force policy makers should be completely free of bureaucratic mentality; mentally agile, keen sense of timing, and killer instinct

goal: stable state of balance by manipulation of events and people

Zbigniew Brzezinski duplicity of intent in diplomatic ma neuvering avoid dangers of nuclear age; premium on rapidity of response, centrality of decision making, covertness of some needed actions

Critics: idealist: question credo of power without purpose, unrestrained by print ciple, separation of prudence anal morality realist: moral principles should be irrelevant; survival only operative principle

Diplomacy: A Synthesis of Realism and

Major functions: establish and maintain communications; negotiate and bargain for tolerable agreements and other arrangements—a primitive political system

Morgenthau's rules to promote rational conduct diplomacy must lack crusading spirit define foreign-policy objectives in terms of national interest supported with adequate power look at political scene from the point of view of other nations must be willing to compromise on all nonvital issues

Personalitis

Nizam al Mulk

The Changing Scope of Diplomacy

Kissinger

Secret versus Open Diplomacy

Harold Nicolson

THE PREVALENT PROFILE OF EFFECTIVE STATECRAFT

Machiavelli

Kissinger

Brzezinski



## Diplomatic Exchanges among Nation,

ambassadors  
ministers  
charges d'affaire~

agreement presentation of credentials

## Functions of Diplomatic Missions

diplomatic reporting  
negotiating  
military attaches  
raw intelligence  
persona non grata

## The Structure and Instruments Diplomacy

National Security Council  
Department of State USA

Foreign Service Officer (FSO)  
CIA

## The Changing Scope of Diplomacy

hot-line diplomacy	decentralizers	
summit diplomacy	generalists Nizam al-~ulk	
shuttle diplomacy	"go native"	centralizers

## Secret versus Open Diplomacy

negotiations	"peace in our time"	"self-determination for peoples everywhere"
statecraft	"noninterference in the internal affairs of others"	

## Profiles of the Effective Diplomat

organicists

## The Prevalent Profile of Effective Statecraft

"good" prince    realpolitik    measured pessimism "duplicity of intent"

Diplomacy: A Synthesis of Realism and

Guinea-Bissau Angola

Mozambique rational

#### KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

diplomacy Congress of Vienna (1815)

Vienna Conferences

Aix-la- Chapelle (1818)

Statecraft

Lectures...

Discuss the various definitions of diplomacy, noting which are most appropriate contemporarily.

Describe the functions and structure of diplomatic missions, noting how diplomatic capabilities vary between democratic and nondemocratic states.

Discuss the impact of modern communication and transportation upon the traditional role of diplomats.

Is survival of a nation-state or government more important than honor or dishonor?

## **INTELLIGENCE, COVERT ACTION AND OTHER NON MILITARY INSTRUMENTS OF COERCION**

### OUTLINE

The Activities of Intelligence Services

Collection and evaluation of information

Development of counterintelligence system

Conduct of covert operations

Kautilya: disinformation

Intelligence collection and counterintelligence

Covert: diplomatic reporting, analyzing news media, scientific/technical

Covert: espionage

Kautilya: spies

Sir Francis Walsingham: British secret service

Swiss banking center of Zurich

Berlin, Vienna,

Hong Kong

Third World

Counterintelligence

US: FBI

Great Britain: Special Branch of Scotland Yard

USSR: KGB

Problems: jurisdictional

Controversies: double agent

Covert action: designed to serve important, un-admitted policy objectives escalation: political advice, to planned penetration, to diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions, to paramilitary action

Pros and cons

The Organization of the intelligence mission

Components: collection and evaluation of information, counterintelligence, covert action

Hierarchies of activity distinctions: examples

Problems: sensitive nature of intelligence work, rigid compartmentalization, control from top necessary dominant influence of political environs merit on intelligence estimates (Operation Barbarossa)

Organization relationships a balance between needs to prevent subordinate units from competing with one another reduce impact of political environment on analyst

Profiles of secret agents

literature exaggerates role of intelligence work emphasis on heroic and idealistic aspects inattention to frustrations of bureaucratic routine and inherent inconclusiveness of intelligence work John Le Carre: realistic writing

Allen W. Dulles: life work; passion for anonymity, reward in work

typical recruit: educated, likes power but not publicity, nationalist, personality tends to rigorous discipline

process: professionals and nonnationals

personality: R Harris Smith and J.C Masterman

remuneration: direct and indirect methods, blackmail

Intelligence in a democracy

Compatibility of covert intelligence operations with constitutional government

Governmental hearings: Carter administration Propaganda and Psychological Warfare

Defined: charge attitudes, opinions, and behavior of target population

Purposes: methods to secure power, maintain power, apply power

Methods: public information agencies and programs disinformation programs

Types of propaganda white: cooperative and straightforward campaigns gray: relations begin to deteriorate black: demoralize population; isolate government; covert activities

Bureaucracies USIA

Voice of America and Radio Free Europe

Functions: monitoring, classifications, evaluation, influencing mass media

lobbies and alternate forms of influence, public relations firms

psychological warfare Economic Warfare and the Role of Sanctions: Primary Sources of Conflict

Methods: boycott and embargo and blockades and sanctions

Examples: Rhodesia, etc.

Critiques: general weakness of economics warfare Counterproductive

failure of Reagan's economic pressure policies against Nicaragua

## PERSONALITIES

The Functions of Intelligence Service

Kautilya

Intelligence Collection and Counterintelligence

Sir Francis Walsingham

The Organization of the intelligence Mission

Marshal Tito (and partisans)

Profiles of Secret Agents

John Le Carre Allen W. Dulles Rudyard Kipling Kim Philby

Intelligence in a Democracy

Lavrenti Beria Frank Church Graham Greene R. Harris Smith ,J.C. Masterman

Otis G. Pike Jimmy Carter

Propaganda and Psychological Warfare

Dwight Eisenhower

Economic Warfare and the Role of Sanctions

Ayatollah Ruhollah

Khomeini

Idi Amin

KEY TENNIS AND CONCEPTS

covert, unadmitted operations  
disinformation Ward intelligence

Intelligence Colloction and Counter~ntellll~nc~

FBI

Special Branch

coup d'etat

double agent

covert action

Article 51 LUNG

KGB

The Organization of the Intelligence Mission

OSS

SI

X-2

SO

Secret Intelligence Service

MI-5

SOE

missile gap

Operation Barbarossa

Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact

Propels of So t Age

Profiles of secret Agenctcs

anonymity

SIS

The great game

Propaganda and psychological warfare

white propaganda  
gray propaganda  
black propaganda  
Radio Free Europe  
Voice of America  
psychological warfare

#### Economic Warfare and the Role Sanctions

boycott  
embargo  
Hobson's Choice

blockades  
wolfram  
Rhodesia

Lectures....

Explain how the collection and analysis of foreign intelligence contribute to stability in the international system.

Discuss the noncoercive methods a government may pursue in its foreign-policy goals. Are these methods effective or ineffective, and why?

Describe the components of the intelligence mission

What kind of motivation and personality lends itself to secret intelligence work?

What limits, if any, should a democratic people expect or demand when its duly elected leadership engages in covert actions abroad?

## WAR AND ITS CAUSES

### OUTLINE

Difficulties in Defining the Concept of War

Comprehensive definitions as conflict critique of: generation of data and testing of propositions

Lewis Fry Richardson: problems with quantitative methods selecting historical period dates  
definition of war and its correlate casualty History of Warfare

Olduvaia Gorge evidence all members pursue common good: total warfare

Middle Ages and Renaissance ruling dynasties, professional soldiers -condottieri- anissaries

15th Century: rise of standing armies and gunpowder Charles VII

Siege of Constantinople Louis XIV

Theories: de Jomini's three types of warfare national wars of a people against a foreign  
oppressor civil wars of opinion

Impact of French Revolution mass armies, conscription wars: short duration, restricted area use  
of international conferences

Karl van Clausewitz: On War

. relationship between war and politics war subordinated to political object military advises on  
technical matters only military action cannot be separated from politics conclusion: armed  
conflict an instrument of statecraft importance of psychological dimension of war

enemies will to resist depends political demands of war

Human aggression: Hobbes, Storr, Lorenz, Srdrey, Goror, Cole

Elite and fatalism and misperceptions: Nekliukov, Jervis, Bogardus

Small Group Conspiracy:

Nye, H.G. Wells, Bergamini, Seward

Economic Inperialism:

most persuasive free traders versus

Marxists

Hobhouse, Lenin, J.F.C. Fuller



criticisms of theory: wars predate industrial Revolution; colonies not always profitable;  
unexplainable wars between communist states Nationalist expansionism and irredentism

Thucydides

Tanaka Memorial

imperialist versus aggressive wars

Systemic inadequacy status quo versus revisionist states role of balancer

General cycles of history: Toynbee, Ibn Khaldun, Sorokin, Kondratieff An Attempt at Synthesis

Philosophic and operations classification of seven theories Idealist versus realist

## PERSONALITIES

Sir Robert Phillimore

Difficulties in Defining the Concept of War

Lewis Fry

Napoleon

Richardson

History of Warfare

Machiavelli

Louis XIV

Suleiman I

Henri B. deJomin

Charles VII

Karl v. Clausewitz

Causws of ware

Thomas Hobbes

Anthony Starr

Robert Ardrey

Thucydides

K.lorenz

GeofreyGorer

Stewart G. Cole

Elite and Popular Fatalism and Misperceptions

Robert Jervis

Emory S. Bogerardus

small Group conspiracy

Gerald P Nye

Emperor Hirohito  
H G. Wells  
Wm. H. Seward  
David Bergman

Economic Imperialism  
leonard Hobhouse  
J. F.C. Fuller

Nationalist Expansionism and Irredentism

Gabriele  
D'Annunzio  
Thucydides

General Cycles of History

Arnold Toynbee  
Ibn Khaldun  
pitirim A. Sorokin  
N.D.Kondratieff

#### KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Article 2(4) U n Charter war

Pitirim A. Sorokin N.D. Kondratieff

Difficulties in Defining the Concept of war  
conflict war-proneness Waterloo Sarajevo  
Speak softly but carry a big stick casualty

#### History of Warfare

Olduvai Gorge condottieri Janissaries Hundred Years War

Constantinople

Wars of opinions

Communities of public

Safety

levee en masse

on war Albigensian Crusade

Catharis

Causes of war

aggression

ethology

## Elite and Popular Fatalism and Misperceptions

Misperception

Credibility

Social Distance

Small Group Conspiracy

Conspiracy

Tokyo trials

Neutrality Acts

Imperial Conspiracy

Nuremberg trials

Economic Imperialism

Free trade

Marxist

EEC

law of comparative advantage

Nationalist Expansionism and irredentism

gory

war

peloponnesian war

Tanaka Memorial

Imperialist war

aggressive war

Treaty of veterans

Franco Prussia war

irredentism

Italia irredenta

Systemic Inadequacy

Status quo versus revisionist

balancer

tongue in the scale

Russo Japanes War

General Cycle of history

sedentary versus nomadic

ideational versus sensate

Utilitarian

Charismatic Movements

long cycle theory

hubris

## MODES AND LEVELS OF WARFARE

### OUTLINE

War Defined Geneva Conventions of 1949~

Declared or undeclared armed conflict between two or more states

Civil or internal war

Occupation of territory of a state by another

Critique: does not distinguish limited from general war

regionalization of war since World War II (a myth) Internal Cuerrilla War

Revolutionary war: failure of national political system Ted Robert Cur relative deprivation leadership of academic proletariat

Frantz Fanon: psychological dimension of internal war Colonialism European examples

Major theorists:

stress relationships of war and foreign policy

conservative nationalists: limited mean to attain political goals

Marxism-Leninism: combination of ban and rural guerrilla warfare George Grivas's 3 principles Che Guevara's doctrine Regis Debray's 5 principles

Chinese communist influence: protracted revolution ( Lin Biao, Mao Zedong, Sun Tzu, van Clauswit~ Ho Chi Minh) Effectiveness of guerrilla war: Cyprus, Vietnam

militarily unimpressive requires few resources International War

Processes: Indochina, World Wars I and II

Policies: strategic bombings, excalation

Deescalation results from third party intervention

Historical experience of warring particle

Foreign policy elites accept impossibility of total victory

The Nuclear Dimension: A Deadly Calculus Formal declaration of war requirements (Hague Convention of 1907) post-world War II and nuclear dimension

first strike versus  
second strike versus  
preemptive strike

counterforce versus  
countervalue versus  
countercity megatonnage versus throwweight versus circular error probability  
single integrated operational plan overkill versus hardening  
deterrence theory versus nuclear monopoly,  
massive retaliation versus nuclear superiority  
missile gap, ICBM, nuclear parity  
flexible response versus counter~nsurgency  
mutually assured destruction (MAD)  
strategy of deterrence:  
Presidential Directive 59(1980)  
preemptive first strike Balance of terror"  
George Kennan

## PERSONALITIES

### Internal Guerrilla War

Ted Robert Gurr  
Frantz Fanon  
George Grivas  
Che Guevara  
Regis Debray  
Lenin  
Marx  
Lin Biao  
Mao Zedong  
Sun Tzu  
Ho Chi Minh  
Vo Nguyen Giap  
Alexei Kosygin  
Harold Wilson  
Fidel Castro  
Anastasia Somoza

### International War

Matthew B. Ridgway  
Basil Liddell-Hart  
Georges Clemenceau

The Nuclear Dimension: A Deadly Calculus

John Foster Dulles  
Caspar Weinberger  
Winston Churchill  
Arnold Toynbee  
John F. Kennedy  
Jimmy Carter

#### KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Article 2(UN) Geneva Convention of 1949  
general war  
Falkland/Malvinas War  
Persian Gulf war  
International War

Internal Guerrilla War

internal (civil) war  
revolutionary war  
relative deprivation academic proletariat  
Communist Manifesto (1848)  
guerrilla warfare  
Boer War  
Cypriot insurgency  
protracted revolution  
The Art of War "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"  
Tet offensive (1968)  
Sandinista/Contra

International War  
German zeppelin raids  
strategic bombing Dresden  
Hamburg  
Yalta  
Russo-Japanese War

The Nuclear Dimension: A Deadly Calculus

Hague Convention of 1907  
Stockholm  
International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)  
Hiroshima and Nagasaki kilotons  
first versus second strike  
preemptive strike  
counterforce value city  
megatonnage throwweight  
circular error probable (CEP)  
single integrated operational plan (SIOP)  
overkill  
hardening  
deterrence theory  
nuclear monopoly  
massive retaliation  
Sputnik nuclear superiority  
ICBMs  
missile gap  
nuclear parity  
massive retaliation  
Flexible response  
Counterinsurgency  
Strategic triad  
Mutually assured destruction (MAD)  
Deterrence strategy  
Presidential Directive. 59(1980)  
Preemptive first strike  
Balance of Terror

## THE CONTROL OF CONFLICT IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

### OUTLINE

Arms Control and Disarmament Rationales

Cause of Bloody and castle wars

Reduction releases sizzle funds

Policy elites' fatalistic belief that survival is tied to arms

Frankenstein Syndrome

War is morally wrong

Opponents of Control Rationales(Demerits of Case)

Weapons are consequences not cause of conflict

Empirical studies indicate armaments competition terminates peacefully

Recurrent war part of international relations

Self-defense an obligation under natural law

Unilateral reduction is utopian and dangerous

Power vacuums invite aggression

Military maintains balance of power

A word on Concepts

Disarmament: global destruction of weapons, disestablishment of military

Arms control: limitations of weapons by type or level

arms reduction venue limitation

hot lines Aristophanes proposal

A Historical Overview of Arms Control

Thucydides' tale Or Athenian wall end its impact

Quality venue quantity as an obstacle to arms-control ratio

Treaties

Antarctic Treaty

limited Test Ban Treaty

Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

international Atomic Energy Agency

SALT I and SALT II

ABM Treaty

U.S. USSR negotiations concerning Europe

Systems of Arms Control Verification

defined: assessment of compliance with treaty and agreement provisions



problems: secrecy  
record of verification U.S. and different approaches by U.S. USSR  
use of verification for propaganda purposes  
changes in position since 1950s thaw in cold war  
changes in attitudes toward military deterrence  
techniques: technical means verification triad: inspections on site, by challenge, unobstructed  
use of satellites

### Social Costs of Armaments

Monies spent: Europe and Iran,

Arms transfer programs

Legal and Humanitarian Constraints on War

Hugo Grotius: voluntary aspect of international law

U.S.: General Orders 20 and 100

Codification of laws of war at Hague, Lieber code, etc.

Problems: military necessity, definitions of command responsibility, plea of superior orders

Obstacles to legal control of violence: small proportion of offenders are brought to trial;  
temptation to assume a law of war renders organized violence permissible

### PERSONALITIES

George Bernard

Shaw

A Word on Concepts

Aristophanes

Dwight D. Eisenhower

A Historical Overview of Arms Control

L, Brezhnev Thucydides

Helmut Schmidt Yuri Andropov

Helmet Kohl  
Konstantin Chernenko

Social Costs of Armaments

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi  
Ruhollah Khomeini  
Hugo Grotius  
Winfield Scott  
Francis Lieber

#### KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Frankenstein syndrome  
Weapons fail-safe

A Word on Concepts

disarmament  
arms control  
arms reduction  
arms limitation  
Rush-Bagot Agreement  
Lysistrata  
fail-safe devices  
Hague Conference 1907  
Geneva Convention of 1949

A Historical Overview of Arms Control

second strike  
ABM  
MBFR  
Washington Conference  
Baruch Plan  
Geneva Summit (1955) "open skies"  
Antarctic Treaty  
Outer Space Treaty  
Seabed Treaty (1971)  
Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963)  
Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons treaty

International Atomic Energy Agency  
preemptive strike  
SALT I, II  
ABM Treaty  
Vienna Summit (1979)  
"China card"  
ICBM/SLBM/ IRBM  
two-track policy  
SS-20  
Pershing II  
Cruise missiles INF Treaty (1987)  
zero option  
Greens  
GLBM/GLCM  
hot line  
Strategic Defense Initiative (St Wars)

#### Systems of Arm-Control Verification

Antarctic Treaty  
national technical ( 1959)  
means

Sinai II Treaty (1975)  
INF Treaty ( 1987)  
verification strategic

tactical  
intermediate  
verification triad  
inspection by challenge

#### Social Costs of Armaments

spillover  
Iranian revolutionary  
Guards  
Iran-Contra affair  
Legal and Humanitarian Constraints on War  
mutually assured destruction (MAD)

Law of War and Peace  
General Order 20

General Order 100  
Lieber code  
Geneva Convention(1949)  
Hague Conventions (1899, 1907)  
military necessity respondent superior

#### LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPICS

Discuss the rationales for military preparedness, noting the impact of such costly allocations on international and domestic politics.

What are the major categories of arms control? How successful are they?

Since 1945 international arms control has had some measure of success. Explain what these successes have been.

Are arms transfer programs a basis for economic development of the recipient country?

Is the doctrine of military necessity a reasonably effective means to limit the impact of armed conflict?

## INTERNATIONAL LAW: FACT OR FICTION?

### OUTLINE

Defined: Prerequisites

Acceptability, its just nature, enforceability Municipal legal system

International law system: law enforcement

The Historical Development of International Law

Fourth and third milleniums

Medieval Europe

just war: St. Augustine, scholastics, divine and natural law

16th century: legalists

The Naturalist-Positivist Debate

Natural law: roots and philosophers

Positivist school: realist

Eclectic school

Problems

The Sources of International Law

Article 38 of the International Court of Justice: conventions, custom,

general principles, subsidiary means

Positivists versus naturalists

Hoffmann's summary

Municipal law versus international law

The Subjects of International Law

States

Individuals

Recognition of States and Governments

Objective criteria: territory, population, autonomous government

Processes: reversible Taiwan Relations Act) constitutive versus declarative theory de facto

versus de jure

Problems: revolutions, coupe d'etat, new states and governments

schools of thought: recognition should

be purely mechanical acceptance  
pass certain ideological qualitative tests  
pass political tests

Jurisdiction of States and Governments  
Territoriality versus nationality Examples

Extraterritoriality: status of forces agreements (SOFA) embassies, extradition

Controversial Problems of Jurisdiction van Bynkershoek: territorial boundaries Economic zones

United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III)

Jurisdiction over Natural Resources: The Problem of Nationalization

Expropriation of foreign-owned property  
Equality of treatment

Minimum standard of international justice

The Law of Treaties Specific versus lawmaking Municipal versus international laws

pacta sunt servanda versus rebus Sic stantibus

The "Laws" of War and Reprisals, and Other Methods of Self-Help Major rules of war military necessity

Hague Conferences and Geneva Conference

Change in rules  
revolutionary technological and political Law developments total war tactics and strategies  
nuclear balance of terror

Results in changes intermediacy problems

Alternative Perceptions of International Law

Friedmann answer to question, "Can laws be developed?" higher versus lower tier of laws and practices incompatibility of nation-state interests

Perceptions of international law system theory versus practice

PERSONALITIES

William Blackstone

The Historical Development of International Law

St. Augustine

Francisco de Vitoria

Alberico Gentili;

Francisco Suarez

Hugo Grotius

Samuel Pufendorf

C. van Vynkershoek

Emmerich de Vattel

John Jacob Moser

George F. van Martens

The Naturalist Positivist Debate

Emmerich de Vattel

The Sources of International Law

Stanley Hoffmann

Controversial Problems of Jurisdiction

Cornelius van Bynkershoek

The "laws" of War and Reprisals and other Methods of Self-Help

Philip Jessup

Alternative Perception of international law

Wolfgang Friedmann

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

system of laws

legitimacy

acceptability

enforceability

The Historical Development of International Law

just war

scholastics

jus naturale

jus gentium

Law of War and peace

Law of Nature and Nations

forum of ambassador public law eclectic school

positivist versus naturalist

the law of nations

The Naturalist Positive Debate

divine law

natural necessary law

positivist

eclectic voluntary law

The Sources of International Law

conventions

custom

general principles

subsidiary sources

Sui generis

municipal law

UN Security Council

International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The Subjects of international Law

aggression

European Court of Human Rights

aggressive war sovereignty

Article 59

Recognition of States and Governments

state

recognition

Taiwan Relations Act

constitutive theory

declarative theory

declarative recognition

de facto recognition de iure

de jure recognition

Jurisdiction of States and Governments

territoriality

nationality

extraterritoriality

SOFAs

privileges and immunities

extradition

Controversial Problems of Jurisdiction



EEZs  
convention  
deep seabed  
equality of treatment  
UNCLOS  
lawmaking  
multilateral  
international justice  
pacta sunt servanda  
rebus sic stantibus

The "Laws" of war and Reprisals and others Methods of Self help  
military necessity  
Hague and Geneva Conferences  
privileged sanctuary  
boat people  
belligerent  
total war  
intermediacy  
self-help  
collective security

Alternative Perceptions of International Law  
higher tier

lectures

What are the standards for a System of law exist Does international law meet these requirements?

Distinguish between the naturalist and to positivist schools of international law, noting which the basis for the contemporary system is.

Explain the coercive and noncoercive of self-help available to a government according to international law.

Why is it in their best interest for both Western and non-Western governments to abide by the many rules of international law?

Who (if any) has title and claim to the Arctic Ocean and Antarctic continent?

## THE GREAT EXPERIMENTS ON GLOBAL ORGANIZATIONS

### OUTLINE

#### Defining International Organization

Intended purposes: regulation, minimization of conflict, promotion of development, collective defense

#### Institutions

intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) general membership and general purpose general membership and limited purpose limited membership and general purpose limited membership and limited purpose

#### Processes

rudimentary form of global regulation differences between national governments and international organizations

#### The Historical Development of international Organizations

Past examples: Ancient Greece forces of conflict and bloodshed versus peace, justice, and harmony Amphictyonic League Multinational conferences: Peace of West phalia, First European Congress

Regional focus: Monroe Doctrine public international unions

Hague Conferences ( 1899 and 1907 ) The League of Nations

Role of Woodrow Wilson and Sir Eric Drummond

Structure of League

Failures and successes

The United Nations System of Organizaitons

History: allied meetings statute Claude's study Structures and process: General Assembly

Security Council

Economic and Security Council (ECOSOC) Tru teeship Council International Court of Justice ICJ,Secretariat

Processes: collective security: ideal and demise impact of cold war Korean action

peacekeeping forces: preventive diplomacy

Beyond peacekeeping high versus low politics summary of record: functions production of information regulation of international activities redistribution of resources rudimentary legislation

The United Nations record in decolonization from colonialism to decolonization primary reason for decolonization neocolonialism impact on Trusteeship Council

The international protection of human rights

position internationally: object, not subject progress in Western Europe universal Declaration of Human Rights progress Assessment of the United Nations System

Dismal failures versus resounding success versus middle position

## PERSONALITIES

The Historical Development of international Organizations

Thucydides

Dante

Kant

Bentham

Inis Claude

The League of Nation

Woodrow Wilson

Sir Eric Drummond

Ferdinand Foch

Jack Plano

Robert Riggs

The United Nation System of Organization

Dag Hammarskjold

Inis Claude

Assessment of the United Nation

U Thant

## KEY WORDS AND CONCEPTS

general/limited

IGO

NGO

secretariat

functional

WHO

UNESCO

OAU

EC

LAFTA

CMEA

## The Historical Development A International Organization

heuristic

Amphictyonic League

Delphi

Peace of Westphalia

Thirty Years' War

First European Congress

balance of power Peace of Utrecht (1713)

French Revolution

Monroe Doctrine 1823

Peace of Paris

Declaration of Paris

Brussels Congress 1874

Berlin Conference 1884

terra nullius public international unions

Hague Conferences Concert of Europe

Congress of Vienna

## The League of Nations

Permanent Court of Corfu case International  
Justice (PCIJ)

direct versus indirect aggression

Aaland Islands

## The United Nations System of Organizations

Atlantic Charter

Moscow Conference

Dumbarton Oaks

Yalta

United Nations Charter

Versailles Treaty

General Assembly

Palestine Liberation

Army (PLO)

resolutions

Security Council

veto

collective security

ECOSOC

Trusteeship Council

Micronesia

ICJ

Korean War(1950-1953)

UN police action preventive diplomacy

Congo crisis

Cyprus crisis

peacekeeping forces

cold war

Beyond Peacekeeping

high versus low politics

ecocide neocolonialism

internal colonialism

collective

delegitimization

trust territories

Special Committee of 24

genocide

European Commission

Court of Human Rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

boat people

covenants

politicide

LECTURE.....

Describe the different types of international organizations that have developed since the 1815 Congress of Vienna, noting which have been easiest to establish and maintain.

Was the League of Nations a dismal failure? Why or why not?

Explain the intended purpose of the Security Council of the United Nations. Has it lived up to its purpose?

Evaluate the major contributions and failings of the United Nations.

Explain the structure of the United Nations.

Is international organization a legitimate foundation for global government?

## THE THEORY AND PRACTICAL OF FUNCTIONALISM AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

### OUTLINE

#### Functionalism

Definition and strategy: piecemeal nonpolitical cooperative organizations spillover effect  
Parkinson's law of bureaucratic growth

Characteristics: emphasize cooperative aspects and reason transform national attitudes and institutions gradual demise of nation states The Theory of Integration

Methods and approaches federalist school: legal and institutional terms integration as end product rather than a process federalism on regional and global scale education a force for attitudinal shift communications approach (Deutsch~

measures process by intra-community transactions leads to development of security communities or integrated socks

political systems amalgamated security community: U.S. pluralist security community: Western Europe

neofunctionalism (Haas) as process and end product emphasis on cooperative decision making processes and elite attitudes focus on formal institutions employs systemic survey techniques Problems of defining regions

distinct land masses and problems thereof

criteria for grouping nation-states integrations: geographic, military/political, economic, transactional

other: language, religion, culture, population density, climate

Regional Defense Organizations

Characteristics:

U.S. influence

Examples

Objectives: mutual deterrence and maintenance of strategic status quo

Future: Reemphasized, difficult to dismantle

Regional Functional Organizations: The Western European Experiment

Characteristics: limited membership and limited purpose

History of Council of Europe: aim to discuss questions of common concern

European Coal and Steel Community

Western European Union  
Common Market  
European Community  
Institutional structure of European Community  
commission European Court of Justice  
Purposes of European Community  
Some Generalizations about Regional Integration  
Participants exhibit strong economic growth rates  
Pattern of growth  
Integration correlates positively with decreasing conflict  
Effects of integration on social, cultural, economic, political systems difficult to assess  
Strongest proponents among European young, affluent, highly educated  
Equity or inequality in territorial size not good predictor of success or failure  
Differentiation of concepts by survey, attitudes, government opposition, elites, other sectors  
Economic activities highest and military lowest in spillover rate  
Applicability to other regions other areas negative, more conflict  
The Debate among Regionalists, Universalists, and Regime Analysts

Regional: halfway house between inter  
national anarchy and world Integral lion affinities within region leads to effectivity organization  
economic sectors best  
Universalism: face problems at global level, as peace indivisible fear of regional conflicts, as in  
Orwell' 1984 need for concert of great powers: battle against disease

Regime: theoretically oriented; middle course (Keohane, Nye, Buggier Assessing Regionalism

Macro regional versus micro regional

## PERSONALITIES

David Mitrany  
Jean Monet

The Theory of Integration

Karl W. Deutsch  
Ernst Haas

Regional Functional Organization: The Western European Experiment

Robert Schuman

The Debate among Rationalists, Universalists, and Repulse Analysts

Kenneth Waltz  
Robert G. Gilpin  
George Orwell's 1984  
Rita Susmuth  
Robert Keohane  
Joseph Nye, Jr.  
Gerard Ruggie

Assessing Regionalism  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau

#### KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

cobweb versus billiard ball  
functionalists spillover  
demonstration effect  
Parkinson's law of bureaucratic growth  
The Theory of Integration  
integration  
Federalist School  
Communications  
neofunctionalism  
transactions  
security communities  
amalgamated pluralist

Problems of Defining Regions  
regions  
institutionalized alliances  
regional defense  
economic organizations  
hybrid regional

Regional Defense Organizations  
"pactomania"  
Inter-American  
ANZUS  
SEATO  
CENTO  
WTO

Regional Functional Organizations: the Western European Experiment  
CACM  
Andean Group  
LAFTA



ASEAN  
CMEA  
OPEC  
Council of Europe Articles 51, 52,  
UN Charter  
European Coal and Steel Community  
Western European  
the Six  
Common Market  
Euratom.  
EC  
Council of Ministers  
commission  
Eurocracy  
European Court of Justice  
Treaty of Rome  
EAGGF  
takeoff point

The Debate among regionalist, Universalist, and Regime Analysis  
world domestic policy  
neorcalist/ghobalist  
regimes

Assessing Regionalism  
microregional  
Macroregional  
issue area/category  
CACM  
UDEAC  
CMEA

Lecture.....

Identify and compare the major schools of thought in the field of international integration, noting the strengths and weaknesses each approach.

Discuss the successes and failures of Lions integration in Western Europe.

Compare the theories of regionalist and universalism as contrasting approaches to world peace.

Contrast integration theory with the more traditional approaches of realigns and ideals international regulation.

Does participation in regional and international organizations hinder or improve do political and economic profile of nation states?

## THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY: WIDENING THE POLITICAL NET

### OUTLINE

International trade: The Argument between Free Traders and Protectionists

America's Trade Profile

Socially useful function

Benefits not equal

Trade dependent: raw materials

Luxury items

Export-oriented American industries How Utilities and Disutilities of Trade Are Related to Power and Security

Free trade: Ricardo's law of comparative advantage

National economic autarky: Para economic or Para political arguments strong and self-sufficient national defense required specialization creates dependencies

Protectionism: slave wages of cheap imports disestablish traditional domestic incus tries results in unemployment, privation, and political unrest

Less developed countries: anti-free trade to protect infant domestic industries avoid neocolonialism

Free trade rejoinders: long-range result , free trade positive contagious nature of autarky and economic warfare

Merits of each position free trade advantages in principle economic warfare in practice requirement of global political integration to succeed

The Regulation of International Transomtions

Processes: foreign exchange rates what and how it functions free-floating versus fixed enchant rum

Institutional structure Bretton Woods International Monetary Fund gold and dollar standard

current economic status

various financial crises (U.S. deficit in trade balance, impact of Victnun,...

dirty float basket

special drawing rights (SDRs)

The Balance of Payments as an Ingredient of National Power

Political and economic relationships demonstrated by western governments

increases in interest rates

decreasing flow of domestic capital abroad  
reducing foreign aid and expenditures for military bases  
application of tariffs, quotas, commodity agreements, special taxes adoption of flexible freely  
fluctuating exchange rates for monies devaluation of currency in order to reverse trade and  
payments deficits

Communist countries' relationships between political and economic sectors bilateral trade  
agreements control production exchange rates fixed by intergovernmental agreements against  
free market, free trade, fluctuating exchange rates modifications of ideologies recently

International Economic Institutions and the Planetary Economy

Divisions between industrialized Northern regions and Southern regions

Overpopulation, famine, brain drain

Whether to nationalize private enterprise

Need for institutional structures to regulate relationships between communist and capitalist  
countries

Role of public international organizations: ECOSOC, four regional commissions

Record of public international organizations: General Agreement on tariffs and trade (GATT),  
Kennedy Round, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNC  
The Developing Country Debtors: A Financial Time Bomb

Crises exponential increases in external borrowing major global recession 1981-1982 deficit-  
financing policies of Reagan administration sharp drop in oil prices glut of demand for oil  
impact of Persian Gulf War high inflation rates Cases: Mexico

## PERSONALITIES

International Trade: The Argument between Free Traders and Protectionists  
David Ricardo

Key Terms and Concepts

global economic interdependence

International Trade: The Argument between Free Traders and Protectionists  
economic autarky comparative advantage

free trade dependency

Regulation of international Transactions

foreign exchange rates balance of payments balance of trade protectionists Bretton Woods

International Monetary Fund (IMF) Fort Knox dirty float OPEC

gold and dollar standard hard reserve currencies special drawing rights (SDR) basket "paper"

gold barter capitalists versus Marxists

^International Economic Institution and the Planetary Economy

brain drain

ECOSOC

GATT

Kennedy Round

UNCTAD

World Bank

Group of 77

International Finance Corp.

International Development Association

OPEC

Conference on International Economic Cooperation Comecon (CMEA)

The Developing-Country Debtors: A Financial Time Bomb

Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States

Article 26

#### LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPICS

Does national interest require a policy of free trade or protectionism? Why, or why not?

What is the importance of the United States dollar internationally and domestically?

What is a deficit in a country's balance of payments, and how can it be remedied?

How effective are international economic policies to control the world economy?

Are international economic relationships entirely "low" politics, and if so, explain.

What would be the scenario if debtor states (from one to a majority) defaulted in their foreign debts?

## THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR: REASSESSING THE MEANING AND PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT

### OUTLINE

The Magnitude of Inequality Profile of gaps

New International Economic Order (NIEO): economic justice balances planetary distribution of wealth drastic redistribution of international credit technical and financial assistance to build processing facilities reduce tariffs and quotas of industrial states increase foreign-assistance (pay global progressive tax) decision-making role for less developed countries

Strategy to Bridge Gap between Rich and Poor Countries: Development Components

Economic: industrialization and attainment of GNP equal to West

decrease agricultural dependency and become urban/industrial takeoff points: gap not closing limits of growth go- it-slow- but-distribute- it- fairly school of political economy

Political: attainment of democratic, competitive political systems two or more political parties safeguarding human rights political institutionalization studies by Almond and Powell versus communist theorists: appropriate path authoritarian, rightist, or leftist regime chosen as alternative models

Social development: formal versus informal Institutions urbanization, mobilization, social integration, social adaptation cultural, religious, linguistic structures qualitative and quantitative divisions needed

Three Strategies for the Development

Third World Countries

Orthodox/conventional/classical preaches

free enterprise system, private ownership, government stability less developed count rice' problems are internal strategies; long-range planning, government stability; foreign aid for takeoff and trickle down effects

Radical/political economy/neo- Marxist approach

China model

Self-reliance: Schumacher small is beautiful rural workplaces labor-intensive subsistence agriculture minimize capital-intensive production patterns minimize foreign trade and investment dependency conserve values of traditional society

Eclectic strategies: growth with equity: Tanzania, Sri Lanka

## Objective Indicators of Development

Tangible factors: export growth, import growth, balance of payments, etc.

Intangible factors: perceptions of well-being by publics and elites

Cases:

Conclusions: stark picture of inequality; conflict the Siamese twin of inequality

Four important questions relationship of inequality to conflict relationship of un development to decrease in conflict linkages between development economic, social, and political sectors possibilities of a world state

## PERSONALITIES

Political Development

G. Bingham Powell, Jr.

Gabriel Almond

Three Strategies for the development of third world countries

E.F. Schumacher

## Objective indicators of Development

Ted Robert Gurr

## KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

developed versus  
developing versus  
underdeveloped

development and modernization

The Magnitude of Inequality

GDP

New international Economic Order (NIEO)

takeoff point Enlightened realism development

Economic Development

stages of development transitional stages

takeoff points political economy

## Political Development

From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"  
Protagorean maxim political participation proletariat

## Social Development

nuclear family  
stasis

## Three Strategies tot the Development ot Third World Countries

conventional Vicious cycle of poverty" takeoff trickle down radical

neocolonialism self-reliance strategy Small is beautiful appropriate technology growth with equity

## Objective indicators of Development

tangible and intangible  
relative deprivation  
Satisfice  
declinc management

lectures

^National allergy or international dependency which is the better policy for Third odd noun frees, and why?

Explain the relationships between economic and political development.

What are the characteristics of an undeveloped polity economically, politically, anal socially?

Explain the contrasting assumptions of the orthodox and the radical strategies of development.

## NEW ADD NEGLECTED ACTORS 1N THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

### OUTLINE

Non state Actors and Transnational Politics Types and effects

John Burton's theory game of billiard balls versus cobwebs Multinational Corporations (MNCs)

Defined Compared with nation-states (in table)

Optimists extend functionalist argument law of comparative advantage produce better and more products produce modernization globally could render international wars obsolete

Pessimists, origins of labor unions in West government bureaucracies fearing rising power of MNCs governments or opposition movements of LDCs

academic and research communities Garnet and Duller: global reach Zincs do not solve global problems of starvation colonize poor countries, weaken and destabilize rich employ management and knowhow from industrial states locate plants in cheap labor areas finance capital from LDCs drive out smaller local businesses are capital intensive their advertising campaigns distort tastes and styles neglect socially vital issues main concern: profit and living standards of management collaborate with authoritarian regimes

Summarizing the Cases for and against

Multinational Corporations

Agree that MNCs are too powerful disagree on nature of regulation of MNC

Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups: Neglected Actors in the Analysis of Internation Relations

importance: role in political activity and armed conflict

irrendentism

case examples

Policy questions

Should national-state boundaries and ethnic boundaries coincide?

fragmentation and redistribution of power if parallel

Economic mobilization and protection of human and civil rights to manage problems

Terrorist Movements and Organizations

Definition of problems

Terrorist organizations listed

Tactics used

Frequency of events Role of media

Attempts to regulate terrorist activity government activities

international attempts to regulate problum if common criminals use terrorist tactics impact of regulation: further inconvenences In travel Iowa Croups and Movements

Religious Group and Movements Political record of religion peak, cycles caesaropapism with examples

Islam



20th century: revitalization, revival, assertiveness, activism

Role and Impact

faith as shaper of nationalism in religiously homogeneous state 80 identified with social political and economic status quo in states

religious minimalists versus maximalist

A world of Caution

other Nongovernmental actors: example

danger of faddism and occasional academic sensationalism

nonstate actors not new but neglected

Personalities

John Burton

Multinational Corporations

Barnet and Muller

Adam Smith

John Stuart Mill

Emilio Midici

Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups: Neglecte

Actors in the Analysis of International Relations

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Religious Groups and Movements

Mohammed PBUH

Emperor Justinian

Pope Innocent III

LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPIC

Support or refute the contention that the nation-state should no longer be the central focus of world politics.

Compare and contrast the respective arguments advanced by the MNC optimists and the MNC pessimists.

Explain the emergence of ethnic and religious group assertiveness in contemporary international politics.

Why have nonstate actors been ignored in scholarly research?

## THREATS FACING HUMANKIND

### Outline

#### Threats to Humankind

Past; hunger, war, disease, and alienation

Now: environmental pollution, high note levels climate changes

Nation State inadequate alone for global regulation

The Threat of War

August 6 1945 MAD

Since World War II: limited warfare inadequate global institutions danger of conflict genocide

Defined

Negative by-products of postindustrial era

Serious danger greenhouse effect

Diminishing natural resources, especially food and energy

World Environmental Conference The Population Expbcion

Thomas Malthue Handing room only

Task: slow down growth and stabilize at optimal standard of living

Uneven expansion of population per country

Strategies who determines birth control policies

Obstacles to population control faith in science and human ingenuity

Question of conscience or religious norm

Nationalists who want to curb growth of ethnic communities Famine and Epidemic Disease

Inadequate food global scarcity material and psychological disturbances

Evolution of problem

Long-range outlook

Role of international organizations Specter of AIDS Alienation

Inequality North versus South

Unemployment

Cases

Rootlessness: defined

Lester Brown

Sources of Transition from international to Planetary Politics

Sets of human values:

avoid global catastrophes

provide basic human needs

protect ecological balance

promote and protect basic human rights

Theorist: Carrett Hardin—"The Tragedy of the Commons" explained

Idealist versus realist solutions/proposals A Parting Word

Perspectives in politics: nation-state as center and global focus on justice

Author's recommendation for future

PERSONALITIES

Thomas Malthus Willy Brandt

Lester Brown Garrett Hardin

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

August 6, 1945

MAD

ecocide

greenhouse effect

Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States

demography

FAO

UN Food Conference

AIDS (HIV)

alienation

rootlessness

Jeffersonian principle

"The Tragedy of the Commons"

LECTURE/ESSAY/DISCUSSION TOPICS

What are the formidable threats facing humankind and what institutional and legal remedies might/would/could overcome these challenges?

Can the concepts of a nonnuclear age—sovereignty, nonintervention, national selfdetermination, and diplomacy—continue unaltered in a nuclear age? Why or why not?

What are the problems of ecocide, the population explosion, and food shortages?

Explain the social and psychological roots of alienation What are the solutions, if any, to this problem?