

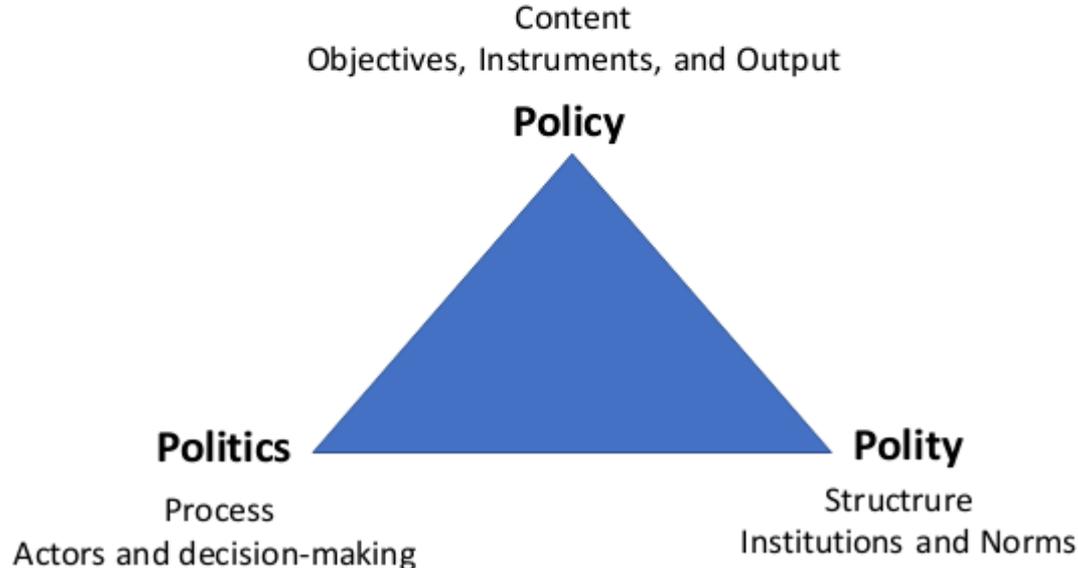


# *The Nature of Politics*

# What is Politics?

## ◆ Politics: The three dimensions of Politics

### Political Triangle (The Subject Areas of Political Science)



- Struggle to gain and maintain power
- The arena of conflicting values, interests and actions: the area of processes among political actors

Polity is the organization of political communities, having a specific form of government.

# What is Politics?

## ◆ Politics: Statics and Dynamics

### Dynamics

If we look around us what we see would be movements, development and change. Society and people need to accommodate to circumstances.

### Statics

However, we can also see certain values and principles, which have inspired people and guided policies, that are unchanged. Ideals like freedom or equality for instance.

### • How political activity can be analyzed and explained?

#### □ History:

- Historical events: "Historia est magistra vitae" (Cicero)

*"Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?"*

*Cicero: De Oratore.*

*Translation:*

*"By what other voice, too, than that of the orator, is history, the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the directress of life, the herald of antiquity, committed to immortality?"*

- The History of Political Thoughts (Main Periods of Western thoughts: Premodern [Ancient Greeks, Christianity], Modernism [Enlightenment], and Postmodern

□ Theories/Approaches (Normative, Institutionalism, Structural Functionalism, Rational Choice, Social Constructionism, Critical Theories)

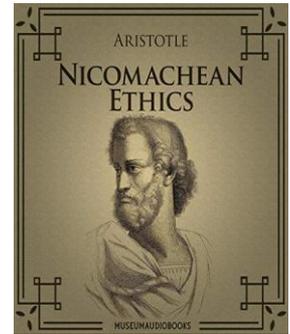
□ Methods (Inductive-Deductive / Analytic, Comparative, Quantitative, Qualitative)



# The Philosophical Tradition (#1)

◆ The ancient Greek term *politikē* used both by Plato and Aristotle meant the knowledge, the art, or some other capacity that is devoted to the political affairs. There are remarkable similarities and differences that, as a tradition of political philosophy, have influenced the development of the study of politics.

Aristotle: *Politikē* is a study that is concerned with the existence of city-states, and its ultimate goal is to achieve the good.



- **Facts and Values:** What we today call "values" or as the ancients called "*telos*" ("ends" or "goal") were central to the philosophical approach to political science.
  - ✓ **For ancient Greeks**, including both Plato and Aristotle, **the task of political expertise was normative.**
  - ✓ **Modern Challenge:**
    - Hume: "Is"  $\leftrightarrow$  "Ought"      Kant, Weber: "Sein"  $\leftrightarrow$  "Sollen"
    - Morgenthau: Politics is governed by objective laws, and independent of economics and morality
    - Political Philosophy (deductive study)  $\leftrightarrow$  Political Theory (inductive study)

# The Philosophical Tradition (#2)

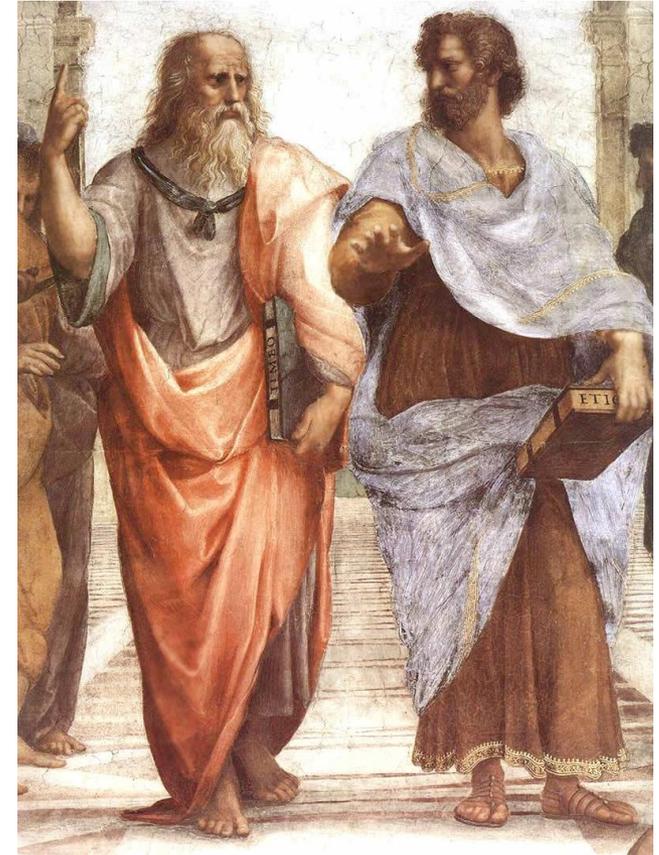
- **Goal and Means:** What we today call "values" or as the ancients called "*telos*" ("ends" or "goal") were central to the philosophical approach to political science.
  - ✓ Everything in the world, by nature, has its place.
  - ✓ **For ancient Greeks, all political questions were ultimately framed in ethical terms.** Due to the determining nature of goal and means, human actions can only be expressed in ethical categories:
    - *Ethics*: the individual realization of virtue.
    - *Politics*: the realization of virtue at the social level.
  - ✓ **Modern Challenge:** Niccoló Machiavelli → Politics is an autonomous sphere of social life ("Goal justifies Means" → Politics is about struggling to gain and maintain power)
- **Humans are "social animals" (*Zōon Politikon*):**
  - ✓ We should think of ourselves as parts of an organic whole and find happiness in being virtuous and living in a well-ordered society.
  - ✓ *Natural hierarchy*: Some people are more virtuous than others; these should hold authority and teach the rest. (Plato's idea: philosopher kings who rule over the community gently and selflessly.)
  - ✓ **Modern Challenge:** Two Concepts of State
    - *Contratualism* based on the idea of a social contract among citizens.
    - Organic evolution based on a historical-institutional tradition.

# The Philosophical Tradition (#3)

## ◆ Plato and Aristotle: the differences



**Raphael: The School of Athens (1509-11)  
Fresco, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City**



**Plato and Aristotle**

# The Philosophical Tradition (#3), cont.

## ◆ Plato and Aristotle: the differences

PLATO	ARISTOTLE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- More abstract and imaginative</li><li>- Concerned with abstractions and transcendent</li><li>- Plato believes insight into the good is the foundation of virtue; actual acts come second.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- More practical and experimental</li><li>- Concerned with observations and empirical facts.</li><li>- Aristotle believes habits and a routine of good acts is the foundation of virtue; insight comes second.</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Central theme: justice → at the level of the polis, justice is more obvious than at the level of the individual</li><li>- To achieve the best life, we must consider the justest and happiest state imaginable → utopia</li><li>- Plato creates a link between the ethical problem of individual justice and the problem of the best political regime</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Aim: the implementation of a political system for the achievement of the good life at the level of states that exist in reality (vs. Plato)</li><li>- Method: an empirical-comparative study of the constitutions of Greek city-states</li></ul>
<p>What is the ideal government?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Start pondering: what is the true soul of man? (wisdom, honor, and wealth)</li><li>- Plato makes an analogy of state and soul → analogy of the defective forms of human character distorted by the government</li><li>- Harmony of the individual and the community is needed. In the absence of this harmony, both the individual and the state become more and more corrupt</li></ul>	<p>What is the ideal government?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Start gathering over 150 constitutions from around the world.</li></ul>

# The Philosophical Tradition (#4)

## ◆ Searching for the ideal form of government

### ● **Plato:**

	Correct (Lawful)	Deviant
One / the Few Rulers	Monarchy /Aristocracy (ruled by law, order, and wisdom)	Tyranny
The Few Rulers	Timocracy (ruled by honor and duty)	
The Few Rulers	Oligarchy (ruled by wealth)	
The Many Rulers	Democracy (ruled by pure liberty and equality)	Anarchy

”The four governments of which I spoke, so far as they have distinct names, are, first, those of Crete [**monarchy**] and Sparta [**timocracy**], which are generally applauded; what is termed **oligarchy** comes next; this is not equally approved, and is a form of government which teems with evils: thirdly, **democracy**, which naturally follows oligarchy, although very different: and lastly comes **tyranny**, great and famous, which differs from them all, and is the fourth and worst disorder of a State.”

Plato: Republic, Book VIII.

### ● **Aristotle:**

	The One	The Few	The Many
For the Common Interest	Monarchy	Aristocracy	Polity
For the Interest of the Ruler(s)	Tyranny	Oligarchy	Democracy

”The true forms of government, therefore, are those in which the one, or the few, or the many, govern with a view to the common interest; but governments which rule with a view to the private interest, whether to the one, or the few, or of the many, are perversions.”

Aristotle: Politics

### ● **Modern Challenge:**

- **For ancient Greeks, democracy was not the best form of government.**
- Modern concept of democracy: Montesquieu (*The Spirit of Law*), and Hamilton&Madison (*The Federalist*, No. 10, 47, 51): –**Separation of Powers**, –**Checks and Balances for avoiding** the concentration of powers and the tyranny of majority.

*Facts and Values: Political Philosophy and Political Theory*

# Normative Statements

- **Telos/Values:** What we today call "values" or as the ancients called "*telos*" ("*ends*" or "*goal*") were central to the philosophical approach to political science.
  - ✓ However, your imagination of goals about things, institutions impact on your political stance/opinions in different issues.
  - ✓ Teleological thinking always implies normative attitude, and you express yourself in **normative statements**:

*"Murder is bad. It is a sin, right?"*

*"War is sin where people are killed."*

*"War is only a continuation of state policy by other means."*

(Clausewitz)

*"The US should continue to send troops to the third world to attempt to restore order."*

- ✓ Values are the sort of things that can induce personal and social conflict by stirring human emotions such as anger, envy, and hatred. Disputes over quantifiable "facts" do not necessarily give rise to such emotions.



# Positive Statements

- **Positive statements:** First off, we may change attitude, and we concern only with the descriptions of facts without involving value judgements.
  - ✓ However, positive statements may also imply value commitments (Science itself is definitely not "value-neutral").

Positive	Normative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Higher interest rates cause people to save more</li><li>• High income tax rates discourage effort</li><li>• High taxes on cigarettes discourage smoking</li><li>• Road use charges would increase traffic</li><li>• People are more worried about inflation than unemployment</li><li>• The burning of fossil fuels is causing global warming</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• People should save more</li><li>• Governments should tax the rich to help the poor</li><li>• Smoking should be discouraged</li><li>• The tax system should be used to reduce traffic</li><li>• Technical change is a bad thing because it puts some people out of work</li><li>• Governments should do more to reduce carbon emissions in order to save the planet from global warming</li></ul>

# From Political Philosophy to Political Theory

## ◆ The Empirical Tradition:

- The empirical approach to political analysis is characterized by the attempt to offer a dispassionate and impartial account of political reality.
- The approach is "descriptive" in that it seeks to analyze and explain of facts (whereas the normative approach is "prescriptive" in the sense that it makes judgments and offers recommendations).
  - ✓ **Positivism:** Science should attempt to identify and test empirical generalizations.
    - The purpose of the methods and techniques of science is to test empirical statements. The testing must be objective in the sense that its results must not be dependent on any particular researcher's biases.
    - Scientists seek to make statements about entire classes of objects, not just individual cases.
- The main purpose of science is to explain and predict, and scientific explanation requires generalizations:
  - 1 – *"If there is a high rate of economic growth, the incumbent president is usually reelected."* (**Generalized Hypothesis**)
  - 2 – *"There was a high rate of growth in 1996"* (**Observation**)

**Therefore,**

  - 3 – *"President Clinton, the incumbent, was reelected in 1996."*



# From Empirical to Analytical Statements

- Empirical statements, regardless of being simple description or they deal with complex relationships, refer to what is or is not true, and can be confirmed or disapproved by experience.
  - ✓ *"62% percent of the American people think the president is doing a good job."*
  - ✓ *"Controlling for presidential popularity, the greater the increase in average real income, the higher the proportion of votes received by the incumbent party."*
- Reformulating normative statements into empirical statements by asking empirical questions about the assumption[s] (2) behind normative judgement[s] (1):
  1. *"The US should continue to send troops to the third world to attempt to restore order."*
  2. *"The support of peacekeeping activities with US troops generally has not resulted in long-term prevention of disorder in the past."* (2)

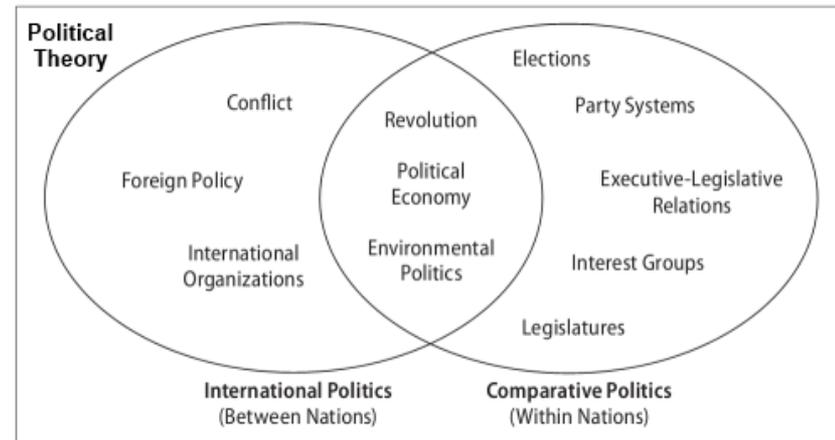
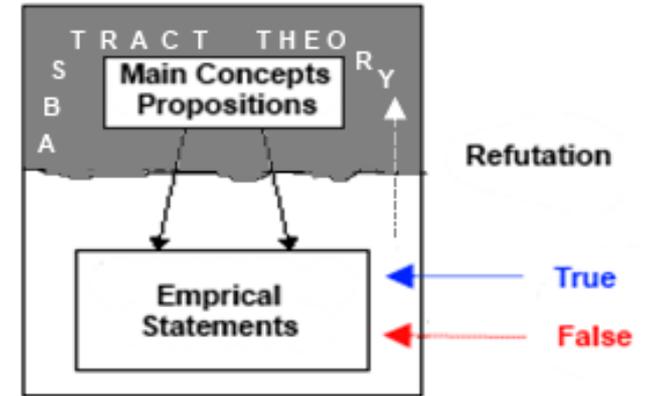
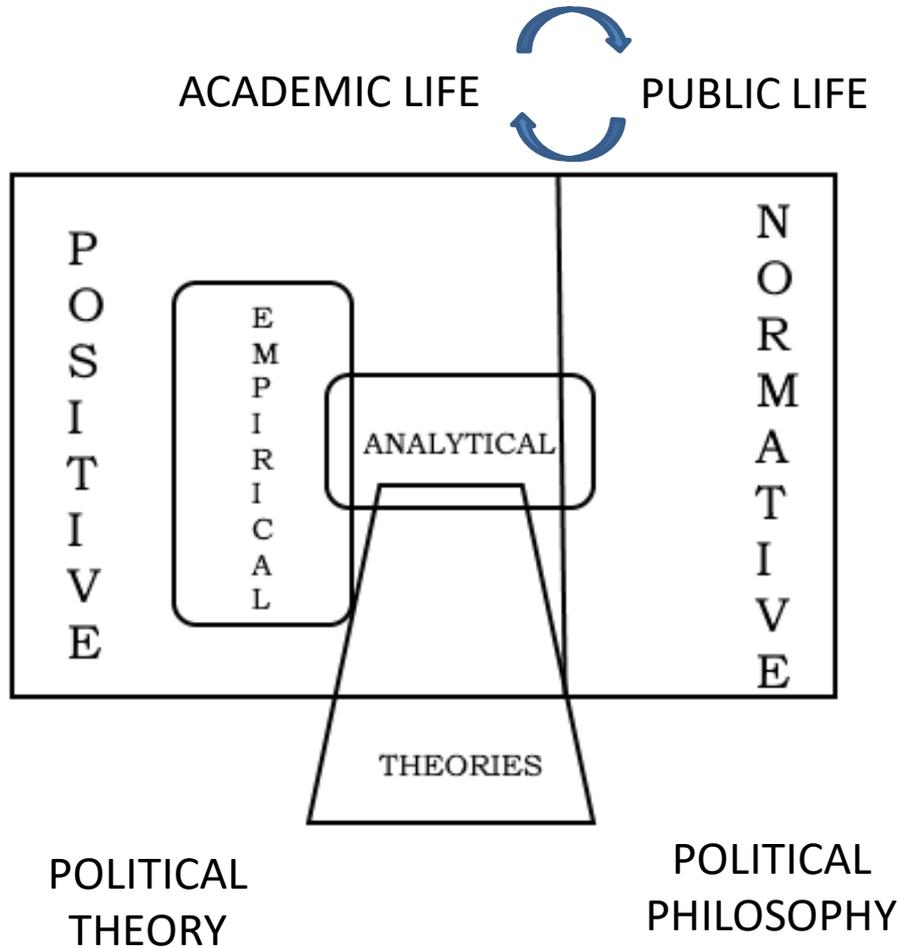
**Theoretic presupposition:** many states favour the US sending troops in most cases

**Reformulation:** {Right, Wrong} → {True, False}

## ◆ The Scientific Tradition:

- There is one other classification of statements: analytical. **Analytical statements** refer to propositions whose validity is completely dependent on an abstract theory rather than empirical statements.
- Social scientists deal with analytic questions as a way of investigating the way things would be if abstract theories were true. This tradition (as opposed to normative and empirical tradition) is from scientific tradition (math and theoretical physics, though not so rigorously as they are), and known as **deductive-analytical approach**.

# Political Science: Relationships and Connections in Nutshell



## *Politics as Academic Subject*

# Aristotle on Political Knowledge

- **The Three Degrees of Knowledge:**

**Greek**

episteme

techne

phronesis (praxis)

**Latin**

sapientia

professio

prudentialia

**English**

to know, to understand (you will be wiser)

craft, art (you know ins and outs of sthg)

prudent, intelligent way of action

- **Different jobs on the same subject:**

		
<b>Political Scientist</b>	<b>Political Analyst</b>	<b>Politician</b>
<b>Academic Economist</b>	<b>Stock Market Analyst</b>	<b>Businessperson</b>
<b>Football Theoretician</b>	<b>Trainer/Journalist</b>	<b>Football Player</b>



**Raphael:  
The School of Athens**

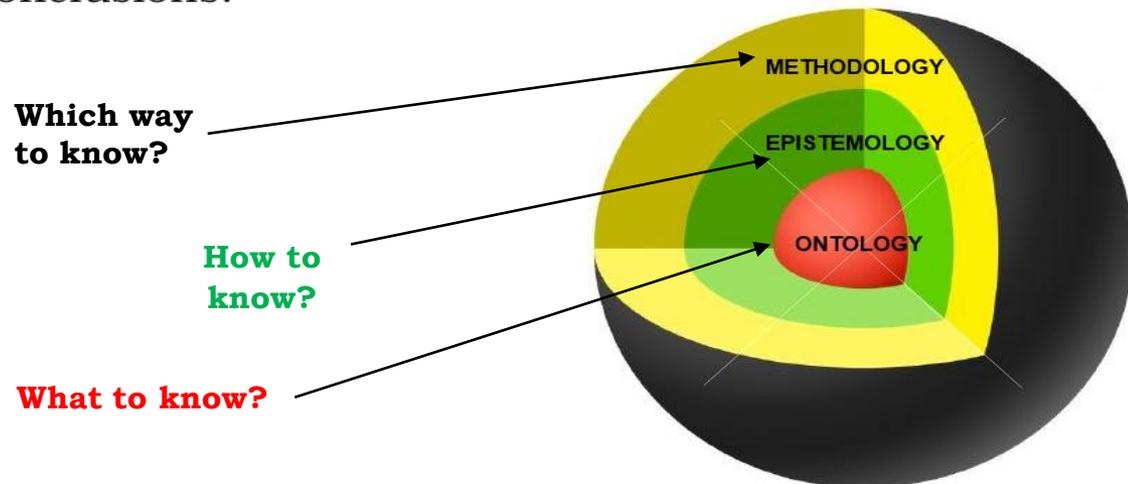
**Idiotes:** "Private man", a "moron" who opposes participating in public affairs

# The Guidance of Scientific Researches

## ◆ The Guidelines of Researches

Rival theoretic approaches in Socials can be confronted with one another by the following basis:

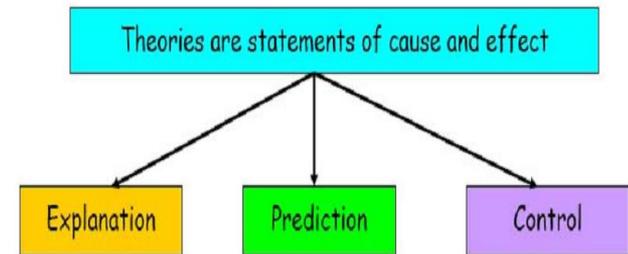
- ✓ **Ontological basis**, i.e., the main entities we consider as key concepts to understand phenomena; all matters, all arguments are eventually reduced to these entities in theories (they are the irreducible components of the theories).
- ✓ **Epistemological basis** referring to cognoscible part of the world, and a reflex to the way of knowledge constructed by theories in question.
- ✓ **Methodological basis** referring to the means of research process we apply to draw conclusions.



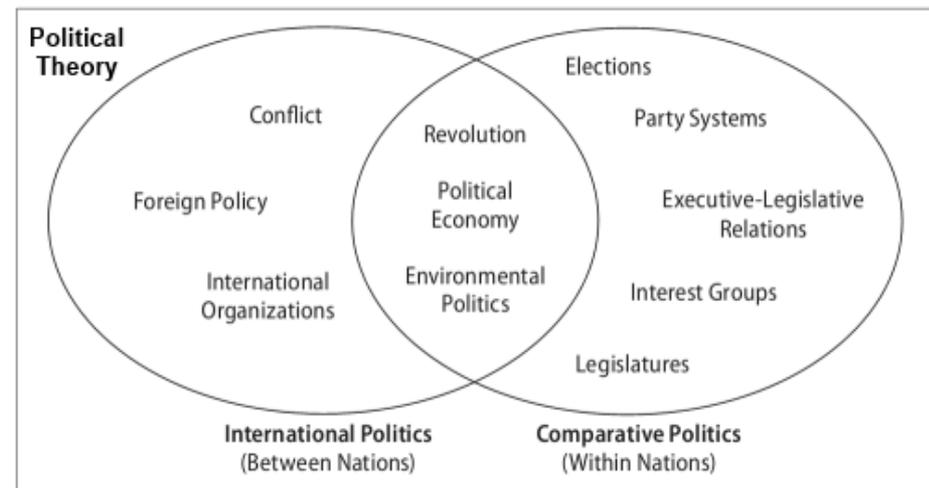
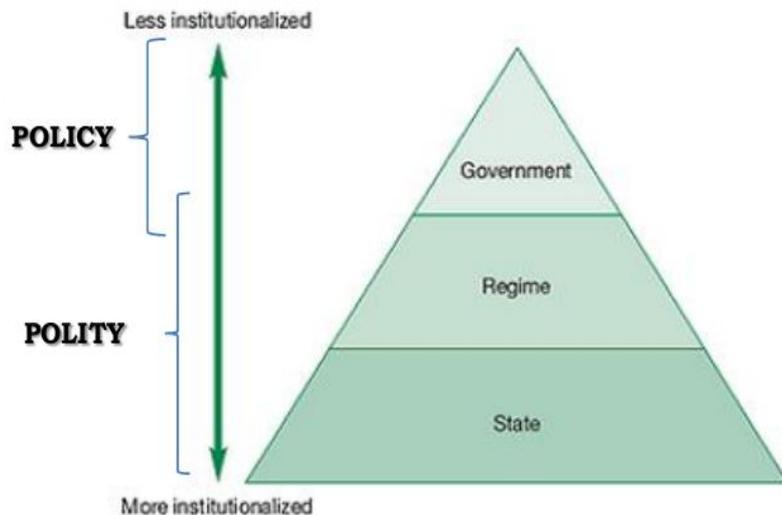
# Assessment of Theories (#1)

## ◆ Explanation

- **"Razor-sharp" science: the aesthetic principles of science**
  - ✓ The simpler is better and more believable:  
Occam's Razor and the principle of "bona fide"
- **What is the appropriate ontological unit for theoretical explanation?**
  - ✓ Structure: state, regime, system, turbulence
  - ✓ Individual action: Rational Choice
  - ✓ Discourse



**STATE**



# Assessment of Theories (#2)

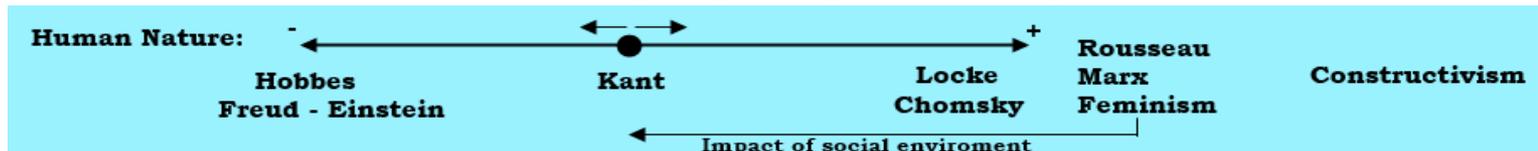
- **What epistemic property does characterize the analysis?**

E.g.: Explicit or hidden presumptions about human nature

- ***Individual (Descartes, Kant) vs. Relational (Aristotle, Hegel) Interpretation of Identity***

- ✓ Individual: Individual → Challenge: a picture of atomic society
- ✓ Relational: Society → Challenge: individuality and the responsibility of individuals

- ***Human Nature: Anthropological optimism vs, pessimism***



## ◆ Predictions:

- **Visions in IP after the Cold War**

- ✓ Huntington
- ✓ Fukuyama
- ✓ Rosenau

## ◆ Control:

- **Methodological challenges of theories**

# The Aesthetic Principles of Science

## ➤ Conspiracy Theories

### 1. What are they?

The belief that certain events or situations are secretly manipulated behind the scenes by powerful forces with negative intent.

1. An alleged, secret plot.
2. A group of conspirators.
3. 'Evidence' that seems to support the conspiracy theory.
4. They falsely suggest that nothing happens by accident and that there are no coincidences; nothing is as it appears and everything is connected.
5. They divide the world into good or bad.
6. They scapegoat people and groups.

### 2. Conspiracy theories have these 6 things in common

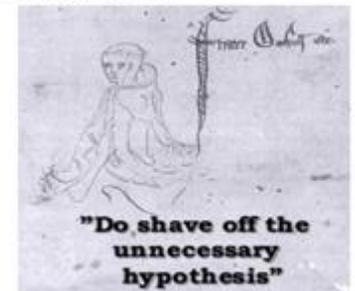
## ➤ The principle of „what seems simpler, it is better”: **Occam's razor**

### ✓ *Lex parsimoniae* (the Law of Ontological Parsimony):

„*Pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate*”, i.e.,

„Entities [Plurality] should not be posited without necessity.”

*Among competing hypotheses, the one with the fewest assumptions should be selected.*



# Visions in IP after the Cold War



**Samuel P. Huntington**  
(1927-2008)

## **Thesis #1: The three waves of democratization**

(*The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, 1991)

Wave	Period	Examples
First	1828–1926	Britain, France, USA
Second	1943–1962	India, Israel, Japan, West Germany
Third	1974–1991	Southern and Eastern Europe, Latin America, parts of Africa

## **Thesis #2: The Clash of Civilizations** (*The Clash of Civilizations*, 1993/1996)

- The world is becoming a smaller place as a result of the development of modern civilization
- In a small multipolar world where there are different cultures living together
- Western ↔ Islam Culture – After the cold war, “*Islam is the next enemy*”



**Francis Fukuyama**  
(1952-)

## **Thesis: The End of History** (*The End of History and the Last Men*, 1989/1992)

- There is a determinate end-point of human history
- The victorious of liberal democracy as political regime all over the world



**James Rosenau**  
(1924-2011)

## **Thesis: Turbulence in World Politics**

(*Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*, 1990)

- The extensive degrees of interdependence among actors in the world → Increasing complexity
- Coexistence of the state-centric international system with a more dynamic, decentralized, multi-centric local system.
- Such turbulence, in turn, transforms long-standing parameters of behaviour (all the relevant parts of the world will impact on each other)

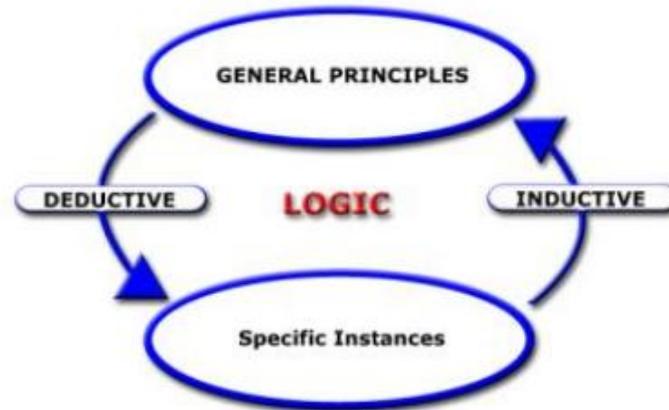
# Starting out in Research Methodology (#1)

## Deduction:

1. All living things will eventually die. **(General statement – first premise)**
2. This animal is a living thing. **(Instances – second premise)**
3. Therefore, this animal will eventually die **(Conclusion)**

## Induction:

1. All the giraffes that I have seen have very long necks. **(Instances - Repeated observations)**
2. Therefore I conclude that all giraffes have long necks. **(Conclusion)**



# Starting out in Research Methodology (#2)

## Deduction:

Theory → Hypothesis → Observation



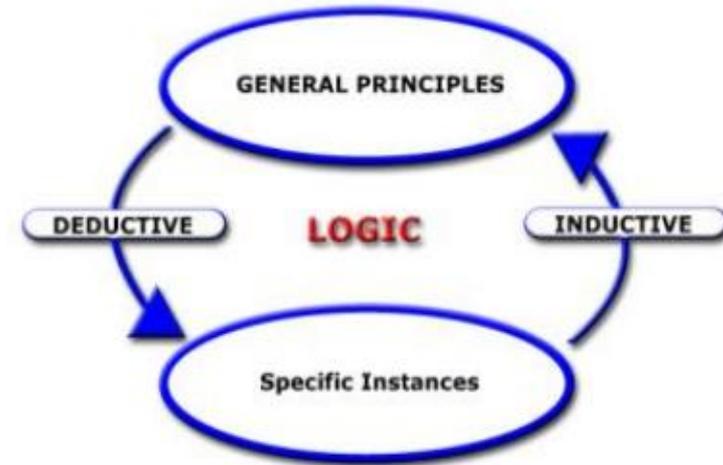
Confirmation

## Induction:

Observation → Patterns (Sample) → Hypothesis



Tentative Theory based on empirical-quantitative or empirical-qualitative method



### ► Empirical-Quantitative Method

- ✓ The size of the sample is large.
- ✓ Its results can be expressed in numbers
- ✓ Two main forms: - To make surveys;  
- To study recorded statistical data (e.g. GDP, salary, population, etc.);

### ► Empirical-Qualitative Method

- ✓ The size of the sample is small.
- ✓ The findings are paradigmatic studies rather than numerical data.
- ✓ Two main forms: - To make case studies, - To make interviews.

# Deduction vs. Induction (#1)

## □ DEDUCTION



Mass migration causes security problems



Mass migration is a transitional phenomenon as a result of the Arab Spring

To find measures in terms of security such as

- We should defend our borders
- Tough lines against illegal migration

To find measures in terms of freedom&rights such as

- How to guarantee the basic rights of the people to live a normal life
- States alone cannot tackle the situation, international arrangements are needed

# Deduction vs. Induction (#2)

## □ INDUCTION



- What happens here?
- Is really it temporal?



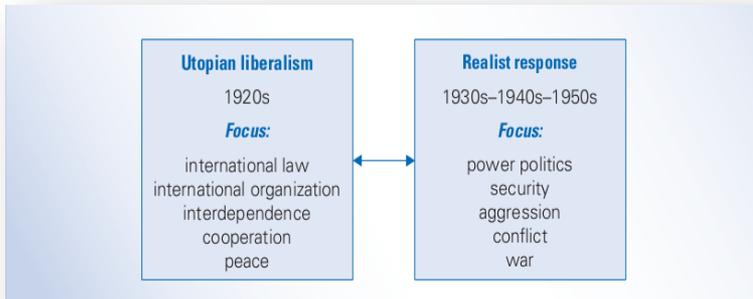
- Is tough line policy effective?
- Is it possible to put an end to this crisis by initiating international arrangements?



# Methodological Debates in IR

## 1. Liberalism vs. Realism (during 1930s and 1950s and 1980s):

- Liberals emphasized the possibility of peaceful cooperation
- Realists believed in inescapable power politics



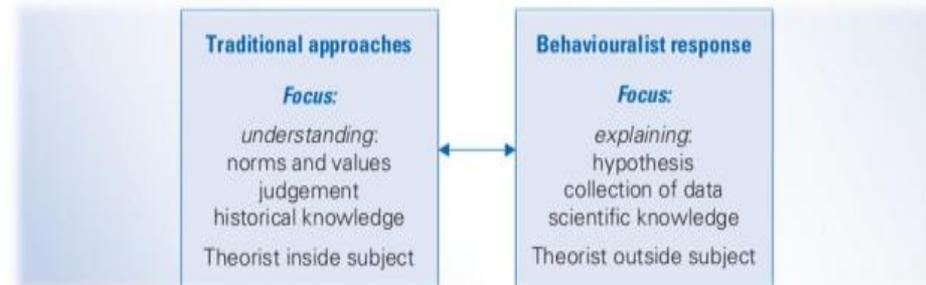
## 2. Behaviouralists vs. Traditionalists (during 1960s):

- Whether it is possible to develop objective "laws" of international relations

◆ **Traditional approaches:** The first generations of IR scholars were trained as historians or academic lawyers, or were former diplomats or journalists. They often brought a humanistic and historical approach to the study of IR.

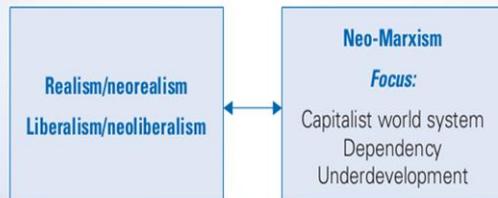
◆ **Behaviouralism:** The belief that social theories should be constructed only on the basis of observable behaviour, providing quantifiable data for research.

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff: Contending Theories of International Relations, 1971



## 3. "Inter-Paradigm Debate" (between 1970s and 1980s):

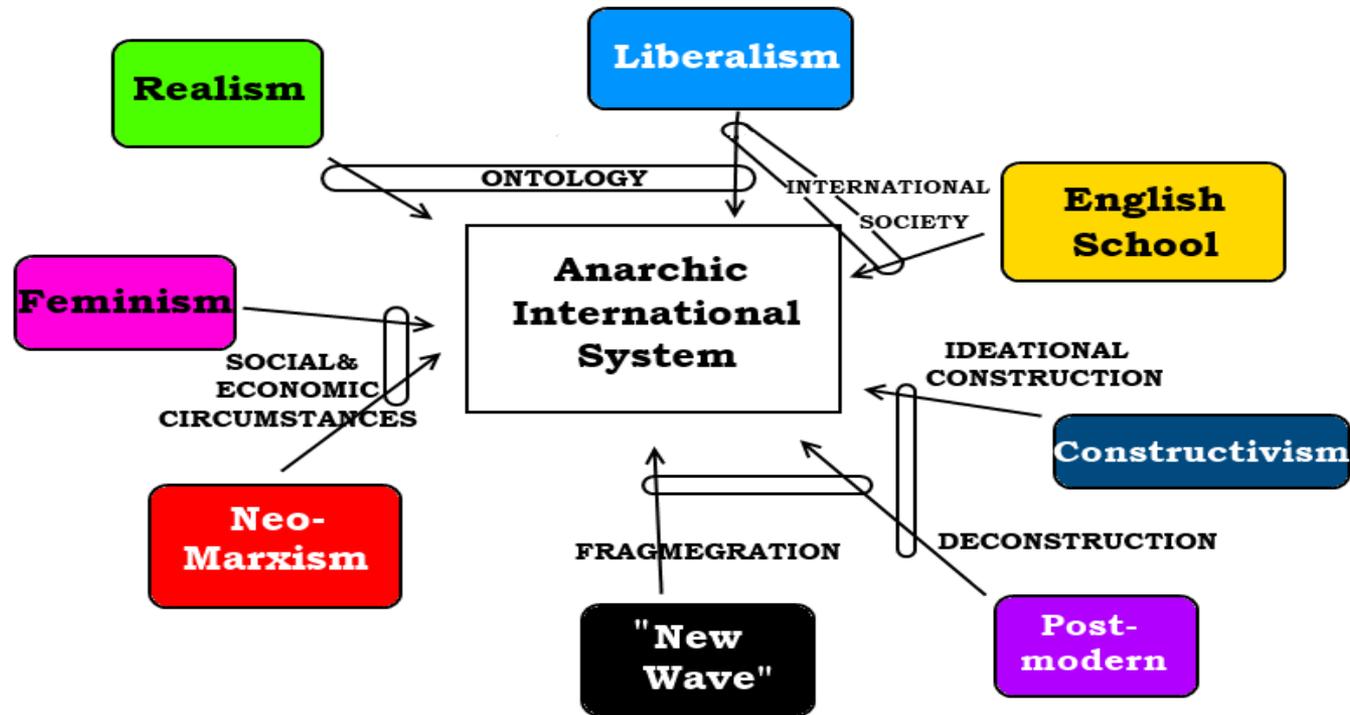
- Realists and liberals vs. Marxists who interpreted international relations in economic terms
- ✓ Around 1970s, neo-Marxism emerged as an attempt to theorize about economic underdevelopment in developing countries (decolonized independent countries). This became the basis for a third major debate in IR about international wealth and international poverty.



## 4. Positivists and Post-positivists between theory and reality

- This reflects the growing influence of new critical perspectives, such as constructivism, feminism, postmodern and green politics.

# What's up with IR Schools?



## Realism

- National sovereignty
- States
- Military power
- Anarchical world

## Liberalism

- National sovereignty
- States and non-state organizations
- Interdependence

## Critical views

- Globalization
- Networks and nodal points
- Representations of global space (with social criticism)

***The First Definition of Politics: Goals and Means***

# Politics as the art of government

## ◆ This is a state-centred view of politics

- ✓ Politics is what “governments” or “states” do
- ✓ In other words, most people, most institutions and most social activities can be regarded as being “outside” of politics.
  - Corporations, NGOs, educational institutions, community groups, etc. are in this sense “non-political”

## ◆ Emblematic representatives of this idea



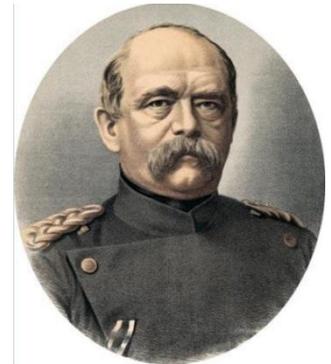
Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527):

“The Goal Justifies the Means”



Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831):

“War is only a continuation of state policy by other means.”



Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898):

“Politics is the art of the possible”

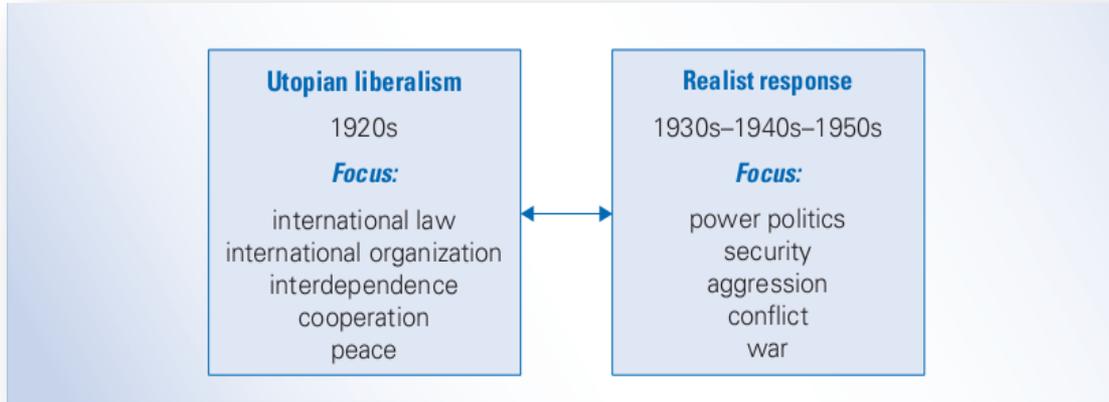
# ”Realpolitik”

- **Basic units: States**
- The presence of diversity (we are not all alike) and scarcity (there is never enough to go around) ensures that *politics is an inevitable feature of the human condition*.
- **Machiavelli’s “The Goal Justifies the Means” Principle:** morality and practice duplicity in statecraft or in general conduct.
  - ✓ “You can’t make an omelette without breaking a few eggs” – That is to say, in practice, if we want to achieve something in politics, we need to do and get some vexations.
  - ✓ Politics is an autonomous sphere of human condition, it is independent of moral.
- Similarities between historical eras are always more substantial than the differences.
  - ✓ In particular, power politics, conflict and the likelihood of war are inescapable facts of history.
  - ✓ In International Politics:
    - Human nature does not change: Psychological Egoism;
    - History is shaped by self-striving political units of one kind or another;
    - “Anarcho-centrism”: anarchy is an enduring fact of history
  - ✓ Disagreement: how states are working in IP
    - Classic realists: “states as agents”
    - Neorealists: “adaptive states”



# Example: Realism as a mainstream school of IP

## ◆ Idealism vs. Realism:



## ◆ Realism: Hans Morgenthau: *Politics Among Nations*, 1948 [→ Neorealism: K. Waltz (1979)]

➤ IR is an independent discipline, a variety of theories and approaches, all of which share a belief that states are primarily motivated by the desire for military and economic power or security, rather than ideals or ethics.

➤ The basis of realism is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.

➤ Politics is governed by objective laws, and independent of economics and personal morality

➤ The natural state of IR is „egoism”, and the ultimate dependence of state on its own resources to promote its interests and protect itself ("**Self-help system**") → Anarchy → Balance of Power

↳ Zero-sum competition

**Hobbes: Leviathan**

## ◆ Neoliberalism: Robert O. Keohane: *After Hegemony*, 1984

➤ Is it necessary that either anarchy or hegemony emerging in a „self-help system”?

➤ No, Game Theory teaches us that the decline of hegemony (in a multipolar world) does not make cooperation automatically impossible, and hence the world instable.

# Example: (Neo)Classic Realism vs. Neorealism

**Absolute gains** As long as we do well it doesn't matter if others do even better.

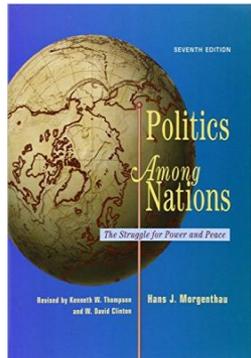
*Example:* The United States economy grows by 25% over the next decade; China grows by 75%.

**Relative gains** We will do our best, but number one priority is that the others don't get ahead of us.

*Example:* The United States economy grows by 10% over the next decade; China grows by 10.3%.

The American that chooses the latter scenario over the first is concerned with relative gains.

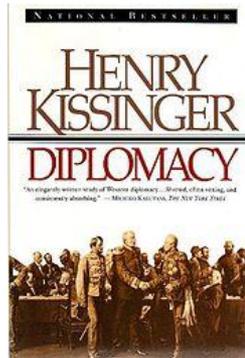
(Neo)Classic Realism	Neorealism
<p><b>Main characterization:</b> States as agents (i.e. the purposive, volitional dimension of states)</p>	<p><b>Main characterization:</b> Adaptive states</p>
<p><b>1. Historical variability</b> The ontological superiority of the state over the IS → As states change, so does the IS.</p>	<p><b>1. "Continuity" assumption</b> The anarchical IS is autonomous and self-constituting realm → IP never changes, but there are some necessities in the system.</p>
<p><b>2. Relative and Absolute Gains</b> States have never pursued relative gains (17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century), and cooperation might be also occurred in the future by moral diplomacy (Morgenthau, Kissinger) or a re-socialization into higher more cooperative political forms (Carr)</p>	<p><b>2. "Relative Gains" or positional assumption</b> Anarchy and power differentiation requires states to place premium on short-term relative gains over long-term absolute (cooperative) gains → <i>Security dilemma</i>: if B gains more from Cooperation than A, A fears that B might subsequently use that power against A</p>
<p><b>3. "Social" Rationality</b> State interest is shaped by state-society relations and international norms</p>	<p><b>3. "Survival" Rationality</b> The sovereign state rationally pursues its national interest of "military survival"</p>
<p><b>4. Variable domestic agential state power</b> Domestic agential power varies in time, and impacts on state behaviour and IP.</p>	<p><b>4. Billiard ball model</b> State's internal and domestic properties are irrelevant to state behaviour and IP.</p>
<p><b>5. Social sovereignty assumption</b> State sovereignty changes in time, and shaped morally and functionally by domestic and external influences</p>	<p><b>5. Political sovereignty assumption</b> The sovereign state is the highest form of political expression and will remain so despite economic interdependence or globalisation.</p>



**Classic Realism**



**Neorealism or Structural Realism**



**Neoclassic Realism**

# The Cynic View of Politics (#1)

## ◆ Cynism as a possible consequence of Machiavelli's Principle

- ✓ A possible implication of "tough" Machiavellian conception of politics is that politics is thought of as a pejorative word.
- ✓ It conjures up images of trouble, disruption and even violence on the one hand, and deceit, manipulation and lies on the other.

## ◆ Cynic view about politics is general enough and popular

- ✓ Example (related to politicians regardless of political regimes):
  - 1. Caligula's Horse:** According to legend, The Roman Emperor Caligula (37-40 AC) planned to make his favour horse a consul, i.e., a somewhat significant political title under the Roman Empire

### **MOTTOs:**

*"You can lead a man to Congress, but you can't make him think."*

Milton Berle, American actor and comedian

*"The more you read and observe about this Politics thing, you got to admit that each party is worse than the other. The one that's out always looks the best."*

Will Rogers, American actor and comedian



# The Cynic View of Politics (#2)

## ◆ Cynic view about politics is general enough and popular

- ✓ Example (related to the "mass" regardless of political regimes):
  - 2. The "Big Brother" effect:** We, citizens, are all involved in politics by
    - manipulated our way of thinking and perception (the mechanism of "brainwashing");
    - enjoyed the accomplishments of civilization without being aware of their dangerous agents ("the big brother is watching you");



### MOTTOS:

*"In our age there is no such thing as 'keeping out of politics.' All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia."*

George Orwell, English novelist

*"In an ever-changing, incomprehensible world, the masses had reached the point where they would, at the same time, believe everything and nothing, think that everything was possible and nothing was true."*

Hannah Arendt, Ger-Am. political scientist

# The Cynic View of Politics (#3)

## ◆ The origins of cynism in politics: making politics

- Experience
  - ✓ Corruption,
  - ✓ Hackneyed debates and formulae (populism)
  - ✓ Totalitarianism all over the world in the history.



*"Politics is supposed to be the second oldest profession. I have come to realize that it bears a very close resemblance to the first."*

Ronald Reagan,  
actor and the 40th president of the US



*"I have come to the conclusion that politics are too serious a matter to be left to the politicians."*

Charles De Gaulle,  
French general and politician

## ◆ Max Weber: Politics as a Vocation (1919)

- Key question: how to assess politics as action?
  - ✓ Which is more important?

**Goal & Means together:  
The ethics of responsibility**

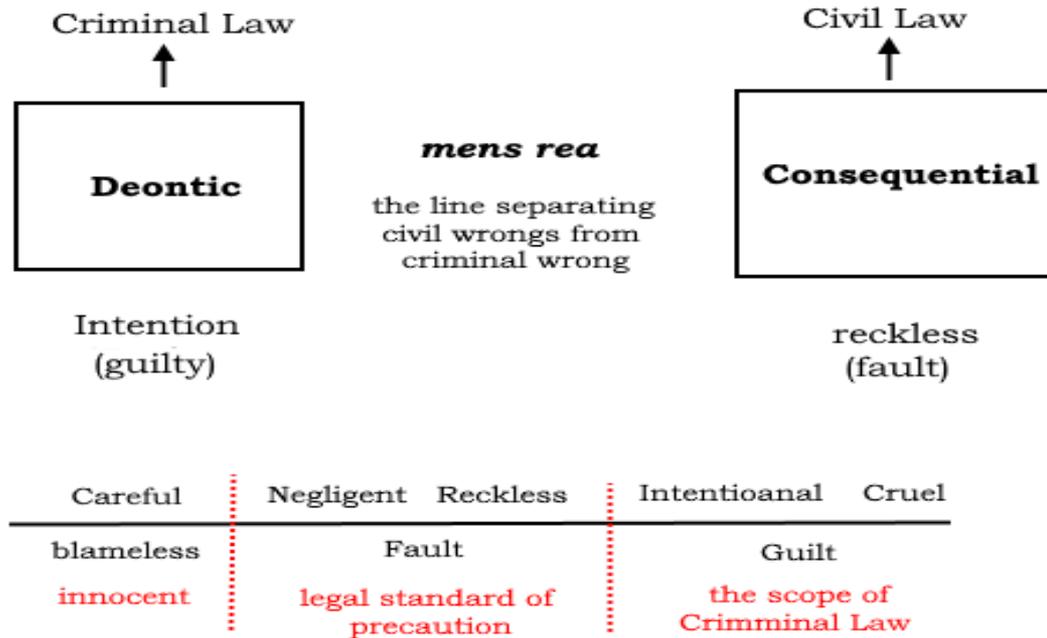


- Why did politicians make an action (***the ethics of ultimate end***),
- Or what was the result/consequences/ of their actions (***the ethics of consequentialism***)?



# Supplametary: Weber's Ethics of Responsibility

## ◆ Max Weber: Politics as a Vocation (1919)



- Key question: how to assess politics as action?

✓ Which is more important?

**Goal & Means together:**  
**The ethics of responsibility**



- Why did politicians make an action (***the ethics of ultimate end***),
- Or what was the result/consequences/ of their actions (***the ethics of consequentialism***)?



# Goals & Means in Political Actions

## • Politics as a Vocation

**Prophet:** —→  
His vocation is  
to set up goals  
**Responsible for  
Visions (Goals)**

**Politicians:** ←—  
**They are responsible for  
Goals & Means together**  
It cannot be separated  
from each other

**Bureaucrats/Military Generals:**  
Their job is to work out the goals  
getting from others  
**Responsible for the result of job (Means)**

*"The winner takes it all  
The loser standing small  
Beside the victory  
That's her destiny"*

(ABBA, the Swedish PoP band)

## ◆ Illustrative Example: Military Actions in WW2

- In WW2 both sides (the Allies vs. Nazi Germany/Imperial Japan) took military actions with a huge number of civil victims.
  - ✓ International Military Tribunals (Nuremberg Trial and Tokyo Trial) were set up for investigating only the war-criminals of Nazis and Japanese.
- Means & Actions together matter for making a verdict about the responsibility scope of political actions.
  - ✓ Though there were dubious military actions (e.g., the bombing of Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki) from the side of the Allies during the war, but their goals were undoubtedly different from the other side:
    - The Nazis/Japanese wanted to conquer the territories of Europe/ Far East in an aggressive (fanatic) way.
    - The Allies goal was to liberate the peoples of these territories.



**Nuremberg Trial, 1945-46**



**Tokyo Trial, 1946**

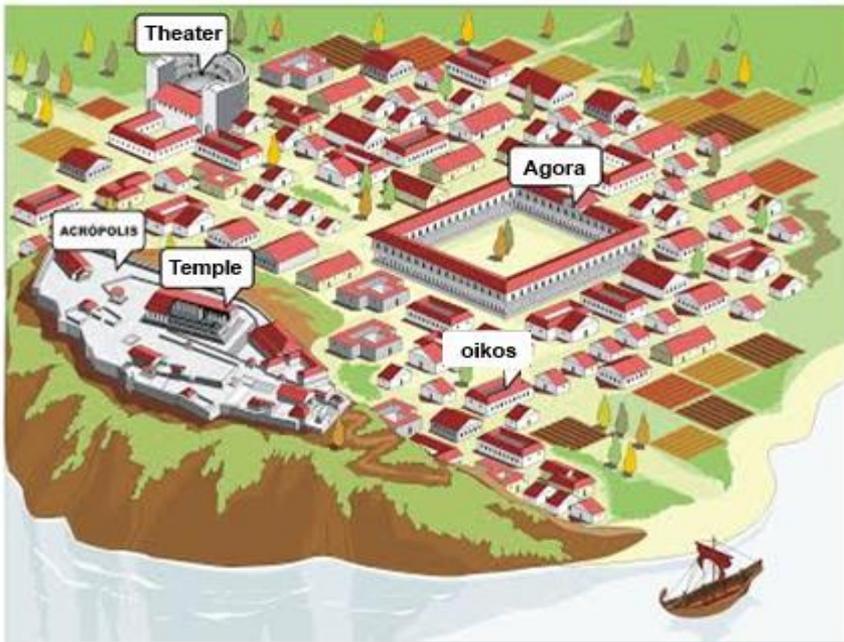
## *Other Definitions of Politics*

# Politics as Public Affairs

◆ A second and broader conception of politics moves it beyond the narrow realm of government to what is thought of as "public life" or "public affairs".

➤ The distinction between the "political" and the "non-political" coincides with the division between an essentially public sphere of life and what can be thought of as a private sphere.

## ◆ The Classic Idea



### Oikos

"Household"

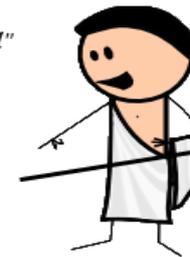
**idion**  
("private")

### Agora

Public open space used for assemblies & market

- Free man  
- Interactions and public debate on common issues

**koinon**  
("public, common")

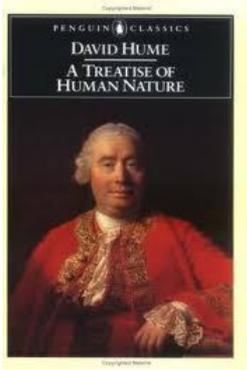


- In his classic book, *Politics* (4th century BC), Aristotle declared that "man is by nature a political animal," (*Zōon Politikon*) by which he meant that only within a political community that human beings can live the "good life".
- From this viewpoint, politics is an ethical activity concerned with creating a "just society."

# Politics as Public Affairs

## ◆ The Modern Ideas

### • *David Hume:*



### Private sphere

- ✓ The realm of moral incentives
- ✓ Regulated by moral (moral norm)

### Public sphere

- ✓ The realm of rational self-interest
- ✓ Regulated by the norms of law

### • *Immanuel Kant:*

#### Kant's two treatises

#1 Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose (1784)

#2 An answer to the question: What is Enlightenment? (1784)

- The distinction between morals and reason is not so "tough" as it appears in Hume's idea.



Synchronization rests on the course of enlightenment, i.e., the result of accomplishments of modernization

- The precondition of this synchronization process is
  - ✓ an idea of *perfect civic constitution*<sup>#1</sup>;
  - ✓ a critical public sphere<sup>#2</sup>. → There are no fixed borderlines between private and public sphere.

# Politics as Public Affairs

- One possible view:

*"public"* ≈ they are responsible for the collective organization of community life.

<b>PUBLIC</b>	<b>PRIVATE</b>
The Institutions of STATE The apparatus of government, the courts, the police, the army	CIVIL SOCIETY: Autonomous bodies – families, private businesses, trade unions, clubs

- Although civil society can be distinguished from the state, it nevertheless contains a range of institutions that are thought of as "public" in the wider sense that they are open institutions, operating in public, to which the public has access.
- A more sophisticated distinction between public and private is the "political" and the "personal."

- An alternative view:

Politics effectively stops at the front door; it does not take place in the family, in domestic life, or in personal relationships.

<b>PUBLIC</b>	<b>PRIVATE</b>
PUBLIC REALM: politics, commerce, work, art culture, etc.	PRIVATE REALM: family and domestic life - the "personal" way of life

- However, there are living contemporary debates about the status of the "personal."



# Case Study: Secularism and Public Life

- **What do we mean by secularism exactly?**

- **Secularism** is a normative doctrine which seeks to realize a secular society that promotes freedom and equality between, as well as within, religions.

- **How should a state prevent domination by any religious group?**

- **Non-Theocratic State:** a state must not be run by the heads of any particular religion (counter-examples: Vatican, Iran).
- Nevertheless, **many states** which are non-theocratic continue to **have a close alliance with a particular religion** (e.g.: England – Anglican State; Denmark – Lutheran Church; Greece – Eastern Orthodox Church; Pakistan – Sunni Islam).
- A secular state must be committed to principles and goals which are at least partly derived from non-religious sources. (These ends should include peace, religious freedom, freedom from religiously grounded oppressions, discrimination and exclusions).
- However, the nature and extent of separation may take different forms, depending upon several traditional, historical and other cultural factors.
- A secular state may interfere in matters of religion to regulate the religious impact on public life.

I want freedom of public institutions from the influence of the Catholic Church and any other religious movements

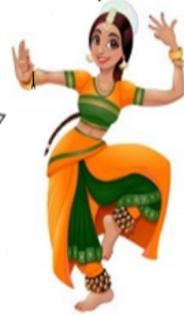


Do you remember the heated debate in France over the French government's decision to ban the usage of religious markers like turbans and veils in educational institutions?

Yes I remember. Isn't it strange that both India and France are secular, but in India there is no prohibition on wearing or displaying such religious markers in public institutions.

That is because the ideal of secularism envisaged in India is different from that of France.

Religious impacts on the way of life. What I oppose is the communalism of all kinds



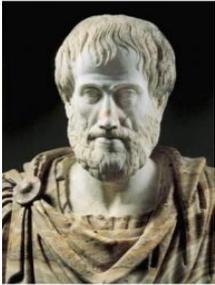
## **Kemal Ataturk's reforms in Turkey**

- ✓ The Fez (a traditional cap worn by Muslims), was banned by the Hat Law.
- ✓ Western clothing was encouraged for men and women.
- ✓ The Western (Gregorian) calendar replaced the traditional Turkish calendar.
- ✓ In 1928, the new Turkish alphabet (in a modified Latin form) was adopted.

# Politics as Common Good

- **The Common Good:**

1. **The "old" concept of the common good:**



The idea of common goods is formulated as some kind of goal even before becoming a community.

*"Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good."*

*Aristotle, Book I*

**Aristotle:** the main types of political arrangements differ according to whether governments seek to promote the common good or their own individual good.

	The One	The Few	The Many
For the Common Interest	Monarchy	Aristocracy	Polity
For the Interest of the Ruler(s)	Tyranny	Oligarchy	Democracy

❖ **Keep up Order:** The common good means the conditions that enable cooperation with others.

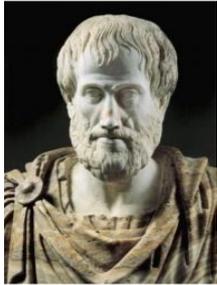
❑ Conditions:

- ✓ The peace and order of the community,
- ✓ Defense against internal attempts to break the order and external attacks.

# Politics as Common Good

- **The Common Good:**

1. **The "old" concept of the common good:**



- ❖ **Justice:** The concept of public good also refers to certain characteristics of the desirable order.
  - ❑ Community members ought to share certain values that direct their efforts towards a specific goal or goals.
  - ❑ The concept of justice, in ancient Greek *δικαιοσύνη* ("dikaios") has two meanings (*Nicomachen Ethics*, 1123a-1125a):
    1. "Justice" in the general sense - "that which is according to the law" (lat. "legalitas")
    2. Partial "justice" -- "that which is fair and equal" (lat. "egalitas").

- ❑ **Illustration: Sharing game**

Let's say a certain "cake" has to be distributed among the members of a community. How can we do this fairly?

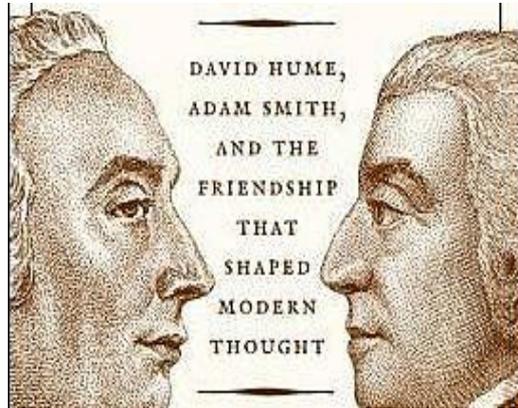
1. In the spirit of "legalitas," we need rules (written or unwritten).
2. In the spirit of "egalitas," the result of the distribution matters, i.e., the one who gets less says: "It's not fair!".



# Politics as Common Good

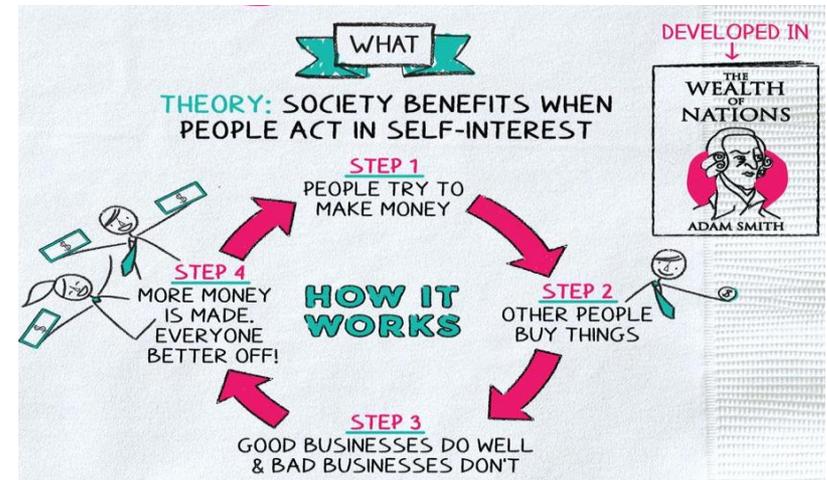
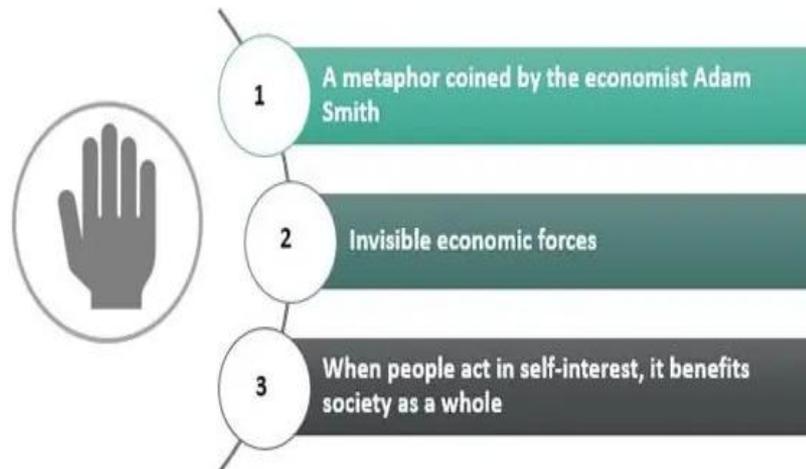
- **The Common Good:**

## 2. The "modern" concept of the common good:



*The idol of the old concept:* it is man's duty to promote the common good as the highest good, even by sacrificing his individual good (the individual might as well sacrifice his life).

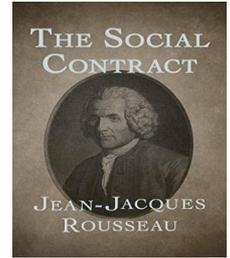
*David Hume, Adam Smith:* The common good is created during the spontaneous cooperation of people, and the "invisible hand" coordinates the efforts to achieve the individual good.



# New Concepts for the Common Good

## 1. General Will:

- ❑ The process of civilisation makes people wrong gradually.
- ❑ The only way of avoiding this is to follow the spirit of "general will," which is always good.
- ❑ General will a collectively held will that aims at the common.



## 2. Liberal Tradition 1: Human Rights

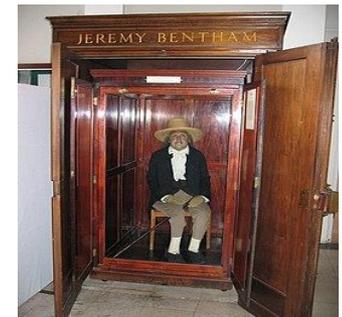
- ❑ The "architect" of the public good can be wrong and even abuse his position.
- ❑ There can be situations where the individual has to be protected by legal means against his own community and its legal state. → Jacobin Dictatorship.
- ❑ Guiding moral doctrine: Kant's deontic ethics

John Locke,  
Father of  
Classical  
Liberalism.  
The Equal  
Right to Life,  
Liberty, and  
Property.



## 3. Liberal Tradition 2: Public goods & utilitarianism

- ❑ Guiding moral doctrine: Psychological Egoism
- ❑ Aim: To create the environment under which efficient leadership can satisfy the public good.
- ❑ *Greatest happiness principle*: right and wrong are to be judged by the degree to which the action judged achieves the greatest happiness of the greatest number.



# On Human Rights in Nutshell

- **The common basis of liberal views:** *Belief in universal human rights, that all people are worthy of respect (Kant).*

**Universality:** "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" (by Thomas Jefferson in the American Declaration of Independence, 1776)

**Crux:** There have been very deep divisions about what rights human beings should enjoy.

Thinking about the content of human rights has developed significantly over time, enabling three different types, or **three generations of human rights** to be identified:

Generation	Type	Key theme	Rights	Key documents
First generation (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries)	Civic and political rights	Liberty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Life, liberty and property</li><li>• Non-discrimination</li><li>• Freedom from arbitrary arrest</li><li>• Freedom of thought</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• UN Declaration, Articles 3 to 21</li><li>• International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</li></ul>
Second generation (twentieth century)	Economic, social and cultural rights	Equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Work</li><li>• Social security</li><li>• Healthcare</li><li>• Education</li><li>• Paid holidays</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• UN Declaration Articles 22 to 27</li><li>• International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</li></ul>
Third generation (post-1945)	Solidarity rights	Fraternity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Self-determination</li><li>• Peace</li><li>• Development</li><li>• Environmental protection</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Stockholm Convention on the Human Environment, 1972</li><li>• Rio 'Earth Summit', 1992</li></ul>

# Modern Theories of Justice in Brief

- ❑ **No political theory can avoid drawing on different ideas of the good.**
  - The question is under what constraints can it do so to respect the limits of political correctness?
  
- ❑ **Discussion point 1:** *How do they argue for the moral basis of these rights?*
  1. **Natural law**, which focuses on the idea of the correct order of society, *ius naturale*, which corresponds to the rules in accordance with the natural requirements of living conditions (in Roman legal terms, *ius gentium*: these are common and recognizable in the law of different peoples).
  2. **Efficiency utilitarianism** that emphasizes the economic efficiency and its social role in enhancing well-being.
  3. **Contract theory**: political rights and obligations are justified and their limits are defined through a "social contract".
  4. **Deliberation**: while accepting the liberal demand for freedom of choice, they deny the possibility of its universalization because it is derived from a collective act that cannot be separated from space and time.
  
- ❑ **Discussion point 2:** *To enforce freedom, rights and justice, how important is the reduction of social inequalities considered?*

# Politics as Public Choice

- **Politics has two important tasks to arrange:**

## 1. To provide public goods:

	<b>Non-competitive consumption</b>	<b>Competitive consumption</b>
<b>One can be excluded from consumption</b>	<b>Club goods</b> private parks	<b>Private goods</b> parking lots, foods
<b>No one can be excluded from consumption</b>	<b>Public goods</b> roads, air, police, army	<b>The commons</b> fish stocks, fresh water

- **Private Goods** can be used in separate units → **Divisible Goods**
  - ✓ Individuals can have access to private goods by bargaining with other people.
- **Public Goods** are **inclusive**, i.e., jointly consumed.
  - ✓ Public goods are collectively desirable and are **jointly supplied** to their potential users.
  - ✓ **Must share in potential utilities and damages.**
- **The Commons** are natural resources that communities manage for individual and collective benefit.
  - ✓ These resources are held in common, not owned privately.

# Politics as Public Choice

- **Politics has two important tasks to arrange:**

- 2. To create the environment under which efficient leadership can satisfy the public good**

- Each public good can be provided efficiently at a particular territorial scale.
  - ✓ Small and large political units have advantages and disadvantages.
  - ✓ The main forms of political unites are: - city, - state, - empire.
- Individuals interested in using public goods may not have incentives to contribute to their provision because they can expect not to be excluded from access. But, then, who will bear the costs?
  - ✓ Goal: To exclude the paradox of collective actions → Hierarchy
- Political decision as "final" public choice:
  - ✓ One for All: it is for "common good"
  - ✓ All in One: it aggregates/reflects to all preferences
  - ✓ All in All: authoritative → Hierarchy
- Two challenges of voting mechanisms:
  - ✓ The limits of the fair usage of "majority rule"
  - ✓ Voting systems are not "neutral" way of making choices, they are always "biased" in some way.

} A possible  
distribution of  
resources

} Voting  
Paradoxes

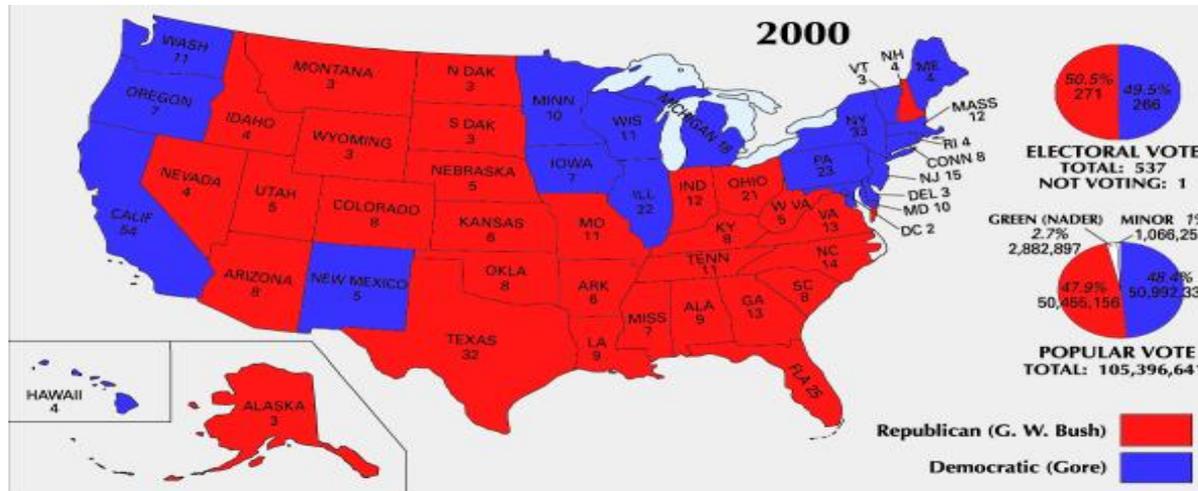
# Case Study: The U.S. Presidential Election of 2000

- **Voting Paradox:**

- ✓ The U.S. presidential election of 2000, between George W. Bush (Rep.) and Al Gore (Dem.), was one of the closest in the history.
- ✓ Though Gore came in second in the electoral vote, he received 537,179 more popular votes than Bush. Mathematically, state Florida's 25 electoral votes became the key to the election win for either candidate.

2000 Election	National vote	Electoral College	Florida vote
George W. Bush	50,455,156	271	2,912,790
Albert Gore	50,992,335	266	2,912,253
Ralph Nader	2,882,955	0	97,488

- ✓ Ralph Nader had no chance whatever to be elected, but his candidacy for Florida's 26 electoral votes alone was enough to change the outcome of the election (supposing the vast majority of Nader's votes had gone to Gore).



George W. Bush



Al Gore

# Case Study: The French Presidential Election of 2002

- **On the margins of a "stiff" election:**

- ✓ The presidential election system is regulated by the French Constitution (Article §7) as follows:

*"The President of the Republic is elected by an absolute majority of the votes. If it is not obtained in the first round of the election, a second round is held two Sundays later. The only two candidates who may present themselves, after the eventual withdrawal of more favoured candidates, are those who have the largest number of votes in the first round."*

Candidates	Parties		1st round		2nd round	
			Votes	%	Votes	%
Jacques Chirac	Rally for the Republic	RPR	5,665,855	19.88%	25,537,956	82.21%
Jean-Marie Le Pen	National Front	FN	4,804,713	16.86%	5,525,032	17.79%
Lionel Jospin	Socialist Party	PS	4,610,113	16.18%		
François Bayrou	Union for French Democracy	UDF	1,949,170	6.84%		
Arlette Laguiller	Workers' Struggle	LO	1,630,045	5.72%		
Jean-Pierre Chevènement	Citizens' Movement	MDC	1,518,528	5.33%		
Noël Mamère	The Greens	VEC	1,495,724	5.25%		
Olivier Besancenot	Revolutionary Communist League	LCR	1,210,562	4.25%		
Jean Saint-Josse	Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Traditions	CPNT	1,204,689	4.23%		
Alain Madelin	Liberal Democracy	DL	1,113,484	3.91%		



Jacques Chirac



Jean-Marie Le Pen

- ✓ In 2002 France fully expected a runoff between

- Jacques Chirac, the incumbent President of the Republic and the candidate of the RPR, the big party of the "moderate" right;
      - and Lionel Jospin, the incumbent PM and the leading representative of the left-wing.

- ✓ But, as left-wing votes were dispersed among a number of candidates, a third contender, the extreme right leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen unexpectedly obtained slightly more than Jospin in the first round of the election.

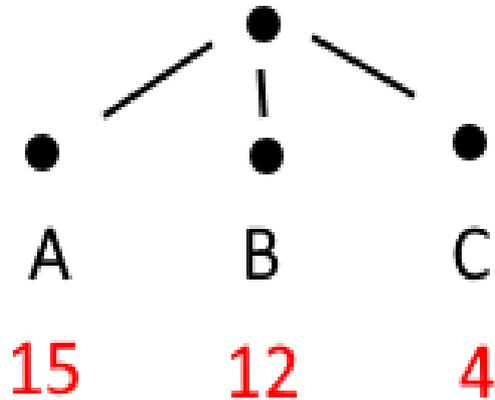
- ✓ In two weeks later, in the second round, Chirac crushed Le Pen, obtaining 82.2% of the votes, but the vast majority of Chirac's votes were against Le Pen rather than for him. The leftist voters had no choice but to vote for Chirac.

- ✓ Question: what if Le Pen would have won in the first round?

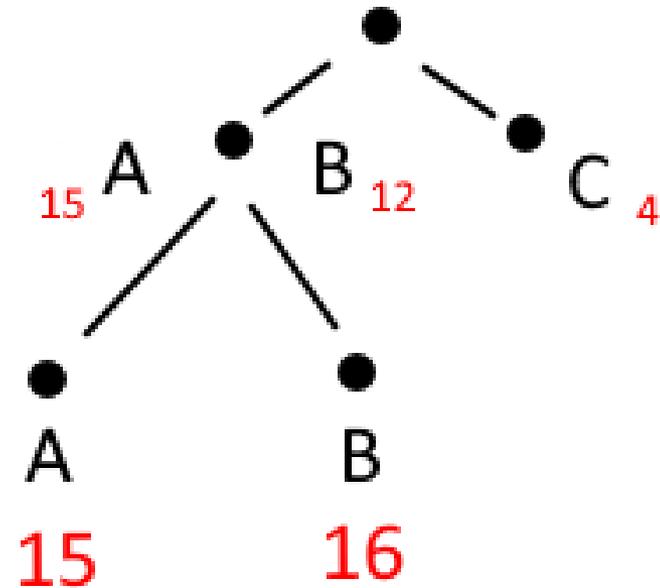
# Path Dependency

- **Different structures:**

*First-Past-The-Post (FPTP)*



*The two-round majoritarian system*



- **Path Dependency:**

- ✓ Path dependence is when the decisions presented to people are dependent on prior decisions or experiences made in the past.
- ✓ Political Institutions are not "from the vacuum." → History really matters in the investigations of the institutions.

# Politics as Power

## ◆ Politics & Power are inevitable agents of social life



### ***”Power is the currency of politics”***

- ✓ ”Just as money permits the efficient flow of goods and services through an economy, so power enables collective decisions to be made and enforced.”

(Hague-Harrop: Comparative Politics and Government, 2001)

### ***Power is a collective resource: the more powerful the government, the more it can achieve its goal***

- ✓ ”Power is the capacity of a government to draw on the obligations of its citizens so as to achieve collective purposes such as law and order and protection of the environment.”

(Talcott Parsons: On the Concept of Political Power, 1967)

### ***Power is equated with influence***

- ✓ “A has power over B if A can get B to do something B would not do.”

(Robert Dahl: The Concept of Power, 1957)

### ***”Politics is not just the ability to act but the ability to act in concert”***

- ✓ ” [...] power and violence are opposites; where the one rules, the other is absent. Violence can destroy power; it is utterly incapable of creating it.”

(Hannah Arendt: The Origins of Totalitarianism, 1951)

### ***Supplying the framework within which an issue is approached is a potent form of power***

- ✓ “Power produces knowledge and knowledge produces power.” ”Power produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth.”

(Michel Foucault, 1975 )

## *Human Nature & Politics*

# Images of Human Identity: Atomic Self (#1)

## ◆ Atomic Self

### ● René Descartes (1641):

➤ The beginning of modern philosophy: **Sceptic method** → **Individualism**

- ✓ The real me exists within myself. I, by myself, can discover this real me by withdrawing or separating from others.

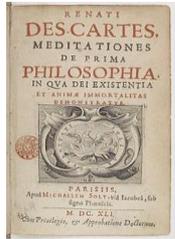
*"It was absolutely necessary that I, who thus thought, should be somewhat; and as I observed that this truth, **I think, therefore I am (cogito ergo sum)**, was so certain and of such evidence that no ground of doubt, however extravagant, could be alleged by the sceptics capable of shaking it. I concluded that I might accept it as the first principle of the philosophy of which I was in search."*

### ● Immanuel Kant (1788):

➤ If Descartes is right in that I can be the judge of what the truth about me is, then **the real self has the ability to choose for oneself the moral laws and moral principles** by which one will live one's life.

➤ **There are two characteristic moral doctrines:**

- Psychological egoism → Utilitarianism
- Categorical Imperative → Kantianism



The Hunger Games



Inglorious Basterds

# Images of Human Identity: Atomic Self (#2)

## ◆ Atomic Self

### ● Utilitarianism (Bentham (1789)):

- Human actions are driven by the impulses of feelings of happiness and pain.
- The usefulness of the individual's action is evaluated based on a benefit-cost (damage) calculation by considering the consequences.
- The goal at social level: The greatest utility for the greatest number of people.

### ● Moral dilemma from the spirit of Utilitarianism:

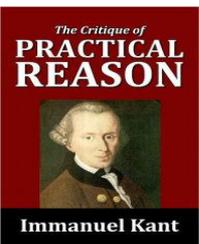
- ✓ *The Hunger Games Story*: Is it allowed to organise a survival show where players kill each other for the entertainment of the people (viewers)?
- ✓ *Guantanamo Bay Detention camp (2002)*: Can detention and torture be justified by saving many lives while restricting the basic rights of innocent (not yet convicted) prisoners?

### ● Immanuel Kant (1788):

- Kant formulated his moral law as a *categorical imperative*, which is rested on reciprocity and justice, and it says:

„Act so that you always treat people as ends in themselves, and never merely use them as means.” → **A Respect for Human Dignity**

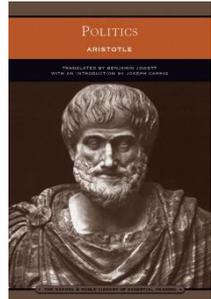
- Social Contract: Fictive, hypothetical rested solely on consensus. It is a reference framework to which we ought to turn in case of social debate → **The "Spirit of Constitutionalism."** (Modern reformulation → **John Rawls: The Theory of Justice**)



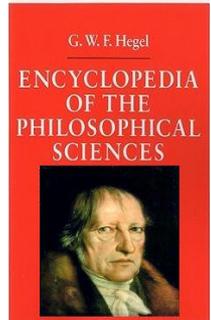
# Images of Human Identity: Relation Self

## ◆ Relational Self

- **Aristotle (4th century BC):** Humans are “social animals” (*Zōon Politikon*) who are not self-sufficient to build his own identity.
- **Georg Hegel (1817)** claims that everyone struggles to get from others the recognition each needs to be independent and free.
  - ” *The struggle of the self is essentially a struggle for freedom. Historically, this struggle is the basis of the rise of masters and slaves.*”
  - ✓ Hegel denied the principle of autonomous person, arguing that who one is depends on one’s relationships with others and that we can know we are free and independent only if others recognize us as such.
- **Modern reformulation → Stanford Prison Experiment (1973)**
  - ✓ **Aim:** To investigate how readily people would conform to the roles of guard and prisoner in a role-playing exercise that simulated prison life.
  - ✓ **Philip Zimbardo’s main concern:** whether the brutality reported among guards in American prisons was due to the sadistic personalities of the guards (atomic self) or had more to do with the prison environment (relational self).
  - ✓ **Findings:** Within a very short time both guards and prisoners, regardless of their dispositions, were settling into their new roles.



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# Images of Human Identity: Summary

## ◆ Who is right, then?



- **The Atomic-Self conception:**

- ✓ In today's modern, liberal society, expectations work in the spirit of the principle of autonomous person. We hear the constant refrains:

*“Think for yourself and don't just follow the crowd”, or*

*“Take responsibility for yourself and don't blame others for what you are.”*

- **The Relational-Self conception:**

- ✓ The real me is not there inside, independent of others and waiting to be discovered. The real me is something that is created from my relationships with others and with my culture.
  - The people I love and care for, the people who are important to me, the people whose opinions I trust, and the ideas and beliefs of my culture all make me who I am.



## IMAGES OF HUMAN IDENTITY



### ATOMIC-SELF

- Autonomous person:
  - ✓ Human Dignity
  - ✓ Responsibility
- Crux: to avoid a vision of atomistic society

### RELATIONAL-SELF

- All we are from our relationships with others and the other's recognitions
- Crux: how to interpret the inner reflections of the individual to the environment (e.g. responsibility)

- **The two conceptions are complement, and both are only partially true:**

- ✓ If you are relational self, and so who and what you are depends on others, then you are not responsible for what you are. Neither are you responsible for what you do. But surely that is not right. Surely, in some way and to some extent, you are responsible for who you have become and what you do.

# Case Study: Identity and Citizenship (#1)

- **Charles Taylor: The Politics of Recognition**

- ✓ The binary of Self:

Inner reflection → Identity ← Recognition from "significant others."

*"We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us. Even after we outgrow some of these others—our parents, for instance—and they disappear from our lives, the conversation with them continues within us as long as we live."*

Ch. Taylor: The Politics of Recognition



- **David Miller: Citizenship and National Identity**

- ✓ Citizenship as Universal Identity

- In a plural society where fragmented identities and their conflicts are occurred, citizenship can be the common framework that keeps the diverse community together.

- **Jürgen Habermas: Constitutional Patriotism**

- ✓ The post-nationalist identity as an attachment based on values of the constitution rather than a national culture.
  - Nationalistic collective identity is no longer feasible in a globalized modern world: citizenship as a loyalty goes beyond individuals' ethnocultural identification.

# Case Study: Identity and Citizenship (#2)

- **Jürgen Habermas: Constitutional Patriotism**

- ✓ Individual must become the member of the community
  - Collective identity is a result of legally approved principles that are rooted in the common political culture.
  - To maintain community, all members including aliens must accept and identify with valid political identity.



- **Disaggregated and Transnational Citizenship**

- ✓ How can the aliens' legal status be recognised?
  - No recognition may often lead to the violation of human rights.
- ✓ Disaggregated Citizenship
  - Democratic community is not static, and to reflect to the challenges of migration and other ecological-social agents, it can "recreate" itself with constitutional instruments, and can extend the borders of the community's membership.
- ✓ Transnational Citizenship
  - The question for the future of citizenship is whether a "global" citizenship can surpass national citizenships defined by "local" stages on the basis of blood and birth through an act of the state itself.

**When in Rome, do as the Romans do (Idiom)**  
"If you should be in Rome, live in the Roman manner"  
(St. Ambrose)

# Anthropological Optimism and Pessimism

- **"Is the glass half empty or half full?"**

- ✓ It is a proverbial phrase to indicate that a particular situation could be a cause for **optimism** (half full) or **pessimism** (half empty).

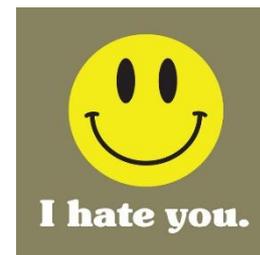


- **Anthropological Optimism**

- ✓ The belief in moral goodness of people and boundless understanding of theirs.

- **Anthropological Pessimism**

- ✓ The belief that humans are imperfect being with malicious disposition including hate, violence, egoism, and greed. Malice is a part of human nature as much as goodness, and these characters of people are not the consequences of imperfect political institutions.



- **"Anthropological Scale" in Socials:**



# Case Study: Shakespeare's view

Source:

Romeo and Juliet. Scene 02, Verona  
(French musical adaptation, 2001)

Le Prince:

Vous qui croyez avoir tout vu  
Vous qui avez voyagé, qui avez lu  
Que plus rien jamais n'étonne  
Bienvenue à Vérone

**Vous qui trouvez que l'homme est bon**  
Parce qu'il sait faire de belles chansons  
Si vous trouvez que celle-ci est bonne  
Bienvenue à Vérone

Bien sûr ici, c'est comme ailleurs  
**Les hommes ne sont ni pires ni meilleurs**  
Eh! vous qui venez chez nous ce soir  
Par erreur ou par hasard  
Vous êtes à Vérone, la belle Vérone

**La ville où tout le monde se déteste**  
On voudrait partir mais on reste  
Ici c'est pas l'amour des rois  
**Ici deux familles font la loi**  
**Pas besoin de choisir ton camp**  
**On l'a fait pour toi y a longtemps**  
Vous êtes à Vérone, on parle de Vérone.

Ici le venin de la haine coule dans nos vies  
Comme dans nos veines  
**Bien sûr nos jardins sont fleuris**  
**Bien sûr nos femmes sont belles et puis**  
**C'est comme un paradis sur terre**  
**Mais nos âmes elles sont en enfer**  
Vous êtes à Vérone

## HUMAN NATURE:

**Full of passion including**

- Love – tendency to be good
- Hate and struggle – tend to be bad



**The NATURE of POLITICS:**  
**Turbulence & Discord**

- "Dog eat dog" life
- Dynastic wars (1564-1616)

Think about other Shakespeare's plays, too, such as Hamlet, King Lear, Richard III

The prince:

You who believe you have seen everything  
You who have travelled, who have read  
That nothing more ever surprises  
Welcome to Verona

**You who think that man is good**  
Because he knows how to make beautiful songs  
If you think that this one is good  
Welcome to Verona

Certainly here as elsewhere you are  
**Men are neither worse nor better**  
Eh! you who come to us tonight  
By mistake or by chance  
You are in Verona, the beautiful Verona

**The city where everyone hates each other**  
They'd leave but they'd rather stay  
Here it is not the love of kings  
**Here two families make the law**  
**No need to choose your camp**  
**They've made it for you a long time ago**  
You are in Verona, we speak about Verona

Here it's the venom of hate flows in our lives  
Like in our veins  
**Of course, our gardens are full of flowers**  
**Of course our women are beautiful and then**  
**It's like paradise on earth**  
**But our souls are in hell**  
You are in Verona

# Anthropological Optimism and Pessimism in IR

- **Anthropological Pessimism**

- **Anthropological Optimism**

REALISM	LIBERALISM
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Human nature is Egoist</b></li> <li>✓ <b>Man is not by nature a social animal, society could not exist except by the power of the state.</b></li> <li>✓ <b>IR is in anarchy in which states compete for power and security.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Egoistic but ready to cooperate</b></li> <li>✓ <b>Man is by nature a social animal.</b></li> <li>✓ <b>In IR states want progress and prosperity → A commitment to liberal values</b></li> </ul>
<b>Security issues</b>	<b>Freedom</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Power politics;</b></li> <li>✓ <b>Conflicts between states;</b></li> <li>✓ <b>The conditions of War.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Cooperation;</b></li> <li>✓ <b>Universal rights and institutions;</b></li> <li>✓ <b>The conditions of peace</b></li> </ul>
<p><b>Main Instruments, Policy:</b>  <b>Military and economic power →</b>  <b>Sceptical about international Organizations.</b></p>	<p><b>Main Instruments, Policy:</b>  <b>Networks of interdependences →</b>  <b>International organizations are a reflection to interdependences in the international system.</b></p>

# Optimistic vs. Pessimistic views on Human Nature

## Hobbesian picture (1651):

### ORIGINAL STATE

The state of Nature

(anarchism)

### SOCIAL CONTRACT



### SOCIAL STATE

(social order)

**Goal:** to keep up social order vs. anarchism in original state where there is “continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.”



**Psychological egoism:** Individual Egoism → Social Egoism → International Egoism

**at International Level:** → Security issues

(Power politics; Conflicts between states; Conditions of war)

## Locke (1689):

### ORIGINAL STATE

(free and equal persons)

### SOCIAL CONTRACT

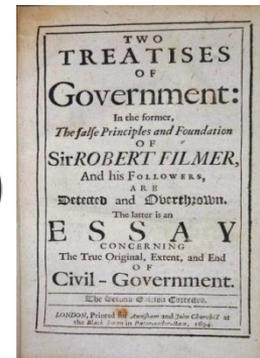


### SOCIAL STATE

(citizens under rules of law)

**at International Level:** → Regulations for Freedom

(Cooperation; Universal rights and institutions; Conditions of peace)

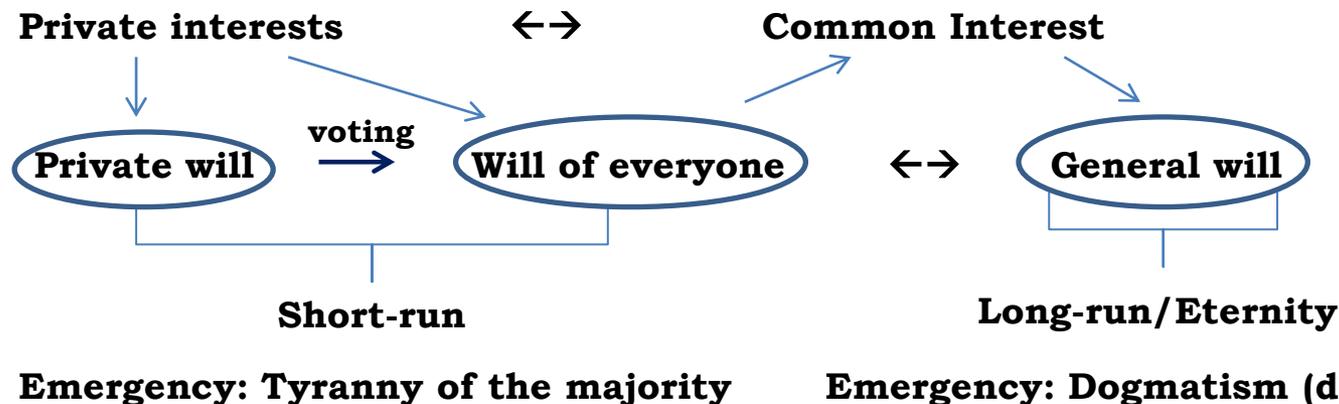
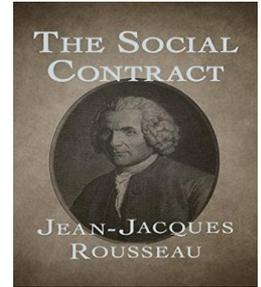




# Critical Perspective: Rousseau

## An alternative to Hobbes: Jean-Jacques Rousseau

- ❑ According to Rousseau, it is precisely the social state that can be characterized in the way that Hobbes characterized the state of nature.
  - ✓ The process of civilisation makes people wrong gradually.
- ❑ We have a complex set of clashes between different wills.



*"There is often a difference between the will of everyone ("volonté de tous") and the general will ("volonté général"); the latter is concerned only with the common interest, while the former is concerned with private interests, and is the sum total of individual wants: but if you take away from these desires their excesses and insufficiencies, the common element remaining from the different desires is the general will."*

*(J.-J. Rousseau: The Social Contract or the Principles of Political Right, Chapter 3, Book II)*

# Critical Perspective: Burke

## An alternative to Locke: Edmund Burke

- ❑ Burke: it is not true that people initially have rights as it is presupposed in Locke's social contract theory (Locke says: In the state of nature, men had all the rights which nature could give them.)



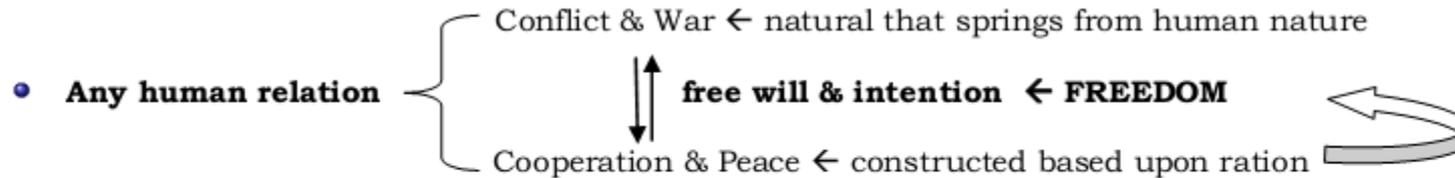
Reflections on the  
Revolution in France  
Edmund Burke



- ❑ *Rights are not metaphysical entities arising from the existence of humans, but privileges granted to us by others.*
  - ✓ The rights for a person to have rights are only given in a community, which are not provided at birth but are judged based on the actions of the person.
  - ✓ According to Burke, there is no abstract individual, so it cannot have abstract, universal rights independent of all circumstances.
    - No rights are attached to individuals, they can only be interpreted in terms of the individual's relationship with others. Burke says that he knows the rights of the Englishman, but he knows nothing about the rights of man.
    - "All people are born free and equal in their dignity and rights" is just cheap talk if these are not guaranteed by the community of which we are members.

# Case Study: The Kantian Vision (#1)

## ◆ KANT's View on Peace and Security:



## • A specific psychological egoism resting on

- ✓ State level: citizens-citizens → Republic constitution
- ✓ International level: states-states → The Right/Law of Nations
- ✓ Global (World) level: citizens-states → Cosmopolitan Right/Law

## • The basic unit of the Kantian analysis: State.

- Anarchic and conflictive international environment but it is possible to guarantee long-run cooperations between states, and so to ease international anarchy.

## ◆ The Presumptions of keeping up Perpetual Peace

- ✓ **Six Preliminary Articles** describe the steps that should be taken immediately or gradually: these articles are about to consider
  - the concept of state
  - the intentions of state actors
  - the principles of the foreign policy of states
  - their main conditions and instruments
- ✓ **Three definite Articles to the foundations of Perpetual Peace**
  - The civil constitution of every state should be republican
  - The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states
  - The law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality

## Perpetual Peace



Immanuel Kant

# Case Study: The Kantian Vision (#2)

## ◆ Republican constitutions

- ✓ To create the rule of law between people → A kind of Lockean contractualism
- ✓ States with Civil Constitution → Republicanism
- ✓ Such states (democratic political regimes) tend to be friendly with each other, they don't want to enter a war, however they need opposing and being distrustful against despotism (autocratic political regimes) as a result of the conditions of a security dilemma

## ◆ Right of Nations

- ✓ To create the rule of law between states is not possible in a way as it is done between citizens → The vision of "World State" is nonsense:
  - Lot of nations in one state would serve one nation
  - States have no right to break up their own contract over citizen-citizen relationship
  - Difficulties in keeping up individual liberties (Divine Providence served different languages, religious, cultures, etc.)
- ✓ Under anarchic international environment there can exist order that rests on the free will of the actors, that is to say, the Right of Nations:
  - There may remain conflicts between nations but at subnational level (e.g. between Flemish and Walloon but not between France and the Netherlands)
  - The Right of Nations shall be based on a federation of Free States
  - War is out of the state of war because of common moral values embodied international law and organizations



## ◆ "Ius Cosmopolitanum" (Cosmopolitan Law/Right)

- ✓ Human race as a whole is a "general human state", which is not a political organization but the community of all people
- ✓ There exists a global relationship between states and people, which creates conflict (war) between them at once however there occurs the need for easing it with regulations.
- ✓ All violations of rights in the world involve consequences at any place of the world

### → Natural Law:

As we may claim Republican Constitution in relation of citizens-citizens, and the Right of Nations in relation of states-states, we may similarly claim a general, Cosmopolitan Right in relation of citizens-states. However, this right shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality



# Human Nature – the Critical Views

**Realism:** Realists believe that actors seek power to realize their goals

**Liberalism:** Liberals believe that actors seek to attain their self-interests

**Neo-Marxists:** They believe that rich actors seek to exploit poor actors

**While both Realists and Liberals tend to believe that core aspects of human nature are unchanging and fixed at birth, critical theorists generally view human nature as „plastic“.**

## **Marx (1844):**

Though man is directly a natural being, human nature is constructed by social relations:

“Hunger is a natural need; it therefore needs a nature outside itself, an object outside itself, in order to satisfy itself, to be stilled.”

“The essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In reality, it is the ensemble of the social relations.”

**At international Level:** Focus on welfare and the allocation of goods:

- The conditions of production: “Critics of Capitalism”
- The conditions of inequality: “Class Struggle”

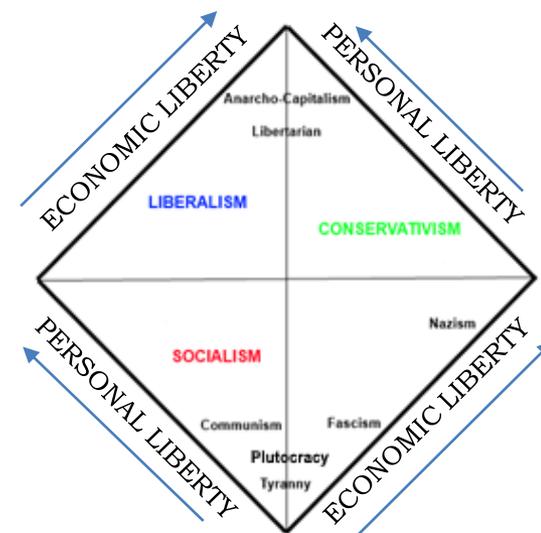


# Case Study: Political Ideologies

◆ **Political Ideology:** A more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organized political actions. All ideologies (1) offer an account of the existing order; (2) provide a model for desired future, a vision of the "Good Society"; (3) outline how political change can and should be brought up.

- ✓ At a "fundamental level", ideologies resemble political philosophy; at an "operative level" they take the form of broad political movements.

Conservatism	Liberalism	Socialism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Anthropological Pessimism &amp; Relational-Self of Identity:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Because of <b>human imperfection</b> and the <b>limitation of reason</b>, the following values of community are important:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Tradition:</b> The desire to conserve the perceived virtues of tradition, they respect for established customs, and institutions</li> <li>▪ <b>Pragmatism:</b> In the infinite complexity of the world the belief that action should be shaped by practical circumstances and practical goals rested on <b>experience and history</b></li> <li>▪ <b>Economic policy:</b> Neo-mercantilism where states are the most significant economic actors</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Anthropological Optimism &amp; Atomic-Self of Identity:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Individualism &amp; autonomy:</b> The belief that society is made up of a collection of largely autonomous individuals who owe little or nothing to on another.</li> <li>✓ <b>Freedom:</b> liberty is the core value of liberalism; it is given priority over other values such as equality, justice, or authority</li> <li>✓ <b>Toleration:</b> Liberals believe that toleration and pluralism (in the form of moral, cultural and political diversity) are both a guarantee of individual liberty and a means of social enrichment</li> <li>✓ <b>Belief in reason &amp; scientific progression</b></li> <li>• <b>Economic liberalism:</b> A belief in the market as a self-regulating mechanism tending naturally to deliver general prosperity and opportunities for all</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Anthropological Optimism &amp; Relational-Self of Identity:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ The vision of <b>human beings as social creatures</b> linked by the existence of a common humanity.</li> <li>✓ People are bound together by a sense of comradeship or <b>fraternity</b></li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Social equality:</b> Social equality, i.e., an equality of outcome as opposed to equality of opportunity, is the central value of socialism.             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ They believe that a measure of social equality is the essential guarantee of social stability and cohesion</li> <li>✓ <b>Social class:</b> Socialists have tended to analyze society in terms of the distribution of income or wealth, and they have thus seen class as a significant social cleavage.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Socialist economic policy is based on need:</b> They belief that material benefits should be distributed on the basis of need, rather than simply on the basis of merit or work.</li> </ul>



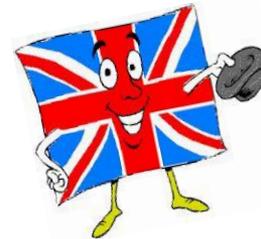
- All countries have specific 2D-Ideological field related to political culture including the party system.
- Last but not the least, party system may change from time to time, from marginal change to the alternation of its essential features.

*To Put all things together: The English School*

**ILLUSTRATION**

# The English School or International Society Theory

- The **main trouble with the “mainstream”** of IP is not to focus on human factors.
  - ✓ The realm of *IP* is not abstract category but *the realm of human relations*.
  - ✓ *States are social constructions*, and they are constituted by humans. People are who compose and operate their own state.
- **Basic Assumption:** there exists a society of states at international level, despite the condition of anarchy in IP. In broad terms, the English School is seeking a middle stream between the “power politics” (Realism) and the “idealism” (Liberalism).
- **Distinction between International System and International Society:**



- International relations represents a society of states that regulates the main actors and issues including
  - *the great powers,*
  - *diplomacy,*
  - *the balance of power,*
  - *international law in the sovereignty*

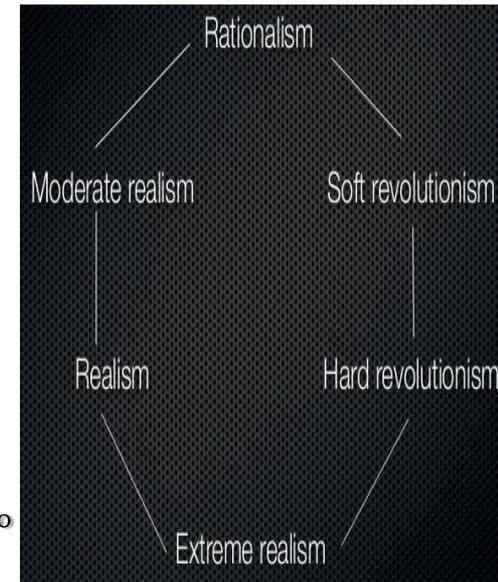
# Martin Wight: *International Theory*



## The Three Traditions:

Realism	Rationalism	Revolutionism
International anarchy	International dialogue and intercourse	'moral unity'
Controlling, disciplining factor	Civilizing, moderating factor	Energizing, 'vitalizing' factor
Machiavelli	Grotius	Kant
		
States as power agencies pursuing their own interests	States as legal organizations	Emphasis on human beings
IR is solely instrumental	IR as a rule-governed activity based on mutual recognition of sovereign states	Community of humankind

**Revolutionism:** 1) to believe in the „moral unity“ of humankind beyond the state. 2) To hold a progressive aim of changing (even eliminating) the international state system in the expectation of creating a better world.



**Rationalism:** to conceive of states as legal organizations that operate in accordance with international law and diplomatic practice

↓

**Grotian Thesis**

Believe in **anarchical society** but not so "pessimistic"

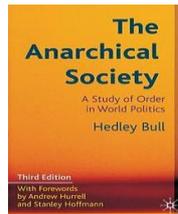
Believe in **shared norms and values** of states and how they regulate IR but not so "optimistic"

- **Extreme Realism** - "A little country doesn't count any more in the modern world. In fact, the only two countries that matter are Russia and the United States. And Russia is superior. The other countries have no real say." (Khrushchev, 1956)
- **Moderate Realism** - The UN Council is given the exclusive constitutional responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. States can join the United Nations or remain outside, but either way they have no right to refuse the commands of the Security Council which is controlled by five great powers that possess a permanent veto.
- **Hard Revolutionism** - Holy war: divide the mankind into good and bad on a criterion provided by your doctrine
- **Soft Revolutionism** - to be wedded to their ideas with tolerance, avoiding violence (non-violent non-cooperation), e.g., Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Christian pacifist: "revolution by ideas".

# Bull: The Anarchical Society

## ❖ Four emphases in IST:

- Emphasis on getting to know **the leading operative ideas**;
- Emphasis on **the dialogue between the leading ideas**;
- Emphasis on **the historical dimension of international relations**;
- **Normative aspect as seen in historical light.**



## Two Fundamental Values:

- **International Order:** a pattern or disposition of international activity that sustains the basic goals of society of states
- **International Justice:** moral rules which confer rights and duties upon states and nations (e.g. self-determination, non-intervention, human-rights)

## Responsibility

### 1. National responsibility

- **Well-being of their citizens**
- **National security**
- **Macchiavellian precepts:** always put nation and its citizens first; avoid taking unnecessary risk with their security and welfare; collaborate with other countries when it is advantageous or necessary but avoid needless entanglements (Dilemma: State is a self-contained political community that is morally prior to any international associations?)

### 2. International responsibility

- **Derived from state's membership of international society**
- **Rights and duties as defined by international law**
  - ✓ Respect other states;
  - ✓ Act in good faith;
  - ✓ Observe international law;
  - ✓ Comply with the laws of war

### 3. Humanitarian responsibility

- **Statespeople are first and foremost human beings**
  - ✓ Always remember that people in other countries are human beings just like yourself;
  - ✓ Respect human rights;
  - ✓ Give sanctuary to those who are fleeing from persecution;
  - ✓ Assist those who are in need of material aid which you can supply at no sacrifice;
  - ✓ In waging war spare non-combatants

## Order

- 1. Order in social life**
- 2. International Order:**
  - belongs to great powers
  - normative task (but great powers frequently behave in such a way to promote disorder rather than order (two world wars; Cold War in the 1970s, 80s)
  - "simple balance of power" (bipolarity) vs. "complex balance of power" (multi-polarity)
  - general balance of power (USA-USSR); local balance of power (Israel and the Arab states)
  - objective balance of power; subjective balance of power
- 3. World Order**

## Justice

- 1. Individual or Human Justice** (*Human Rights*)
- 2. International or Inter-state Justice** (*notion of equal state sovereignty*)
- 3. Cosmopolitan or World Justice** (what is right or good for the world as a whole, global environmental standards)

# Case Study: Gulf War (1990-1)

## Historical Background:

- Saddam Hussein's Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990
- Clear violation of the UN Charter
- US Congress (January 1991): 52:47



## National Responsibility:

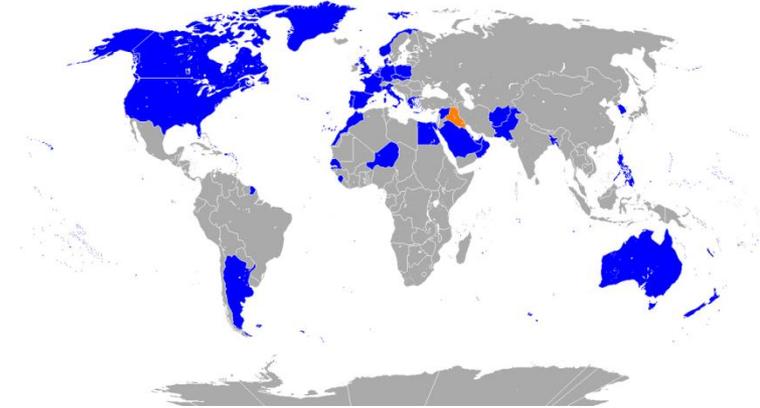
West's vital interest in an uninterrupted supply of Middle East oil

## International Responsibility:

Act of an aggression against another state and thus the violation of the UN Charter

## Humanitarian Responsibility:

Human rights violation of citizens of Kuwait, Western citizens living in Kuwait and Iraq, and against Iraqi citizens, minority groups such as the Kurds



# Case Study: Bosnian War (1992-95)

## Historical Background:

- The war was part of the Yugoslavian civil war/the breakup of Yugoslavia. It was principally a territorial conflict between Serbs, Bosniaks, and Croats, and along with that an ethnic conflict ended with ethnic cleansing during the war.
- The governments of International Society had three options to choose:
  - Absolute non-intervention policy
  - Full-scale military intervention
  - Normatively ambiguous middle way of muddling through, by means of
    - limited UN humanitarian intervention to protect non-combatants
    - deliver humanitarian aid
    - arrange a negotiated settlement
- **National Responsibility:** ← also a sort of realist position  
European governments cannot afford to get their own country, their own soldiers in an unclear conflict/war
- **Humanitarian Responsibility:** As the representatives of universal responsibility statespeople cannot afford to leave anywhere in the world to tread down the human rights and kill civilians. ← also a kind of Revolutionaism
- **International Responsibility:**
  1. In spirit of taking the golden mean, humanitarian aid together with UN peacekeepers.
  2. After the failure of the first step, an intervention policy led by the US military troops.

Moral dilemma



## *The Mainstream approaches in Political Science*

# Mainstream vs. Critical Lines

## ◆ Mainstream vs. the Critical Lines in short:

- **The Mainstream:** Efforts to understand and to explain *status quo* in politics.
- **The Critical Lines:** Attempts to criticize *status quo* in politics, and to present how to turn *status quo* inside out.

## ◆ Mainstream vs. the Critical Lines in IR:

- The anarchic nature of the International System is an almost discipline-wide assumption in IR.
  - ✓ Even if they have debates over the inducements of world politics, the mainstream schools (Realists and Liberals) justify the current world order, the Westphalian state system by claiming that people in the world benefit from the system of worlds.
  - ✓ This precept is criticized by some schools by stating the alternative-revisionist view that states and state-system are social choices and have created and produce more problems than they solve.
- So, in IR the tension between the mainstream and the critical views is explicit: it is about the ontology of World Politics, i.e., the governing principles of the Westphalian world order.



### Independent State System:

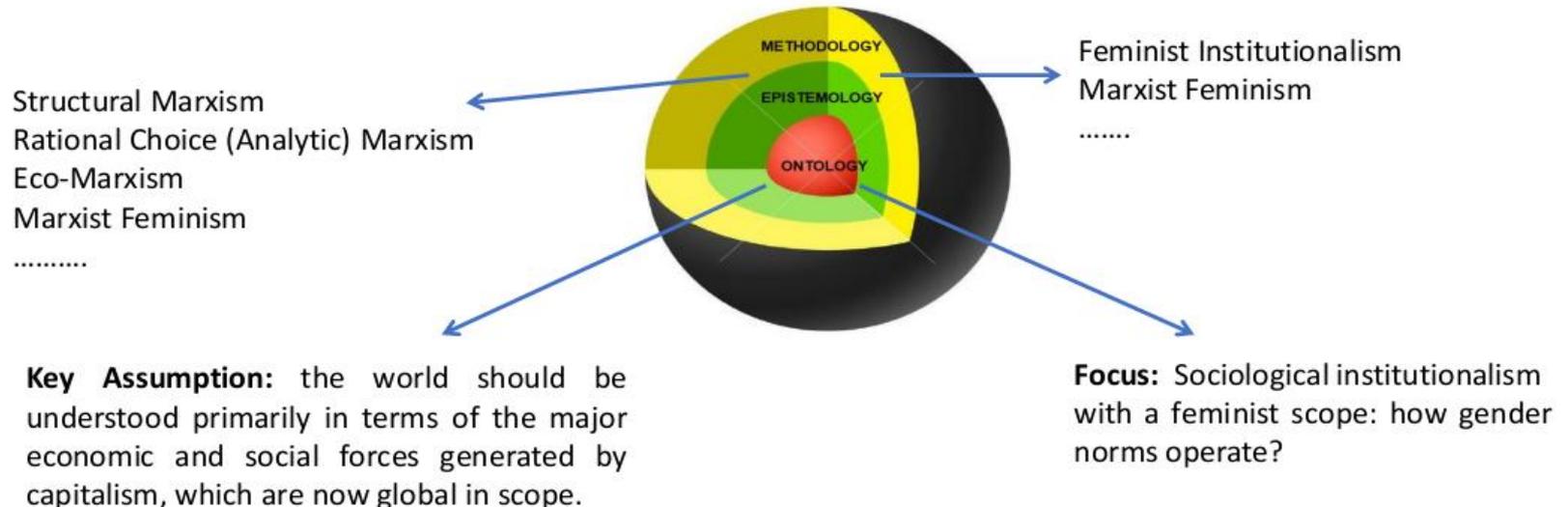
1. **Sovereignty:** Not recognize a higher authority than one's own
  2. **Territoriality:** Right to political authority over a well-defined area
  3. **Autonomy:** No external actors enjoys authority in that area
- ✓ **Secularization of IR**

In this way, we have a system of territorially organized states operating in an anarchic environment where each state has the task to keep up its own nation and to organize its defense either improving its military capacity or joining a league such as NATO.

# Mainstream vs. The Critical Lines

## ◆ The Mainstream vs. the Critical Lines in Political Science:

- In political science, this tension remains on the agenda, but it is shifted to epistemological and methodological issues.
  - ✓ The mainstream schools are here the set of techniques and methods on which the scholars most frequently base their theoretical frameworks and models, which support their arguments and investigations in political analysis.
  - ✓ Though critical views base on some elements of these techniques, they reformulate them in their own conceptual framework, which is very characteristic in that school.
  - ✓ In this regard, the scholars speak about e.g. structural Marxism or Rational choice (sometimes it is called analytic) Marxism.



# The Main "Analytical" Lines in Political Science

## ◆ The Mainstream:

- Institutionalism
  - ✓ Classic
  - ✓ Neoinstitutionalism
- Positivist-Descriptive
  - ✓ Behaviourism
  - ✓ Structural Functionalism
- Rational Choice Theory

## ◆ The Critical Lines:

- Neo-Marxism
- Feminism/Gender Study
- Green Social Study
- Postmodern
- Critical Political Theories (Populism, Biopolitics, State of Expectation)



## ◆ Odd ones out:

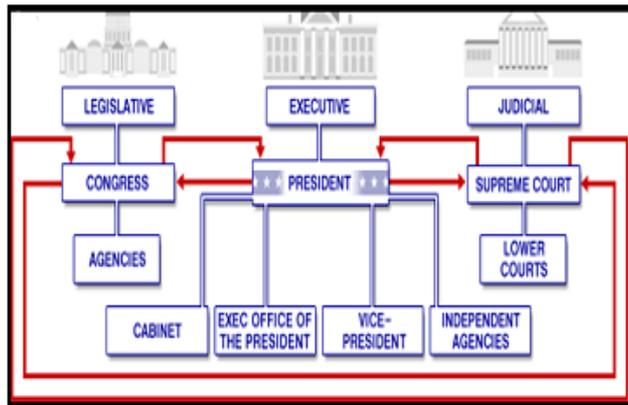
- Social Constructivism
- Post-positivist "New vawe" approaches:
  - ✓ Chaos Theory
  - ✓ Network Theory



# The Three Research Traditions in Socials

## • Research Traditions in Socials:

- Any question concerning the subject of Socials is from three directions:
  - ✓ Micro-level: Rational Choice approach
  - ✓ Macro-level: Structural (Holistic) approach
  - ✓ Mezo-level: Constructive (Cultural) approach



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# Institutionalism

## ◆ Classic Program:

- **The central role of Law:** The investigations of political institutions are concerned primarily with legal system and the rules of law.
- **Holistic:**
  - ✓ Political processes are mainly determined by structures, and out of these constitution and policy-making are extremely important
  - ✓ The political system as a whole is contrasted with one another by using comparative method.
- **Current political regimes are conceived on their historical progression**
  - ✓ Even all individual behaviours are interpreted as they are occurred in the course of history.
- **Tend to Descriptive and Normative discussions**
  - ✓ It describes and assesses political institutions, and thus is looking for the good ways of governance.

## **The Philosophical (Normative) and Empirical Tradition of Political Science:**

*"Our purpose is to consider what form of political community is best of all for those who are most able to realize their ideal in life. We must therefore examine not only this but other constitutions, both such as actually exist in well-governed states, and any theoretical forms which are held in esteem, so that what is good and useful may be brought to light."*

Aristotle: Politics (Book II)

# Positive-Descriptive Approaches

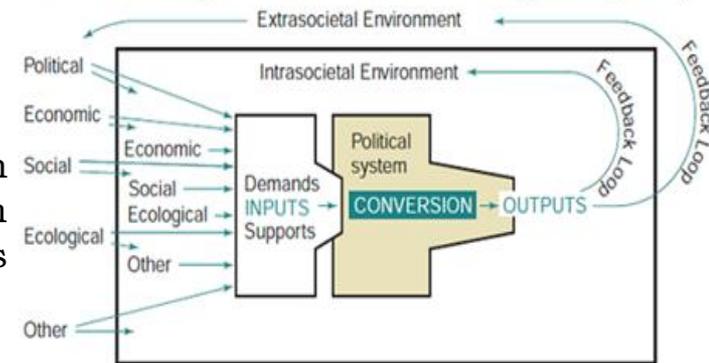
## ◆ Behavioural Revolutionism: *Institution* → *Actor*

- ✓ Individual ways of behaviour, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and effects of social environment are needed to investigate to understand politics.
- ✓ It also induced a Methodological Revolutionism: appearing new schools (System Theory, Rational Choice), research of elite, and shifts of research trends.

## ◆ System Theory (David Easton, 1965):

- ✓ **Political System** is considered as "a set of interaction";
- ✓ **Politics** as "making authoritative allocation of values."
- ✓ **Input-Output Model:** Political system absorbs inputs in the form of demands on authorities and supports from institutions and the political community, and produces outputs in the form of policies and public decisions.

Easton's conceptualization of Political System (1965)



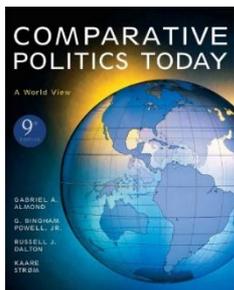
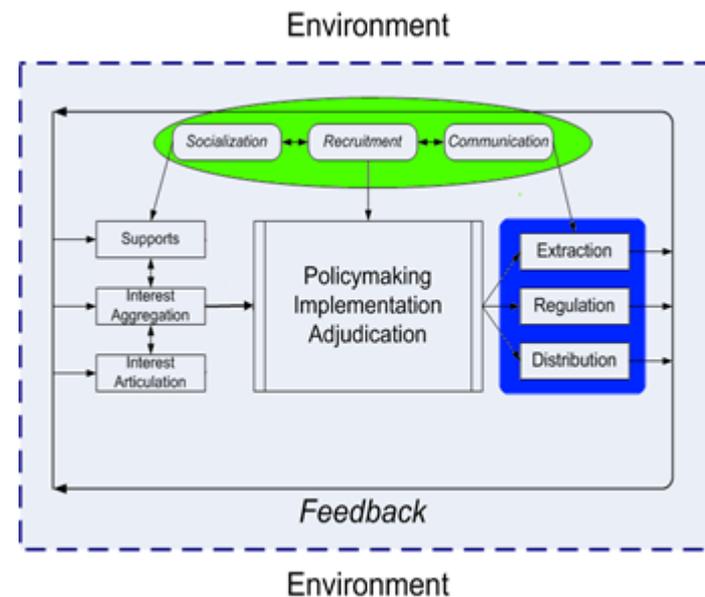
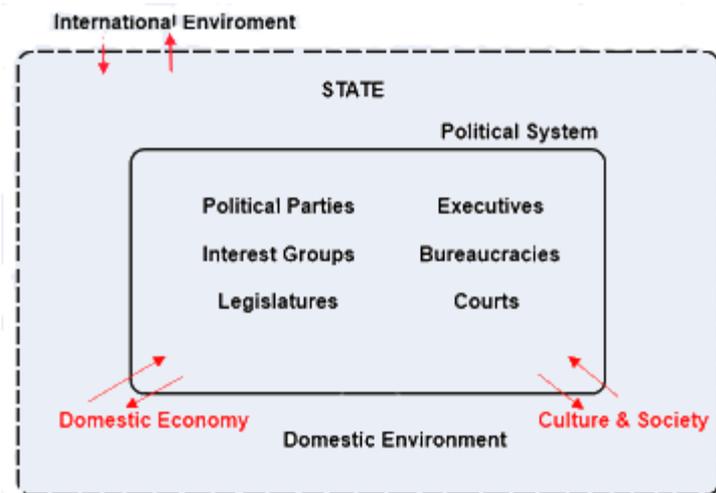
## ◆ Structural Functionalism (Gabriel Almond, 1960): for studying non-western politics

- ✓ Closely related to System Theory:
  - All political system have a structure (legitimate patterns of human interaction by which order is maintained);
  - All political structures perform many functions, though in different degrees in different systems;
  - Same functions are performed in all political systems, though with different frequencies and by different kinds of structure and in different style;
  - None are either completely "modern" or completely "primitive" cultural elements.

# Comparative Politics based upon Structural Functionalism

- **Aim:** To compare political systems of different countries.
- **CruX:** Similar structures may have very different functions across political systems.
- To utilize a structural-functional systems framework to compare political systems we need to discuss three general concepts:
  - **System:** A political system exists in both an international environment and a domestic environment.
  - **Structures** perform functions, which in turn enable the government to formulate, implement, and enforce its policies.
  - **Functions:**

- **System Functions:** They determine whether or not the system will be maintained or changed.
- **Input Functions** that are directly involved in making public policy.
- **Output Functions:** They determine the implementations of the political process.



# Rational Choice Theory as Research Program

## ◆ The Tradition and the point of Rational Choice Theory



The study always begin with individual actions. We have two types of collective actions to consider:

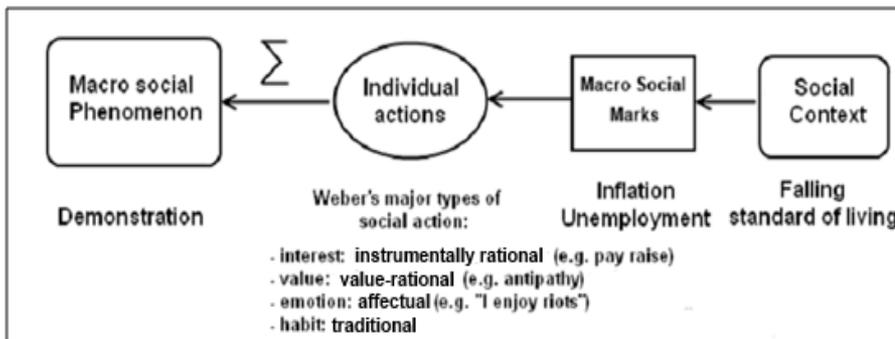
**Weberian Tradition #1** – Contingent actions (e.g. incidents): any social phenomenon is conceived as a cumulative effect of individual actions with different personal motives.

**Weberian Tradition #2** – Regular (or repeated) actions: To conceive regular actions, we should explore and interpret 1) the individual behaviours that is "adequate with respect to sense"; and 2) social mechanisms by which social actions are realised in social practice.

### Rationality:

- Human behaviour is not random;
- Human actions usually do not happen unpredictable, or self-destructive manner;
- We can make the "instrumentalization of actions"
- Actions are embedded in strategic interactions
- Rationality is always bounded
- Individual rationality can be extended to collective rationality.

### Weberian Tradition #1



### Weberian Tradition #2



# Rational Choice and Game Theory (#1)

## • Game Theory

- is a mathematical theory that studies decisions in *situations where one's decision depends on expectations as to what others will do*.
- is a systematic study of strategic interaction. In a situation like that, each actor must decide whether to cooperate or to defect (to compete).

## • Classifications of interactions in Game Theory:

- The situation of collective actions has specific structural-logical framework, and we can characterise it by Game Theory. We have some metaphors:
  - ✓ Zero-sum games in which gains for some participants imply losses for others. Metaphor: Matching Pennies.
  - ✓ Non-zero-sum games: positive-sum (win-win) or negative-sum (lose-lose) situations. Metaphor: Prisoner's dilemma.
  - ✓ Coordination game which implies easy cooperation among people. Methaphor: Invisable Hand Game.



# Rational Choice and Game Theory (#2)



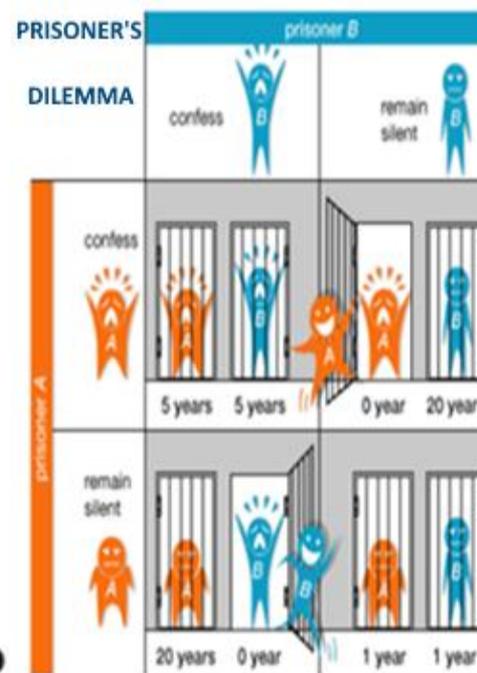
Matching Pennies

Player A \ Player B		h	t
		H	1, -1
		H	T
	T	-1, 1	1, -1

Each of two players puts down a coin on the table without letting the other player to see it.

Player A is the winner if the coins match, i.e., both coins show heads (Hh) or both show tails (Tt).

Player B is the winner if the coins do not match (Ht or Th).



		COMPANION	ME
		CONFESS	DENY
CONFESS	CONFESS	-5	↑
	DENY	-20	↑
DENY	CONFESS	0	↑
	DENY	-1	↑

PREFERENCE: DC CC **DD** CD  
 PAYOFF: 0 -1 -5 -20

EQUILIBRIUM

## Invisible Hand Game:

	D	C
D	-5, -5	0, -20
C	-20, 0	-1, -1

DC CC **DD** CD

$\begin{pmatrix} -5 & 0 \\ -20 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$

	D	C
D	-5, -5	-20, 0
C	0, -20	<b>1, 1</b>

**CD** CC **DD** DC

$\begin{pmatrix} -5 & -20 \\ 0 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$   $\begin{pmatrix} -5 & 0 \\ -20 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$

Adam Smith's story

Two prisoners are suspected of taking part in a serious crime and shut up in separate jails. The punishment depends on whether or not they confess. If both confess, they will be sentenced to five years. If neither confesses, both will get a sentence to one year on account of a lesser guilt. If one confesses and the other does not, the former will be free, while the other will receive a severe sentence of twenty years. What should they do?

# Rational Choice and Game Theory (#3)



	COMPANION	ME	
CONFESS	CONFESS	-5	↑
	DENY	-20	
DENY	CONFESS	0	↑
	DENY	-1	

PREFERENCE: DC CC **DD** CD

PAYOFF: 0 -1 -5 -20

**EQUILIBRIUM**

A:  $\begin{pmatrix} -5 & 0 \\ -20 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$

B:  $\begin{pmatrix} -5 & -20 \\ 0 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$

## Security Dilemma

#2

	C	D
#1 C	2, 2	-2, 1
D	1, -2	-1, -1

Pref.: **CC** DC **DD** CD

Payoff: 2 1 -1 -2

#1:  $\begin{pmatrix} 2 & -2 \\ \uparrow & \downarrow \\ 1 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$

#2:  $\begin{pmatrix} 2 & \leftarrow 1 \\ -2 & \rightarrow -1 \end{pmatrix}$

## Prisoner's dilemma:

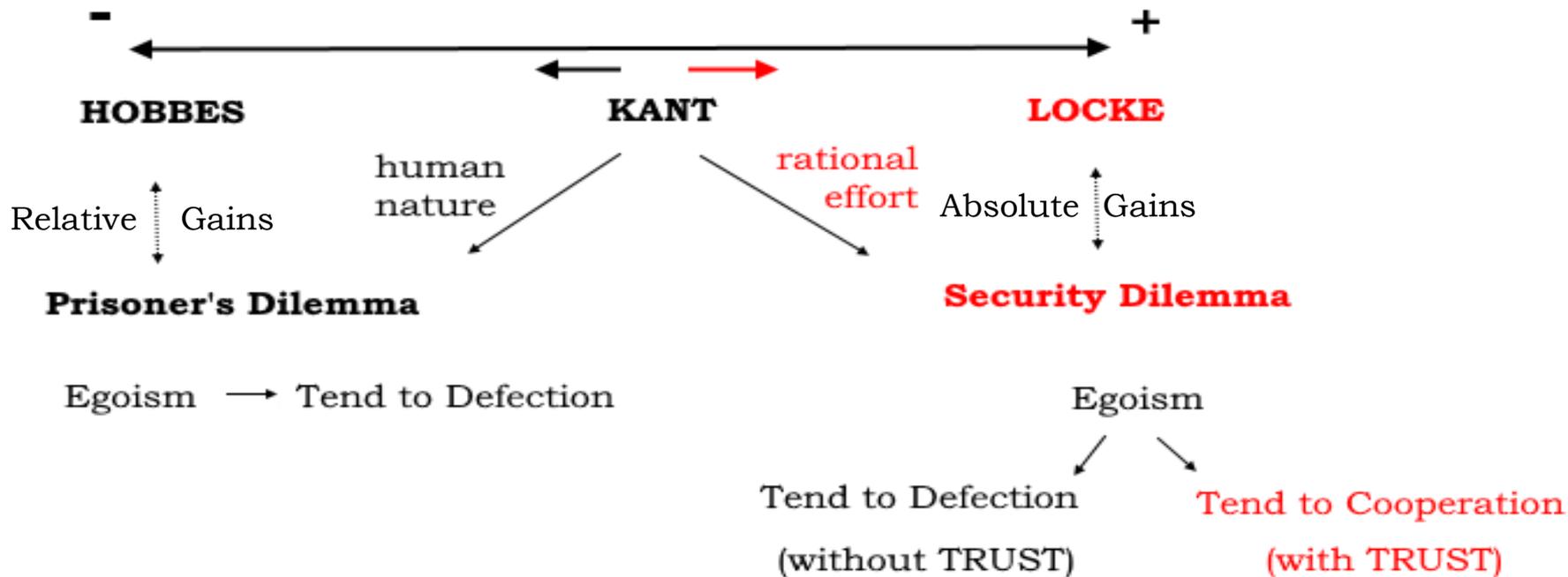
Two prisoners are suspected of taking part in a serious crime and shut up in separate jails. The punishment depends on whether or not they confess. If both confess, they will be sentenced to five years. If neither confesses, both will get a sentence to one year on account of a lesser guilt. If one confesses and the other does not, the former will be free, while the other will receive a severe sentence of twenty years. What should they do?

**Security Dilemma:** We are on a mega-rich party and we are hunting. The target is a stag but if we fail, we don't want to go home with „empty hands”, and so if there is no stag, some rabbits are enough. The crux is that if we are shooting rabbits, they scare off stags. So what should we do?

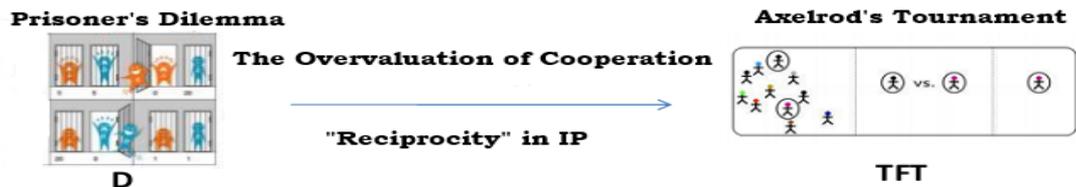


# Classic to Modern Formulation

## ◆ Neorealism and Game Theory:



◆ **Neoliberalism and Game Theory:** Together with anarchism and "egoist" actor, cooperative behaviour may exist (justified by both theoretically and empirically in Game Theory).



# Realist Ideas Reformulated in RCHT

## Hobbesian picture (1651):



(anarchism) Goal: to keep up social order vs. anarchism in original state where there is "continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

Psychological egoism: Individual Egoism → Social Egoism → International Egoism

at International Level: → Security issues

(Power politics; Conflicts between states; Conditions of war)

*Anarchism ("Self-help system")*

Prisoner's Dilemma

The natural state of IR is "egoism", and the ultimate dependence of state on its own resources to promote its interests and protect itself

	D	C
D	-1, -1	2, -2
C	-2, 2	1, 1

DC CC DD CD



## Locke (1689):



at International Level: → Regulations for Freedom

(Cooperation; Universal rights and institutions; Conditions of peace)

*Relative Gains*

Security Dilemma

As states acquire capabilities to make themselves secure, they make others more insecure – leads to a cycle of arms races and growing insecurity.

Implication: Possibility of cooperation is very limited, because of rational self interest and fear of "Relative Gains"

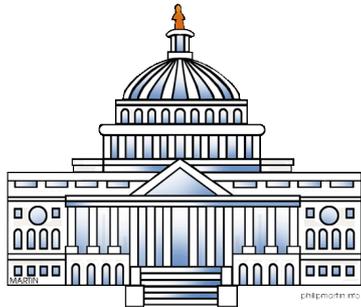


	C	D
C	2, 2	-2, 1
D	1, -2	-1, -1

CC DC DD CD

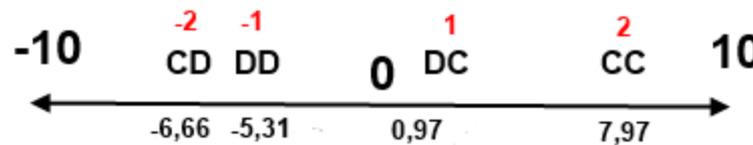
# Example: The Logic of the Cold War

S. Plous: Perceptual Illusions and Military Realities: The Nuclear Arms Race (1985)



	USA	USSR
<i>Both are disarming (CC)</i>	7,97 (2)	5,88 (1)
<i>US arming, USSR disarming (DC)</i>	0,97 (1)	-7,31 (-2)
<i>Both keep on arming (DD)</i>	-5,31 (-1)	-0,91 (-1)
<i>US disarming, USSR arming (CD)</i>	-6,66 (-2)	6,92 (2)

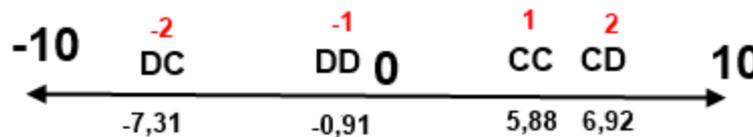
Security Dilemma



		USSR	
		C	D
USA	C	2, 2	-2, 1
	D	1, -2	-1, -1

CC DC DD CD

Prisoner's Dilemma



		USSR	
		D	C
USA	D	-1, 1	2, -2
	C	-2, 2	1, 1

DC CC DD CD

# The Logic of Arms Races

Main question:

Local Conflict(s)  $\xrightarrow{?}$  Global War

	USA	SZU
Both are disarming (CC)	7,97 (2)	5,88 (1)
US arming, USSR disarming (DC)	0,97 (1)	-7,31 (-2)
Both keep on arming (DD)	-5,31 (-1)	-0,91 (-1)
US disarming, USSR arming (CD)	-6,66 (-2)	6,92 (2)

CC DC DD CD    DC CC DD CD  
 2    1    -1    -2    2    1    -1    -2

## Security Dilemma

		USSR	
		C	D
USA	C	2, 2	-2, 1
	D	1, -2	-1, -1



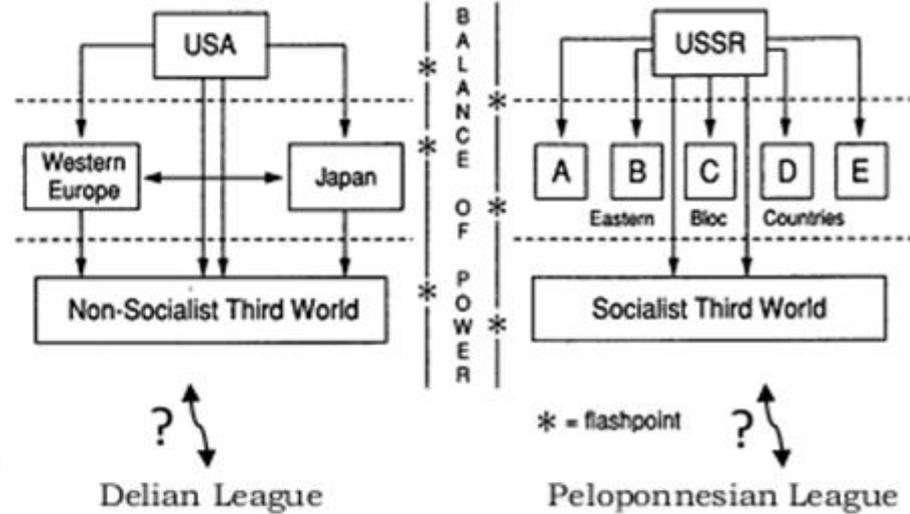
## Prisoner's Dilemma

		USSR	
		D	C
USA	D	-1, 1	2, -2
	C	-2, 2	1, 1

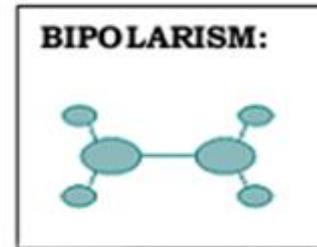


U  
S:  
A  $\begin{pmatrix} 2 & -2 \\ 1 & -1 \end{pmatrix}$

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S:  
R  $\begin{pmatrix} 1 \rightarrow 2 \\ -2 \rightarrow -1 \end{pmatrix}$



The interpretation of Neorealism (a kind of structural approach)



# Neoinstitutionalism (#1)

## ◆ Neoinstitutionalism:

- The most common definition for institutions is: rules (formal and informal rules), organizations, and norms.
- Neoinstitutionalism incorporates more ideas and approaches.

## □ Rational Choice Institutionalism:

- **Theoretic elements from RCHT:**
  - ✓ Actors have preferences;
  - ✓ They make efforts to achieve the maximum out of these goals;
  - ✓ They make strategic calculations
- **The problem (failure) of collective actions:**
  - ✓ The lack of Equilibrium → In case of inconsistent social preference in which the majority of the community will be worst off
- **William Riker:** The task of governance is to create temporary equilibrium (*status quo*).
  - ✓ The incumbent politicians can achieve this aim through institutions that they organise social interactions (e.g. determine which alternatives and in which order come onto agenda)
- **Principal-Agent thesis:**
  - ✓ Asymmetric decision situations
  - ✓ In political decisionmaking it is necessary to balance between the goals of allocation and redistribution → the preferences of bureaucrats and politicians are crucial (William Niskanen), they will be the subject of analysis.

**Peter Hall & Rosemary Taylor:  
Political Science and the Three  
New Institutionalisms, 1996**

## □ Historical Institutionalism:

- **Path-Dependence Thesis:** To the account for the development of public policies and institutions, we need to turn to their history whose effects are unavoidable.
- **Main exponents of this approach:** Karl Polanyi, Douglas North, Theda Skocpol, Philippe Schmitter, Robert Keohane

## □ Sociological Institutionalism:

- **A wide-range interpretation of Institutions:** Institution can be any entity that shapes or reduces the set of alternatives of possible actions. And so, beyond rules, organizations, and norms, symbols, cognitive patterns, and language itself are also added up to the definition for institution.

# Neoinstitutionalism (#2)

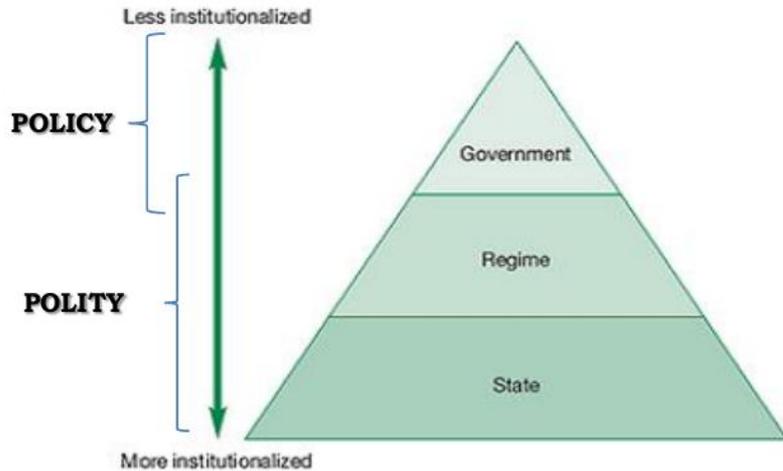
## ◆ Why "Neo" is Neoinstitutionalism?

	Classic	Neoinstitutionalism
<b>Ontology (What to know?)</b>	Institutions	Almost all entities can be grasped as institution: - Classic interpretation + Actor ( <i>Rational Choice</i> ) + Language and informal norms ( <i>Sociological</i> )
<b>Epistemology (How to know?)</b>	Descriptive	Explanational: - Functions - Behaviour of Institutions - Informal Role
<b>Methodology (Which way to know?)</b>	Comparative method	All research strategies are used - Holistic ( <i>Traditional + Historic</i> ) - Rational Choice - Constructive ( <i>Sociological</i> )

# Political Theories in the 20th Century

**Illustration: The mainstream approaches  
in action**

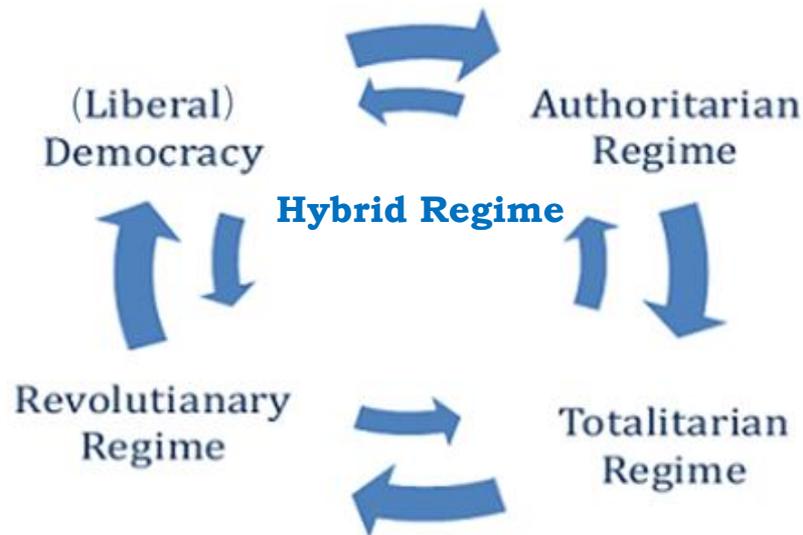
# Basic Concepts



STATE	REGIME
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sovereign:</b> A monopoly of power over a territory</li> <li>• <b>Institutionalized:</b> There is a system of institutions making and accomplishing public decisions. Typical Institutions:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Government (Legislation and execution)</li> <li>✓ Judicature</li> <li>✓ Law enforcement and Defence</li> <li>✓ The system of redistribution (taxation)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The complex system of norms and regulations (often in constitutional form)                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ determining the liberties and the relationships of citizens</li> <li>✓ setting the ways of exercising power</li> </ul> </li> <li>• It determines how to work institutions, but it can be transformed because of social pressure</li> <li>• It has two main forms in modern politics: democracy and autocracy</li> </ul>

## ◆ Sovereignty:

- **Sovereignty** is the principle of absolute and unlimited power (i.e., a monopoly of power).
  - ✓ **Legal (de jure) sovereignty** refers to supreme legal authority; i.e., an unchallengeable right to demand compliance, as defined by law.
  - ✓ **Political (de facto) sovereignty**, in contrast, refers to unlimited political power; i.e., the ability to command obedience, which is typically ensured by a monopoly of coercive force.
  - ✓ **External sovereignty (“national sovereignty”)** relates to a state’s place in the international order and its capacity to act as an independent and autonomous entity.
  - ✓ **Internal sovereignty (“popular sovereignty”)** is an authority within the state, located in the body that makes decisions that are binding on all within the state’s territorial boundaries.



# Democratic Regimes

*"[an] institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. [...] This is of course no more definite than is the concept of competition. [...] To simplify matters we have restricted the kind of competition for leadership which is to define democracy, to free competition for a free vote."*

(Joseph A. Schumpeter:  
Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, 1943)

- According to Joseph A. Schumpeter, **the classic doctrine of democracy** (Schumpeter, Ch. XXI)

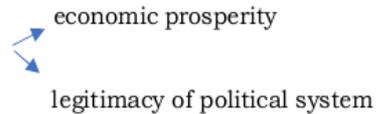
1. accepts the principle of representation;
2. considers as an important fact that the political leaders ought to wield power who are capable of accomplishing general will and common good.

- **Schumpeter's alternative:**

- ✓ **Aim:** The concept of democracy ought to interpret under objective conditions (the institutions regulating competition can be specified in positivist way), whilst the interpretation of common good is a kind of normative and subjective.
- ✓ **The gist of procedural democracy:** Democracy is a (1) a system of political institutions in which (2) leaders rise to power in free competition for a free vote.

- **Seymour Lipset: Homo Politicus** (1959)

- ✓ Lipset separates the definitive elements of democracy (procedural institutions) and the conditions of its functioning (economic development and legitimacy)
- ✓ The two most important preconditions are:

INSTITUTIONAL + SOCIAL 

- ✓ There are substantive conditions for democracy:
  - political leaders need to make public choices inducing common good;
  - Their public activities must keep up confidence in institutions.

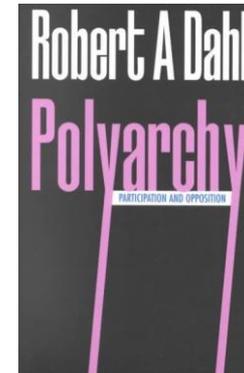
- **Robert Dahl: Poliarchy** (1971)

- ✓ Pluralist society with divided values can be successful only if the democratic institutions can portray the heterogeneity of society → **Poliarchy**
- ✓ A Test with seven sets of conditions for polyarchy:
  - 1) Historical Sequence (Peaceful evolution), 2) Economic and social arrangements, 3) Level of development, 4) Equalities and inequalities, 5) Subcultures & Cleavage Patterns, 6) Foreign effects, 7) The beliefs of political activists

# Dahl's Empirical Study

## ◆ The Institutions of Democracy according to Dahl

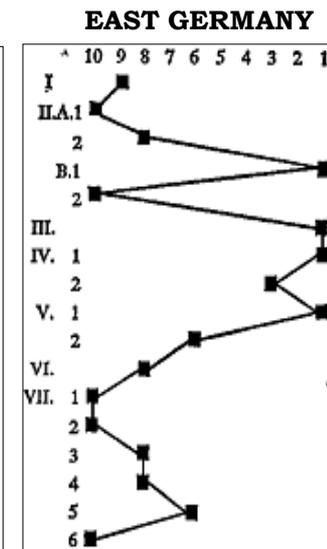
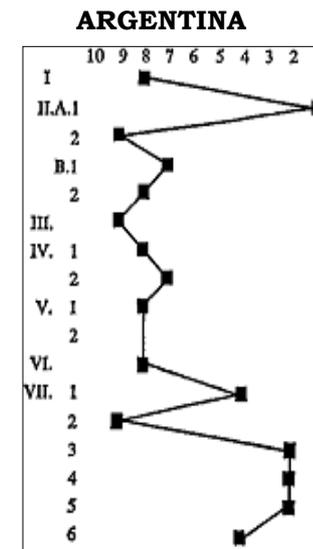
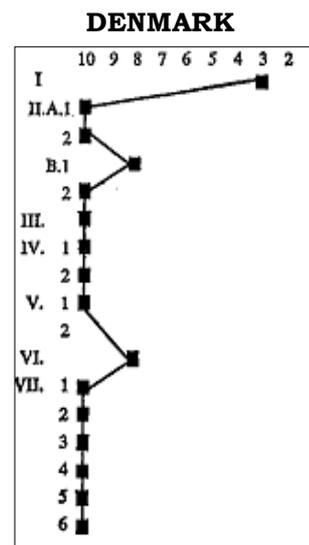
The Goal of Institution	The Institution
Citizens' opportunity to formulate preferences	Freedom to form and join organizations Freedom of expression Right to vote Right of political leaders to compete for support Alternative sources of information
Citizens' opportunity to signify preferences	Eligibility for public office Free and fair elections
Citizens' opportunity to have preferences weighted equally in conduct government	Institutions for making government policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference



## ◆ Good and bad indicators for Democracy:

	Good Indicators for Democracy	Bad Indicators for Democracy
I. Historical Sequence	First compete, then the expansion of participation	First large range of participation, then competition
II. Economic and social arrangements	Plural	Centralized
III. Level of development	Advanced	Undeveloped
IV. Equalities and inequalities	Fair, Just	More unfair and unjust
V. Subcultures & Cleavage Patterns	Low	High
VI. Foreign effects	Weak	Strong
VII. The beliefs of political activists	Democracy is effective, tend to cooperation	Democracy is ineffective, tend to competition without consensus

## ◆ Dahl's Diagrams:



# Democracy as complex formula

## ◆ Definitions of different forms of Democracy

Form	Definition
Direct democracy	The citizens themselves assemble to debate and decide on collective issues
Representative democracy	Citizens elect politicians to reach collective decisions on their behalf, with the governing parties held to account at the next election
Liberal democracy	The scope of democracy includes constitutional protection of individual rights, including freedom of assembly, property, religion and speech
New democracy	A democracy in which an authoritarian legacy continues to influence political action and debate. Democracy is not the only game in town
Semi-democracy	An illiberal democracy in which elected politicians do not respect individual rights, or in which elected governments form a façade behind which previous rulers continue to exercise effective power

A **new democracy** is one that has not yet had time to consolidate; that is, democracy has not become the “only game in town.” **In practice**, new democracies and semi-democracies show similar characteristics but **a new democracy is transitional while a semi-democracy is not.**

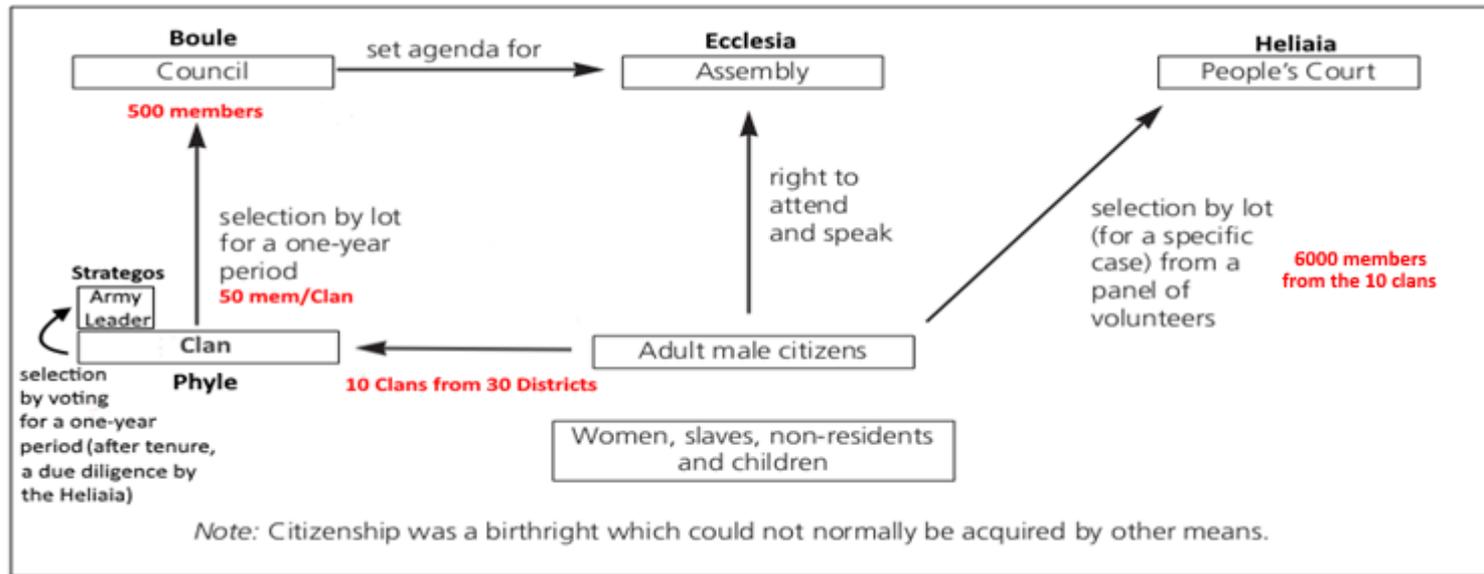
**Semi-democratic states have habitualized non-democratic practices as part of their hybrid political regimes.**

## ◆ Can we really “measure” democracy?

- ✓ Although we might be tempted to think of democracy as being similar to pregnancy – that is, a country either is or is not a democracy much the same way that a woman either is or is not pregnant – on a bit of additional thought, ***we are probably better off thinking of democracy as a continuum.***
- ✓ That is, there can be varying degrees to which a government is democratic. Furthermore, within democracies, some countries are more democratic than others, and a country can become more or less democratic as time passes.
- ✓ The modern-day conception of democracy goes beyond mere procedures of political competition, as Schumpeter suggested to us.
  - One main point is, as Dahl argued, that there are two core attributes to a democracy: “contestation” and “participation.” That is, according to Dahl, democracies have competitive elections to choose leaders and broadly inclusive rules for and rates of participation.
  - Second main point, which is usually labelled as **liberal democracy**, that democracies also impose legal limits on the government’s authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to their citizens. This is a set of guarantees for avoiding the tyranny of majority (Alexis de Tocqueville).

# Supplementary: The Direct Democracy of Ancient Athens

## ◆ A brief sketch about the mechanisms :



## ◆ Some flaws in Athens's democracy:

- ✓ Citizenship was restricted to a small elite: most adults – including women, slaves and foreign residents – were excluded.
- ✓ Participation was not in practice as extensive as the Athenians liked to claim.
- ✓ The system was a time-consuming, expensive and over-complex method of governing a small society.
- ✓ The principle of self-government did not always lead to decisive and coherent policy because of the lack of a permanent bureaucracy.

# Normative Interpretation of Democracy

## ◆ Liberal democracy as the icon of democratic models:

- ✓ If the definitive features of democracy, as mentioned above, are
  - free competition for state power, → Schumpeter
  - a universal right to vote,
  - civil liberties guaranteed to every citizen, →

} → Dahl

then a regime lacking any of these pillars can be considered only partially democratic.

Political scientists add one important criterion to the content of democratic regimes:

- Neither is a polity fully democratic if the popularly and freely elected government does not effectively control the policy-making and the main policy decisions are made or influenced by some unelected and publicly unaccountable body (the military, religious clergy, oligarchies, etc.).

✓ These four pillars are the requirements for democracy in modern sense, often referred as liberal democracy as the iconic subtype of democratic political regimes (Important! Liberal Democracy ≠ Liberalism).

✓ Political scientists have introduced a number of terms to describe hybrid regimes that deviate from liberal democracy. Collier and Levitsky wittily call them as "democracies with adjectives."

Missing Attribute	Diminished Subtype	Term used by
Full Suffrage	Limited democracy	Ronald P. Archer (1995)
	Male democracy	Georg Sørensen (1993)
	Oligarchical democracy	Jonathan Hartlyn & Arturo Valenzuela (1994)
Full Contestation	Controlled democracy	Bruce M. Bagley (1984)
	De facto one-party democracy	Adrian Leftwich (1993)
	Restrictive democracy	Carlos H. Waisman (1989)
Civil Liberties	Electoral democracy	Axel Hadenius (1994)
	Hard democracy	Guillermo O'Donnell & Philippe Schmitter (1986)
	Illiberal democracy	Fareed Zakaria (1997)
Effective Power of the Elected Government	Guarded democracy	Edelberto Torres Rivas (1994)
	Protected democracy	Brian Loveman (1994)
	Tutelary democracy	Adam Przeworski (1988)

# Modern Theories of Justice

- ❑ **No political theory can avoid drawing on different ideas of the good.**
  - The question is under what constraints can it do so to respect the limits of political correctness?
  
- ❑ **Discussion point 1:** *How do they argue for the moral basis of these rights?*
  1. **Natural law**, which focuses on the idea of the correct order of society, *ius naturale*, which corresponds to the rules in accordance with the natural requirements of living conditions (in Roman legal terms, *ius gentium*: these are common and recognizable in the law of different peoples).
  2. **Efficiency utilitarianism** that emphasizes the economic efficiency and its social role in enhancing well-being.
  3. **Contract theory**: political rights and obligations are justified and their limits are defined through a "social contract".
  4. **Deliberation**: while accepting the liberal demand for freedom of choice, they deny the possibility of its universalization because it is derived from a collective act that cannot be separated from space and time.
  
- ❑ **Discussion point 2:** *To enforce freedom, rights and justice, how important is the reduction of social inequalities considered?*

# Modern Theories of Justice

- **The origin of contemporary debates between Conservatives and Liberals:**
  - *Conservative (teleological) view:* the concept of "good", which is general and comprehensive, has priority over the requirements for "right".
  - *Liberal views:* Belief in universal human rights, that all people are worthy of respect (Kant).
    - ✓ The concept of good cannot be exhausted (comprehensive) if it violates human dignity.
    - ✓ All in all: for liberals, the "right" has priority over "good".

<b>Teleological</b>	<b>Moral-Psychological</b>	<b>Deontic</b>
Aristotle Alasdair MacIntyre	David Hume Utilitarianism	Immanuel Kant John Rawls, Robert Nozick
Platonist view of justice	Procedural and constructive view of justice	Substantive and constructive view of justice
Goal → what is "Good"?	Justice is a result of conventions	The priority of "Right" over "Good"

# Transitiology: To Study Regime Transitions

➤ Last decades the focus shift on the emergence, evolution, and transitions of regimes in political science.

- ✓ **Dankwart Rustow:** Transitions to Democracy (1970):
  - The agents of democratic stability are not necessarily the same as those of guaranteeing the emergence of democracy.

## Lipset

Focus on how existing democracies are functioning

## Rustow

Key question: how do new democracies emerge?

- ✓ **Adam Przeworski:** Democracy and the Market (1991)

## New idea:

To make difference elites inside both *ancien regime* and the reformers

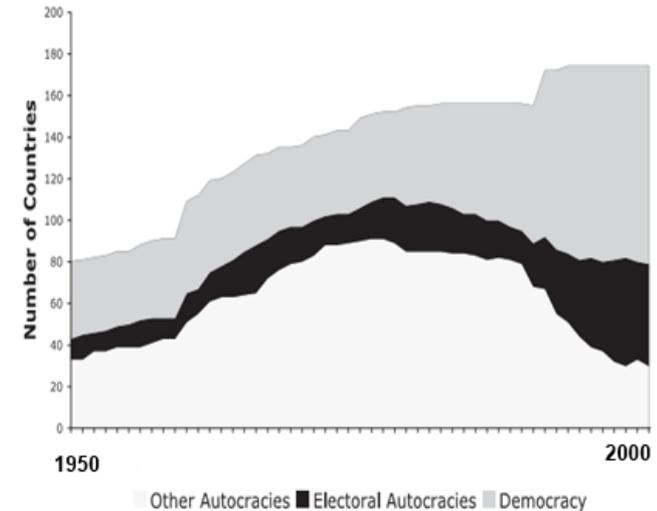
## Methodological novelty:

To investigate the strategic reasons for dividedness inside elites by using Game Theory

- ✓ **Juan Linz, Alfred Stepan:** Problem of Democratic Transition and Consolidation (1996): what are needed for a consolidated democracy?
- ✓ **Roland Inglehart, Christian Welzel:** Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy (2005)

## ➤ Electoral Authoritarian Regimes/Electoral Democracy

- ✓ EAR where civil liberties are "limited", but these autocratic regimes allow opposition parties to contest elections.
  - In EAR a democratic facade covers authoritarian rule (Juan Linz: Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes, 2000)
  - "The dream [of these regimes] is to reap the fruits of electoral legitimacy without running the risks of democratic uncertainty" (Andreas Schedler: Elections without Democracy, 2002)



## ▪ Three ways of downfall for EAR:

1. "Overseen downfall" (Chile, 1990, Kenya 2002): the incumbent lost the election
2. "Pacts over institutions" (Mexico, 1990)
3. "Civil Revolutions" (Georgia, 2003; Ukraine, 2004)

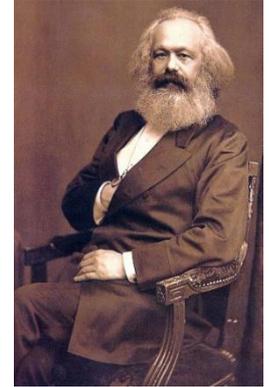
## *The Critical Views in Political Science*

# Neo-Marxism

## ◆ Classic Marxist program

- **Critical-Normative attitude:** The process of cognition cannot be limited only to the description and the interpretation of situation, it must be the part of the change of the world.
  - ✓ **Marxists are against status quo:** they struggle with the norms of both society and economics and science.
  - ✓ **Strong emancipatory aspiration**
- **Holistic:**
  - ✓ The reasons for social (political) phenomena must be searched in existed facts beforehand, and they must be explained from them.
  - ✓ Teleological way of thinking: an attitude of setting goals, but the agents of actions are not individual but a larger unit (social class).

Individuals&Social relations → Class-conscious → Collective actions
  - ✓ **Dialectic Method:** it relates to the historical view of Marxism.
    - Antagonistic, however focuses on and believe in social progression
    - **Both deductive-analytic and historic:** good example is Marx's economic discussions.
      - **Special topics and concepts:**
        - Antagonistic class struggle
        - Exploitation → Imperialism
        - Against Capitalism

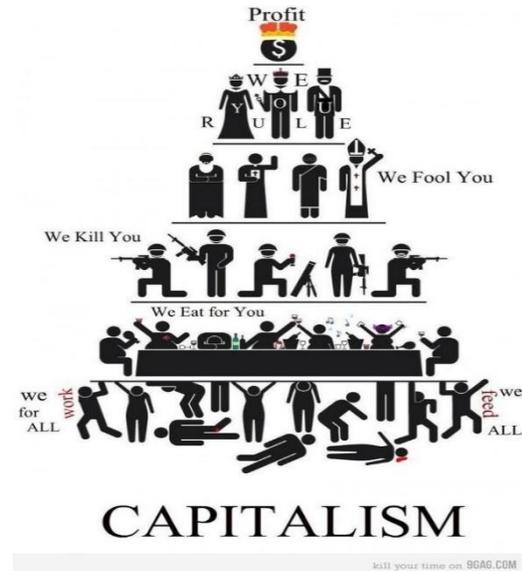


**Karl Marx**  
(1818-1883)



# Neo-Marxism

- **Marxist way of thinking is primarily materialist:** the essential means of sustenance are related to economic activity.
  - ✓ All economic activities can be characterized by two concepts:
    - **Forces of production** – the technological standard
    - **Relations of production** – who dispose of the factors of production
  - ✓ **The notion of Capitalism** is an economic system with high technological standard together with the dominance of private ownership
  - ✓
    - At international Level:** Focus on welfare and the allocation of goods:
      - The conditions of production: “Critics of Capitalism”
      - The conditions of inequality: “Class Struggle”

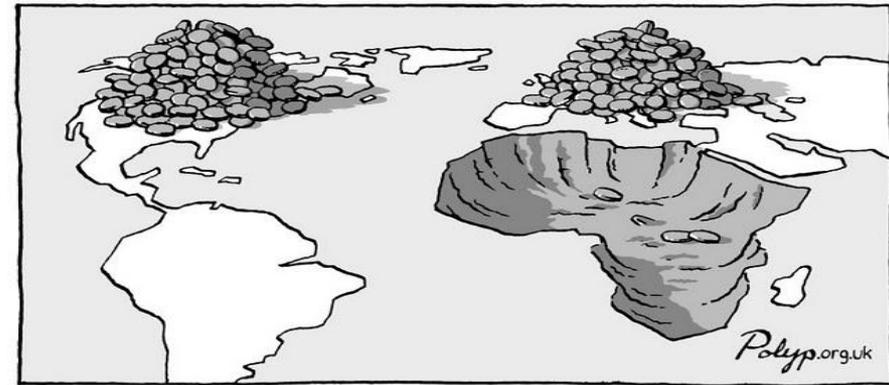


# Approaches to Global Political Economy

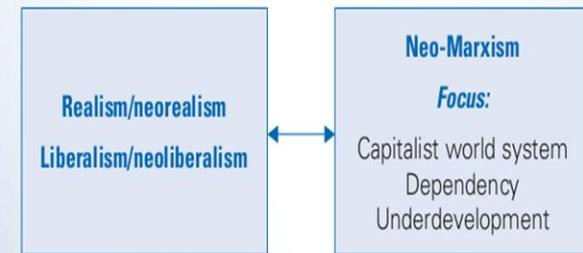
Economic Liberalism	Neomercantilism (Economic Nationalism)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Basic assumption:</b> <i>Individuals</i>, as rationally self-interested creatures (or utility maximizers) are the <i>key economic actors</i>.</li> <li>➤ <i>Businesses (market)</i> are an important means of organizing production and thus of <i>generating wealth</i>.</li> <li>➤ <b>Policy of laissez-faire:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ unregulated market economy tends towards long-run equilibrium</li> <li>✓ <i>Economic exchange via the market is a positive-sum game</i>, in that greater efficiency produces economic growth and benefits everyone.</li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ The global economy is thus characterized by cooperation as trading and other economic relationships promise to bring mutual benefit and general prosperity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Basic assumption:</b> <i>State is the most significant economic actor</i>, highlighting the extent to which economic relations are determined by political power.</li> <li>➤ As the state system is anarchical, the global economy tends to be characterized by <i>conflict as states compete with each other for power and wealth in a zero-sum game</i>.</li> <li>➤ <b>Protectionism as Strategy:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ to build up a state's wealth, power and prestige by developing a favourable trading balance through producing goods for export while keeping imports low.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Neo-Marxism (Critical View)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Basic assumption:</b> Capitalism as a system of exploitation: rich actors seek to exploit poor actors via economic or political actions (colonization, war)</li> <li>➤ <b>Political economy always has an international dimension</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Interests of the capitalists (Bourgeoisie) are increasingly identified with those of transnational corporations, which are widely seen as more powerful than national governments.</li> <li>✓ Capitalism therefore has a desire to expand regardless of national borders.</li> <li>✓ The global economy is nevertheless characterized by conflict, stemming from the oppressive nature of the capitalist system itself.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	

# Marxian Dependency Theory

- ◆ **Imperialism:** The domination of a population and territory by another state.
- ◆ This imperialism changed the nature of the world economic system to the advantage of the European powers: the conflict between the core and the periphery involved economic and political domination to ensure continued economic gain on the part of the core.
- ◆ Related to world economic system analysis, **Dependency Theory** argues that after the colonized areas became independent, the core continued to exploit the periphery through neo-imperialism – not outright occupation of areas but through indirect domination.



'GOLD DIGGERS'



Year	Percentage of global income going to richest 20 per cent	Percentage of global income going to poorest 20 per cent	Ratio of richest to poorest
1960	70.2	2.3	30 : 1
1970	73.9	2.3	32 : 1
1980	76.3	1.7	45 : 1
1990	82.8	1.3	64 : 1

Global income distribution, 1960–90

# World-System Analysis

◆ **World Economic System Analysis:** A theoretical perspective that focuses on the international system of capitalism and the global competition among economic classes.

Immanuel Wallerstein: *The Modern World System*, 1974



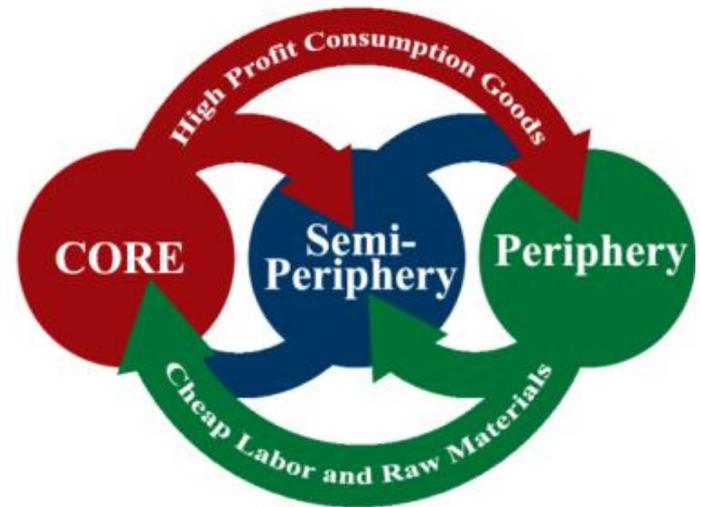
## The world is as one large economy

- based on the era of colonization
- composed of many smaller systems
- presumptions: organizational efficacy, technology



## The world can be divided into

- **Core:** Countries where the most advanced economic activities take place and wealth is concentrated
- **Semi-Periphery:** These countries are buffer zones between core and periphery
- **Periphery:** Countries in which the less advanced economic activities occur and wealth is scarce.
- **External:** Countries maintaining economic system



Wallerstein's World System Theory Model

# World-System Analysis: an Example



## **Core (Northwestern Europe):**

- ✓ **Stabil politics, strong bourgeois and working classes**
- ✓ **Highly industrialized, more often in the forefront of new technologies and new industries**
- ✓ **Take control of international commerce**

## **Semi-periphery (Spain):**

- ✓ **Production of high-quality” goods**
- ✓ **Relatively developed and diversified economies, but are not dominant in international trade**

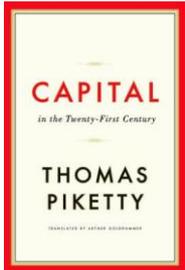
## **External (Russia)**

- ✓ **External areas are those that maintain socially necessary divisions of labor independent of the capitalist world-economy.**

## **Periphery (Poland):**

- ✓ **Organizational problems**
- ✓ **Capacity to the Core**
- ✓ **Tend to have very high social inequality**
- ✓ **Tend to be extensively influenced by core nations and their multinational corporations**
- ✓ **Permanent arrears**

# A Contemporary Example: Neoinstitutionalism vs. Neo-Marxism

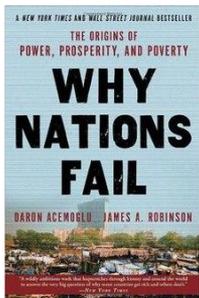
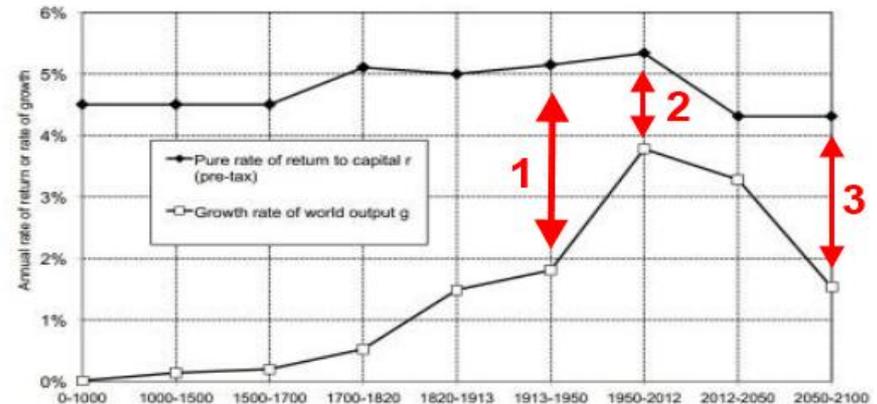
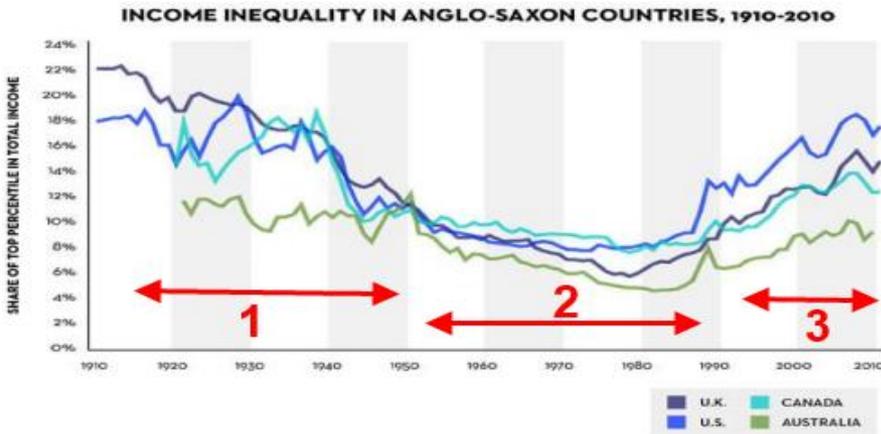


## Piketty's findings and his main claims:

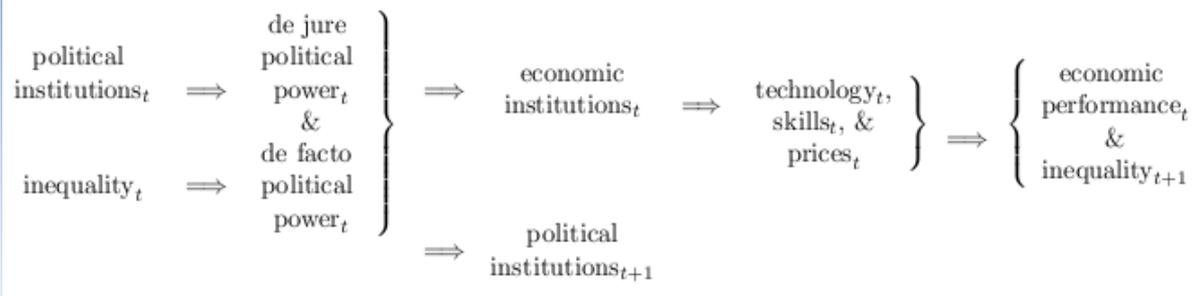
- ✓ The history of the **distribution of wealth has always been deeply political**, and it cannot be reduced to purely economic mechanisms;
- ✓ The **dynamics of wealth distribution** reveal powerful mechanisms pushing alternately toward **convergence and divergence**;
- ✓ **Piketty's law**: the (real) interest rate exceeds the growth rate of the economy:  

$$r > g$$
- ✓ *If  $r$  remains significantly above  $g$  for an extended period of time, then the risk of divergence in the distribution of wealth is very high.*

Thomas Piketty (2013):  
Capital in the 21st Century



Daron Acemoglu, James Robinson (2012): **Why Nations Fail**  
The origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty



# Feminism and the Greens

◆ **Feminist Theories:** To highlight the difference of women from men in the ways of women appearing in social life and contributing to politics.

✓ **Against patriarchal society where women are often in submissive roles:** e.g. the "breadwinner" myth, the "double burden", gender pay gap & "glass ceiling", the broader *commodification* of women in global capitalism.

✓ **Some of the main exponents:** Simone de Bouvoir, Martha Nussbaum, Judith Buttler, Catherine MacKhinon, J. Ann Tickner

◆ **Green Social Theories:** The need of more widespread consciousness of the interconnections between human life and nature (sustainability, overpopulation, global warming as a consequence of the greenhouse effect, other humanity's devastating effect on the planet).

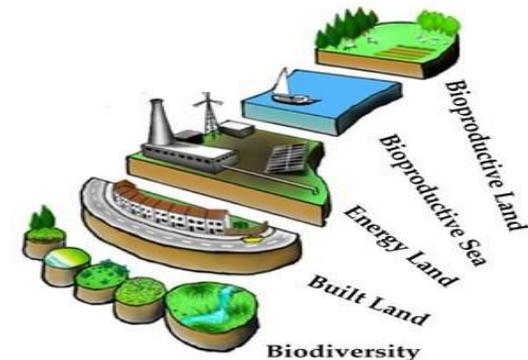
➤ **Animal Liberation** (Henry Salt 1892, Peter Singer 1975): Rights for and protection of animals

➤ **Green Economy:** Against consumerism as a drive of modern capitalism, putting an emphasize on scarcity of Nature:

✓ Small is Beautiful (Ernst Schumacher 1973)

✓ Ecological Footprint (William Rees 1992)

➤ **Ecofeminism** (Carolyn Merchant 1982) portrays female nature as the benevolent mother of all undermined by the 'dominion' model of nature that emerged out of the scientific revolution and the rise of market society.

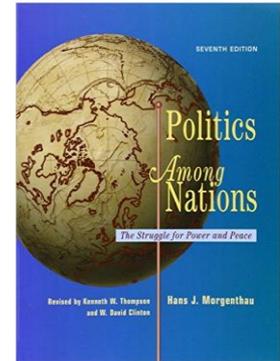


# Case Study: Debate about Human Nature in IP

## ◆ Morgenthau's classic realist view (out of the six principles)

1. **Politics is governed by objective laws; rational human nature is in the heart of politics which is unchangeable, and so determines the objective goals of politics.**

*"Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. [...] We must approach political reality with a kind of rational outline [...] we put ourselves in the position of a statesman who must meet a certain problem of foreign policy under certain circumstances"*



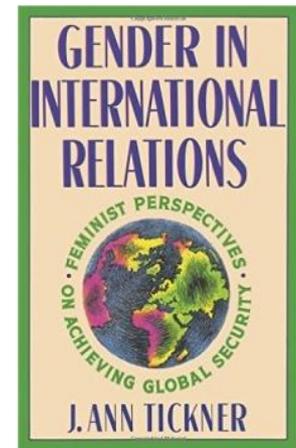
## ◆ J. Ann Tickner: Gender Trouble in IR

- **Fundamental question** from the Preface:

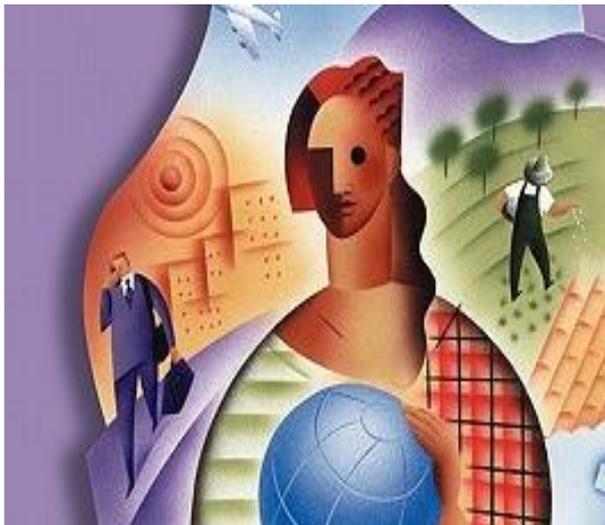
*"As a scholar and teacher of international relations, I have frequently asked myself the following questions: Why are there so few women in my discipline? [...] Why is the subject matter of my discipline so distant from women's lived experiences? Why have women been conspicuous only by their absence in the worlds of diplomacy and military and foreign policy-making?"*

- **The mainstream of IR is constructed as a theory of "political man"**

- ✓ The lack of women in IR is not only a kind of discrimination but the framework itself through which scholars analyze international politics (realism especially), which is structured in a way that precludes women's success.
- ✓ In the discussions of power more stress should be put on **energy, capacity and potential**, that is to say, the opportunities of persuasion (*feminine attribute of power*) rather than the **access to the instruments of coercion** (*masculine attribute of power*).
- ✓ Reformulation of the analysis of security:
  - in terms of north-south instead of east-west;
  - human security instead of national security;
  - and all these issues should be combined with the environment as a site of mutual cooperation.

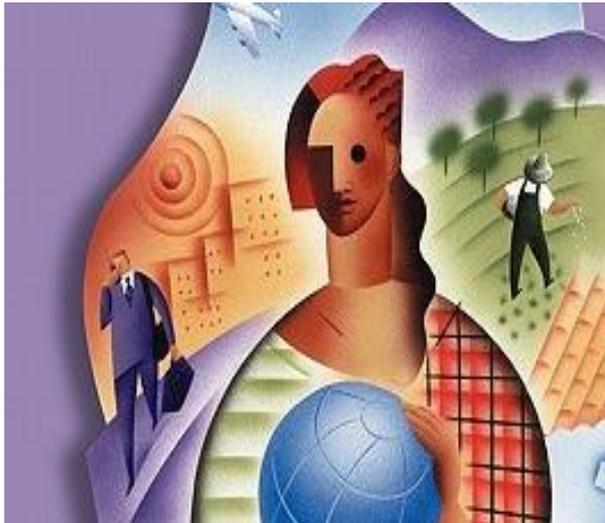


# Feminists' Reformulation of Morgenthau's Principles



1. "Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature, **which is unchanging: therefore it is possible to develop a rational theory that reflects these objective laws.**"
  1. **"Human nature is both feminine and masculine: it contains element of social reproduction and development as well as political domination. Dynamic objectivity offers us a more connected view of objectivity with less potential of domination."**
  2. "The main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power **which infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics, and thus makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible. Political realism stresses the rational, objective and unemotional.**"
  2. **"National interest is multidimensional and uncertain, hence cannot be defined solely in terms of power. National interest demand cooperation rather than zero-sum solutions to a set of interdependent problems."**
  3. „Realism assumes that its key concept of interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid, but it does not endow that concept with a meaning that is fixed once and for all. **Power is the control of man over man.**"
  3. **"Power as domination and control privileges masculinity and ignores the possibility of collective empowerment, another aspect of power associated with feminists."**

# Feminists' Reformulation of Morgenthau's Principles



4. "Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action."

**4. "We cannot separate morality from politics. All political action has moral significance."**

5. "Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe.[...] It is exactly the concept of interest defined in terms of power that saves us from both that moral excess and that political folly."

**5. "Feminist perspective seeks to find common moral elements in human aspirations which could become the basis for de-escalating international conflict and building international community."**

6. "The political realist maintains the autonomy of the political sphere; [...] as the economist, the lawyer, the moralist maintain theirs. He thinks in terms of interest defined as power, as the economist thinks in terms of interest defined as wealth; he asks: "How does this policy affect the power of the nation?"

**6. "Feminist perspective denies the autonomy of political since it is associated with masculinity in western culture; hence this demarcation presents a limited, partial and masculine world view."**

# Postmodern as Intellectual Trend

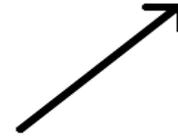
## PREMODERN



"Because God put it there and that's the way it's always been."



## MODERN



"Onwards and upwards with inevitable progress!"



## POSTMODERN



"Blppppggghljsdlkfjowefalsk djflksdjflksjldjl;aldflkj;;;df"



Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's understanding without guidance from another. This immaturity is self-imposed when its cause lies not in lack of understanding, but in lack of resolve and courage to use it without guidance from another. *Sapere Aude!* [dare to know] "Have courage to use your own understanding!" – that is the motto of enlightenment.

**Immanuel Kant: What is Enlightenment? (1784)**



The critical ontology of ourselves has to be considered not, certainly, as a theory, a doctrine, nor even as a permanent body of knowledge that is accumulating; it has to be conceived as an attitude, an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them.

**Michel Foucault: What is Enlightenment? (1984)**

# The "Archimedean Points" of Western Civilization

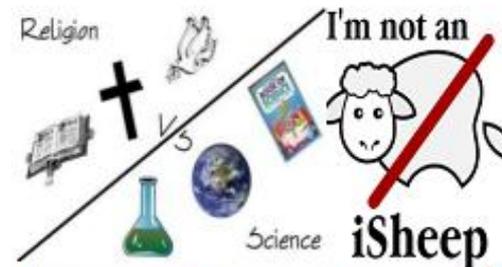
*"We can no more separate our theories and concepts from our data and percepts than we can find a true Archimedean point—a God's-eye view—of ourselves and our world."* (Michael Schermer, 2007)

The Goal of Life:	PREMODERN		MODERN	POSTMODERN
	Greek	Christian		
Quo Vadis?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cyclical time</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linear time with an end-point</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linear way of progress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• History is just a narrative</li> </ul>
The pin of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Polis/Agora</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• God</li> <li>• Afterlife</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pluralism &amp; Multi-ID</li> </ul>
The objective of the search for identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Virtue &amp; Beauty</li> <li>• "<i>Eudaimonia</i>" ("eu" – good "daimon" – spirit)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Salvation through Faith</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reason</li> <li>• Material realization of successful life</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To break free from spiritual &amp; material coerciveness</li> </ul>
Truth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truth ≈ Puzzle, i.e., it needs to be reconstructed (Socratic method)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truth is absolute &amp; revealed (Bible)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truth is discovered (scientific methods)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truth is constructed/ effect of power (Irony&amp;agonism)</li> </ul>

# Premodern-Modern-Postmodern?

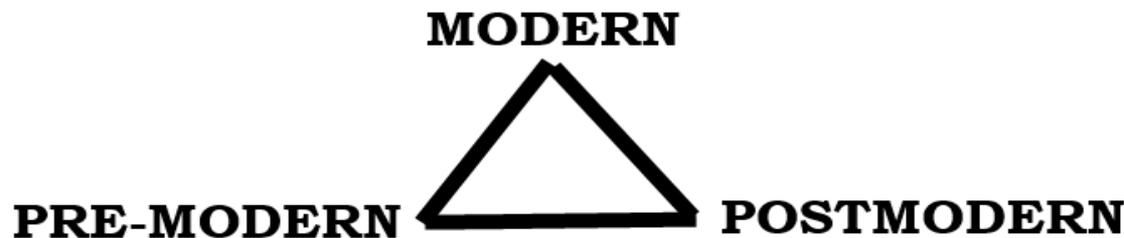
Romanticism	Enlightenment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Passion &amp; Beliefs</li> <li>- Religion</li> <li>- Pessimism but a Cult of Hero</li> <li>- Traditions</li> <li>- Focus on the Past (History)</li> <li>- Experience &amp; Patterns as references in the chaotic world</li> <li>- TRIBAL OR CLOSED SOCIETY</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mind &amp; Rationalism</li> <li>- Science</li> <li>- Optimism but Critical Thinking</li> <li>- Rational Attitude (Technocratic)</li> <li>- Focus on the future (Progression)</li> <li>- Planning &amp; Innovation under uncertainty</li> <li>- OPEN SOCIETY</li> </ul>

Postmodern =  
Neither Modern nor Premodern?



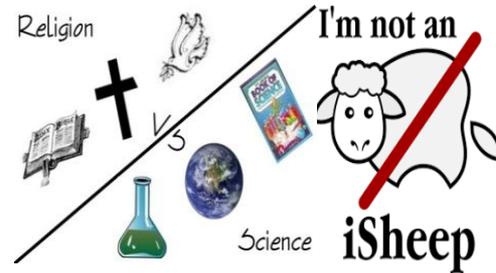
“[...] The transition from the closed to the open society can be described as one of the deepest revolutions through which mankind has passed. [... However, the twentieth century] civilization has not yet fully recovered from the shock of its birth – the transition from the tribal or ‘closed society’, with its submission to magical forces, to the ‘open society’ which sets free the critical powers of man”.

*Karl Popper: Open Society and Its Enemies, 1945*



# Postmodern as Paradigm in IP

Postmodern =  
Neither Modern nor Premodern?



Modern	vs.	Postmodern
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Master narrative of progress</b> through science and technology.</li> <li>• <b>Individualism:</b> Sense of unified, centered self; unified identity.</li> <li>• Idea of "<b>the family</b>" as <b>central unit of social order:</b> model of the middle-class, nuclear family.</li> <li>• <b>Faith in,</b> and myths of social and <b>cultural unity</b></li> <li>• <b>Faith</b> and personal investment in <b>big politics</b> (Sovereign States)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Scepticism of progress</b> → anti-technology reactions, religious fundamentalism</li> <li>• <b>Multi-identification:</b> Sense of fragmentation and decentered self.</li> <li>• <b>Alternative family units, alternatives to middle-class marriage model,</b> multiple identities for couplings and child-raising.</li> <li>• <b>Trust</b> and investment in <b>micro-politics,</b> local politics, institutional power struggles.</li> <li>• <b>Social and cultural pluralism,</b> disunity, respect for social/national/ethnic diversity (idea of multiculturalism)</li> </ul>

## Postmodern as an alternative IP approach:

- **Against Realism:** States are not unitary and thus not rational – states are abstractions → There is no such thing as “national interest”
- **Against Liberalism:** to reject the centrality of the self, believing that it is not the self that creates culture, it is culture that creates the self
- **Against others:** Suspicion and rejection of master narratives; ironic deconstruction of master narratives:
  - ✓ All schools based on a structure of the nature/culture dichotomy: archaic (fictional) person living in a ‘state of nature’ and the desire/coercion(?) to establish ‘society’
  - ✓ The structure of the nature/culture dichotomy repeats itself in other binary oppositions: national/international, bourgeoisie/worker, man/woman.
  - ✓ **Goal: apply a critical method called “deconstruction”,** that is, to be able to deconstruct binaries, to expose our metaphysical belief system in which the meanings of discourses are constructed.

*Odd ones out*

**An Outlook**

# Constructed Reality

## ◆ Trouble with Causation

- Causation: **A ->> B**

KNOW — KNOW

- Domino Effect:



**A ->> X ->> Y ->> B**

KNOW — UNKNOW

- Mechanism:

**A ->> [COMPLEX TRANSMISSIONS] ->> B**

UNKNOW — KNOW

UNKNOW — UNKNOW

## ◆ Instead of Causality

➤ **Discourse:** how to bring up meaning? → Social Constructivism

➤ **Contingency:** "Chance is more fundamental than causality" (Max Born, Physicist)

→ Contrafactuals (what would be/ what would have been if ...) and alternative reality

# The Need for Constructivism

- ▶ In socials there is a very specific "back and forth" impact between the material and the ideational realm of "social reality" (i.e., as people perceive the conditions of their life; and they are pleased or displeased, accordingly).
  - ❑ People typically think of constructions as involving physical things, institutions and actions, and so they are committed to "materialism": actors shape fixed and predictable interests based on what is available in the material world.
  - ❑ They tend to forget, however, that the social reality is also constructed through sets of norms, beliefs, and discourse.
  - ❑ **Example:**

**Material  
Realm**



**Ideational  
Realm**

The conditions of life

Beliefs

Beliefs are always related to the conditions of life (→), and they flourish or vanish depending on the improvement or the decay of the conditions (←)

Failures:  
→ The misunderstanding of the conditions may lead to **utopia**.  
← To strongly stick with beliefs may to (ideological) **dogmatism**.



# Constructivism in IR

## ◆ Two Faces of Constructivism:

- **Conventional:** 'truth claims' are possible from different point of views, but no 'final truth' (post-positivist view).
- **Critical:** 'truth claims' are not possible because truth and power cannot be separated. Need to unmask the core relationship between truth and power (postmodern view).

## ◆ Interpretative-Discourse Analysis:

### ➤ Empirical Method → Deductive-Analytical School

- ✓ **The Fundamental question:** How does discourse shape political actions?
- ✓ How can a discourse become the part of institutions?

◆ **Key Problem:** Traditional approaches are committed to „materialism“: **actors have fixed and predictable interests based on what is available in the material world.**

Realism: Realists believe that actors seek power to realize their goals

Liberalism: Liberals believe that actors seek to attain their self-interests

Neo-Marxists: They believe that rich actors seek to exploit poor actors

## ◆ Key Figure: Alexander Wendt: "Anarchy is what States Make of it", 1992

- The core of the argument is the rejection of the neorealist position, according to which anarchy must necessarily lead to self-help. Whether it does or not cannot be decided *a priori*; it depends on the interaction between states:

*"If the United States and the Soviet Union decide that they are no longer enemies, 'the cold war is over'. It is collective meanings that constitute the structures which organize our actions."*

# Turbulence in World Politics?

- **Turbulence:** a situation where environments in which people live are marked by high degrees of complexity and dynamism.

- ✓ The extensive degrees of interdependence among actors create environments dense with causal layers.

- ✓ Such turbulence, in turn, transforms long-standing parameters of behaviour.

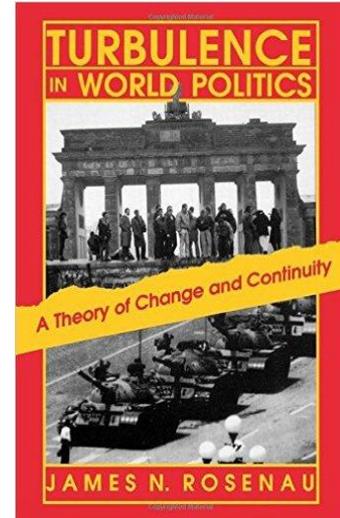
- **Coexistence of the long standing state-centric international system with an even more dynamic, decentralized, multi-centric system.**

- **Cruz: A dialectical relationship between globalization and localization.**

- ✓ The norms, structures and processes in these two systems are mutually exclusive, adding high complexity to the world system:

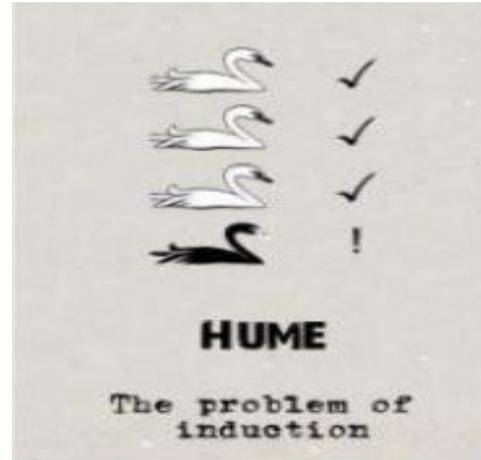
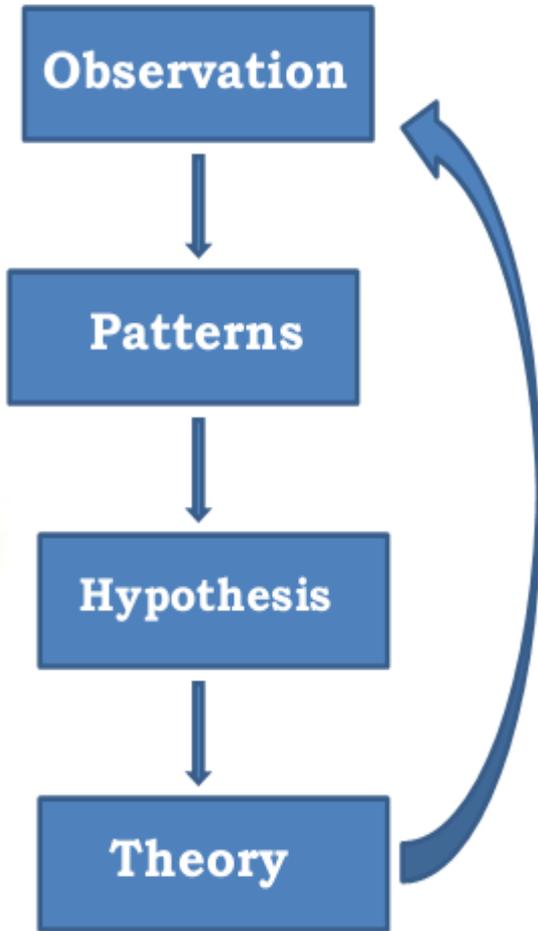
*„The best way to understand world affairs today requires viewing them as an endless series of **distant proximities in which the forces pressing for greater globalization and those inducing greater localization interactively play themselves out** [... **Globalization is**] one component of the **transformative dynamics** that underlie the emergence of a new epoch **in the human condition.**”*

- **Fragegration** is a term by which we capture the pervasive interaction between fragmenting and integrating dynamics unfolding in all aspects of contemporary life.



# Toward Chaos Theory: The Black Swan Effect

## INDUCTION



**Don't generalize upon the instances of your earlier experience!**

**"Hindsight is always 20/20"**

**Black Swan** is a highly improbable event with three principal characteristics:

1. it is unpredictable;
2. it carries a massive impact;
3. and, after the fact, we concoct an explanation that makes the event appear less random, and more predictable, than it was.

**Examples:** The astonishing success of Google or Facebook was a black swan; so was 9/11.

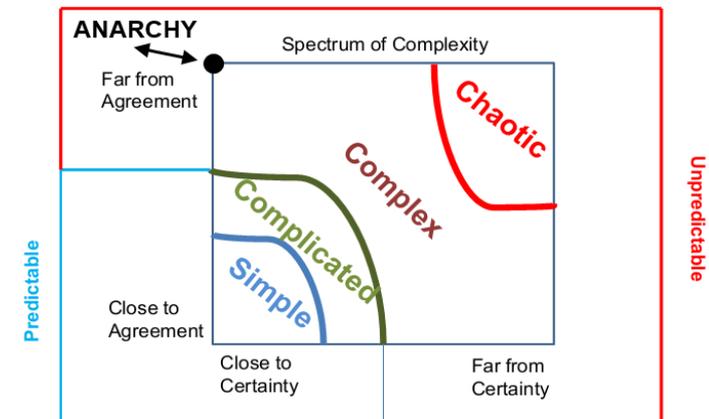
# Toward Chaos Theory: The Butterfly Effect

## ◆ Principles of Chaos → Chaotic IS ≠ Anarchic IS

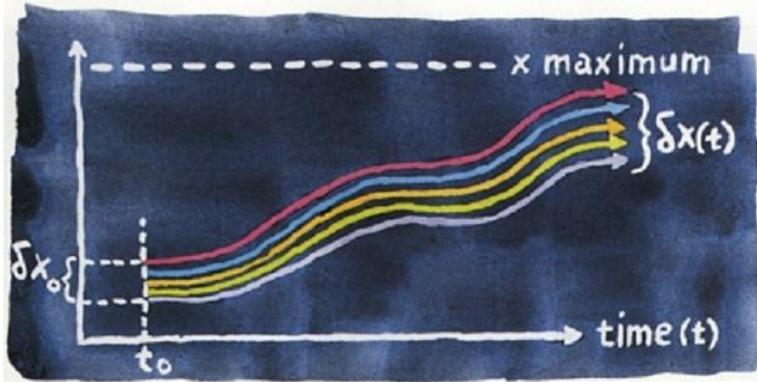
- **Non-linearity:** This construct means that small actions can stimulate large reactions in which highly improbable, unpredictable and unexpected events have huge impacts.
- **The Butterfly Effect:** Big movements of change have often started with tiny events or personal decisions that ended up affecting the history of our world.
  - ✓ This effect grants the power to cause a hurricane in China to a butterfly flapping its wings in New Mexico (though it may take a very long time).
- **Dynamical systems change, and are getting unpredictable:** Because we can never know all the initial conditions of a complex system in sufficient (i.e. perfect) detail, we cannot hope to predict the ultimate fate of a complex system.
- **Chaos is not simply disorder (anarchy):** Chaos explores the transitions between order and disorder, which often occur in surprising ways.



**Turbulence** ensures that two adjacent points in a complex system will eventually end up in very different positions after some time has elapsed.



# Linear vs. Chaotic



**Linear or  
Deterministic**



**Non-linear  
or Chaotic**



COMPLEX  
TRANSMISSIONS



# Chaotic World Politics: Case Study #1

## ◆ Chaotic WP

“**Big Picture**”: Geopolitics, Interdependences, Inequalities

“**Uncertainties**”: Butterfly effect(s)

**Butterfly effect(s)**: Big movements of change have often started with tiny events or personal decisions that ended up affecting the history of our world.

## ◆ Case Study #1: The Crisis of Sarajevo

- ✓ **The “big picture”**: Great emphasis on the machinations and interests of state actors (empires) in Europe in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (See the cartoon published by the contemporary newspaper, The Times). The main interpretation of the big picture:

*“Austria-Hungary is drawn into conflict with Serbia; Russia mobilizing to assist Serbia; Germany moving to back up Austria; France, bound by treaty of Russia, moving to counter Germany; and Britain moving to support neutral Belgium and France.”*

- ✓ **The butterfly effect**: More than one attempt to make an assassination against the archduke, Francis Ferdinand, of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary in Sarajevo in 1914.
  - **Patterns**: Hegemonic efforts, Nationalistic ambitions and terrorist attacks



# Chaotic World Politics: Case Study #2

## ◆ Case Study #2: The Cuban Missile Crisis

- ✓ **The “big picture”:** The pivotal point of the cold war in 1962.
  - Relations between Cuban communist leader, F. Castro, and the US were increasingly strained and Cuba moved closer in IRs to the Soviet Union.
  - In 1961 an invasion by Cuban exiles with US support was defeated at the Bay of Pigs.
  - In 1962 the Soviet installation of nuclear missile bases in Cuba resulted in a US naval blockade, and the US president J.F. Kennedy and his administration put pressure on Soviet leader Khrushchev
- ✓ **The butterfly effect:** The Soviet hero, Vasily Arkhipov
  - During the conflict, there were Soviets submarines armed with a nuclear weapon in the region. A B-59 has lost the radio connection with the world, however an American destroyer began to drop depth charges on the B-59, intended as warning shots to force the B-59 to surface.
  - The exhausted captain of B-59, Valentin Savitsky assumed that his submarine was doomed and that WW3 had broken out. He ordered a nuclear torpedo to be prepared for firing.
  - Vasily Arkhipov as the 3<sup>rd</sup> commander eventually persuaded Savitsky and the 2<sup>nd</sup> commander to surface and await orders from Moscow.



**Essential Question:** A few small changes in the historical, cultural, or social realities of the time would have seen either a completely different string of events lead up to the war or, perhaps and more interestingly, the war not occur at all.