

# ***WORLD POLITICS***

**Jozsef Zoltan Malik**

Faculty of Law,  
Eötvös Loránd University

**Budapest, 2015  
(updated)**

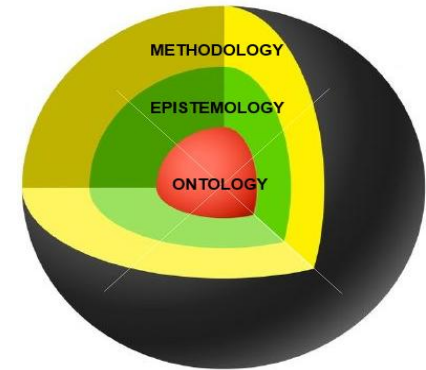
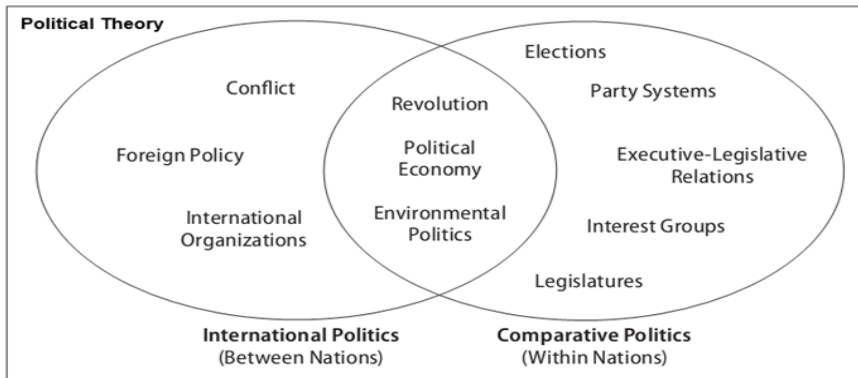


# **Introducing International Politics as Academic Subject**

# What is International Politics?

◆ **International Politics:** area of study that concerns the relations among different actors in the world, the characteristics of those relations, and their consequences.

◆ **IP as a discipline of Political Science:**



## ◆ The Guidelines of Researches

- ✓ **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.

# Interlude (#1)

## ◆ **Traditional Concept: International Relations**

*Relations among states:*

- **Focus on great power diplomacy and strategy**

## ◆ **Contemporary Concept: World (or Global) Politics**

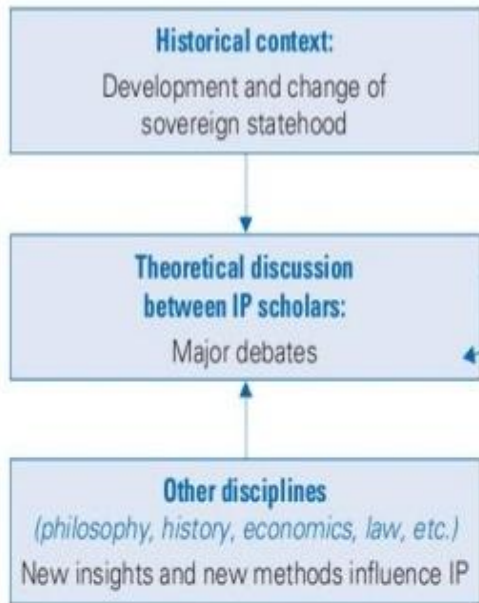
*"International politics" has been transformed into "global politics" because*

- **there are new actors on the world stage:**
  - ✓ International Organizations (e.g. *United Nations*)
  - ✓ Intergovernmental (e.g. *the Council of Europe*) and Supranational Organizations (e.g. *European Parliament, Court of Justice of the EU*)
  - ✓ NGOs or Non-Governmental Organizations (*Greenpeace* → *Al Qaeda*)
  - ✓ MNCs or Multinational Corporations (e.g. *Google, GE, Deloitte, Deutsche Bank*)
- **increased interdependence and interconnectedness;**
- **the trend towards global governance.**

## ◆ **Which name: International Politics or World (Global) Politics?**

- **Both, but IP for international relations and diplomacy**
- **World (Global) Politics for globalized, multi-level politics**

# Interlude (#2)



- ◆ The major purpose of World Politics is to help the understanding of world politics today and tomorrow:
  - The core concepts (state, power, balance of power, sovereignty) were shaped and developed by historic circumstances.
  - Historic events *ex post* could be the patterns and precedents to guide contemporary policymakers.
  - They are, however, the subject of testing theoretical discussions, too.



# Some Epistemological Problems

## ◆ No. 1: How do we construct theories?

### ➤ Conspiracy Theories

What are they?

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

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

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.

### ➤ 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.*



# Make a Difference: Science and Ideology

- ◆ In daily life, we encounter many doctrines and ideologies that share features with social theory.
  - ✓ Both tell us why things are the way they are: why crime occurs, why some people are poor but not others, why divorce rates are high in some places, etc.
  - ✓ Both contain assumptions about the fundamental nature of human beings and of the social world.
  - ✓ Both offer systems of ideas or concepts, and both interconnect the ideas.

	<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Science (Theory)</b>
<b>Certainty of answers</b>	absolute, certain answers with few questions	tentative, conditional answers that are incomplete and open ended
<b>Type of knowledge</b>	closed, fixed belief system	open, expanding belief system
<b>Type of assumptions</b>	implicit assumptions based on faith, moral belief, or social position	explicit, changing assumptions based on open, informed debate and rational discussion
<b>Use of normative statements</b>	merger of descriptive claims, explanations, and normative statements	separation of descriptive claims, explanations, and normative statements
<b>Empirical evidence</b>	selective use of evidence, resistance to contrary evidence	Seeking repeated tests of claims, changing based on new evidence
<b>Logical consistency</b>	contradictions and logical fallacies	highest levels of consistency, avoiding logical fallacies

**Conspiracy Theory**

**Occam's Razor or Parsimony:**

The idea that simple is better; everything else being equal, a social theory that explains more with less complexity is better.

# Theory vs. Ideology: Examples

## ◆ Divorce:

### Science (Theory):

- Family are strongest when they have *resources* (income, education, housing, maturity, respect etc.) and low *stress* (constant employment, happy marriage, good health, etc).

### Ideology

- Society is facing a moral decay leading to divorce, women working outside the home, and loss of the “traditional family.”



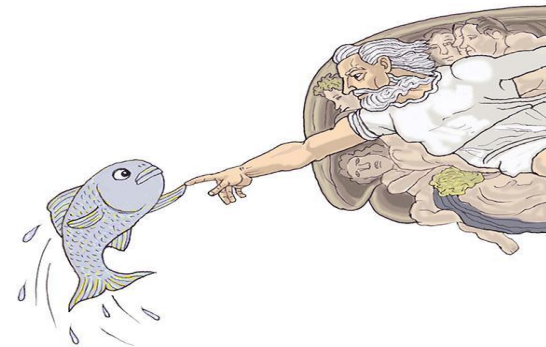
## ◆ The debate over Evolutionism and Creationism:

### Evolutionism

- Evolution qualifies as a scientific theory because of its logical coherence, openness, integration with other scientific knowledge, and empirical tests.

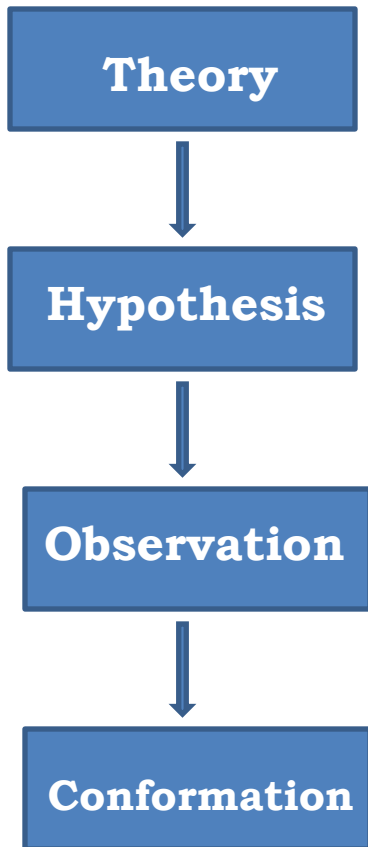
### Creationism

- Creationism relies on sacred teachings or writings that believers accept as being absolute truth and largely do not question.



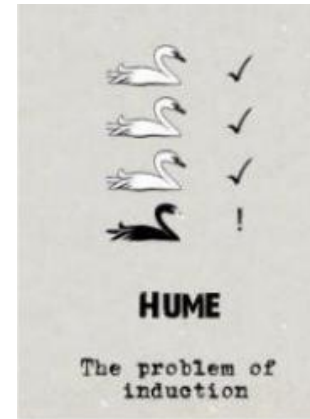
# How to Confirm Theories

## DEDUCTION

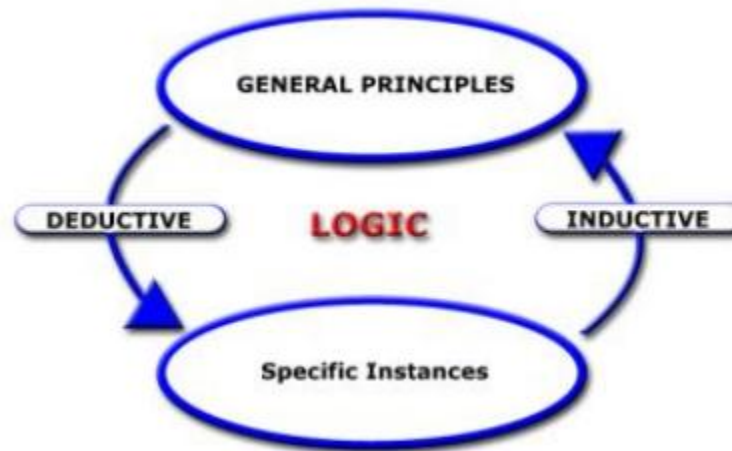
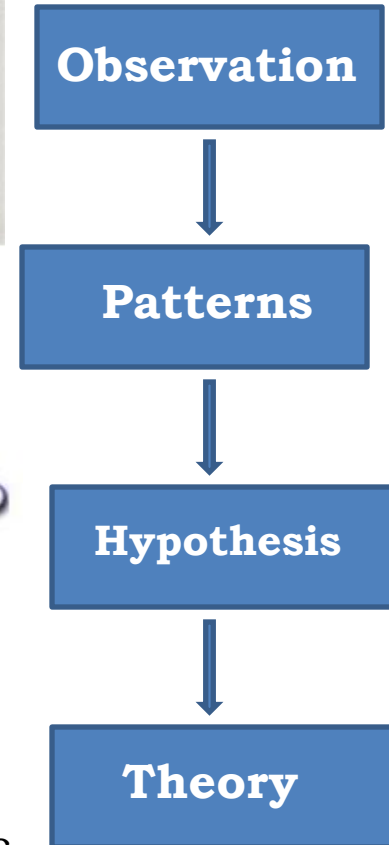


### Logical Inferences

1. Modus Ponens
2. Generalization



## INDUCTION

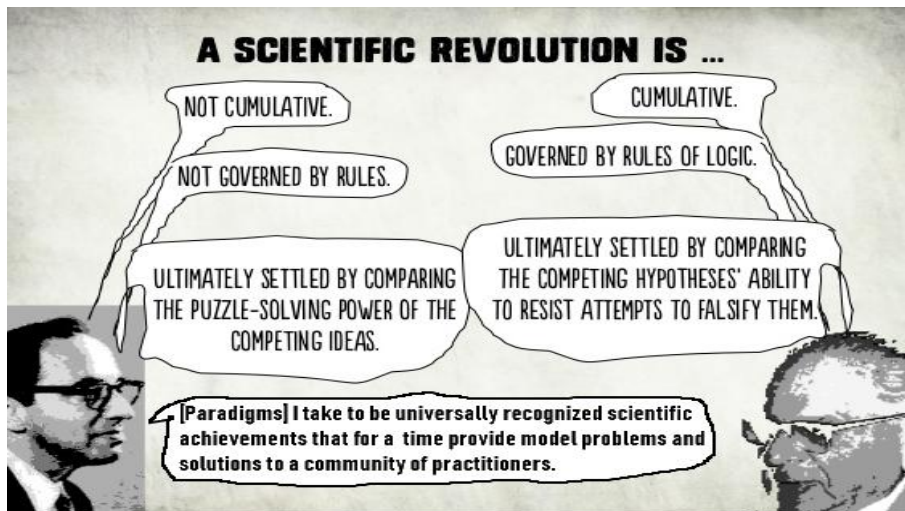


### Karl Popper:

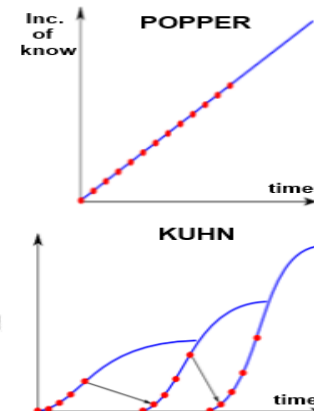
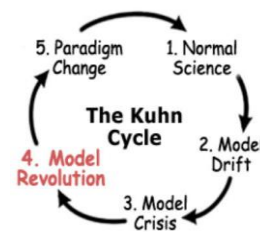
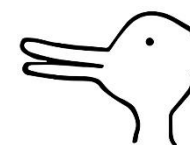
1. All scientific knowledge is hypothetic  
→ Not can be generalized
2. Modus Tollens, and not MP → Falsification

# How to Confirm Theories (#2)

## ◆ Thomas Kuhn & The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962)

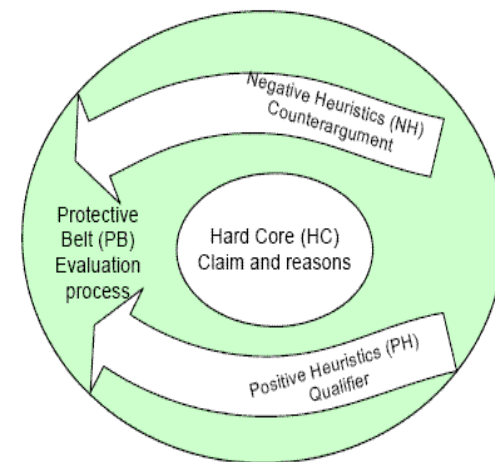


**Popper:** even the most well-established and popular scientific theory can never be proved – it can only be disproved.

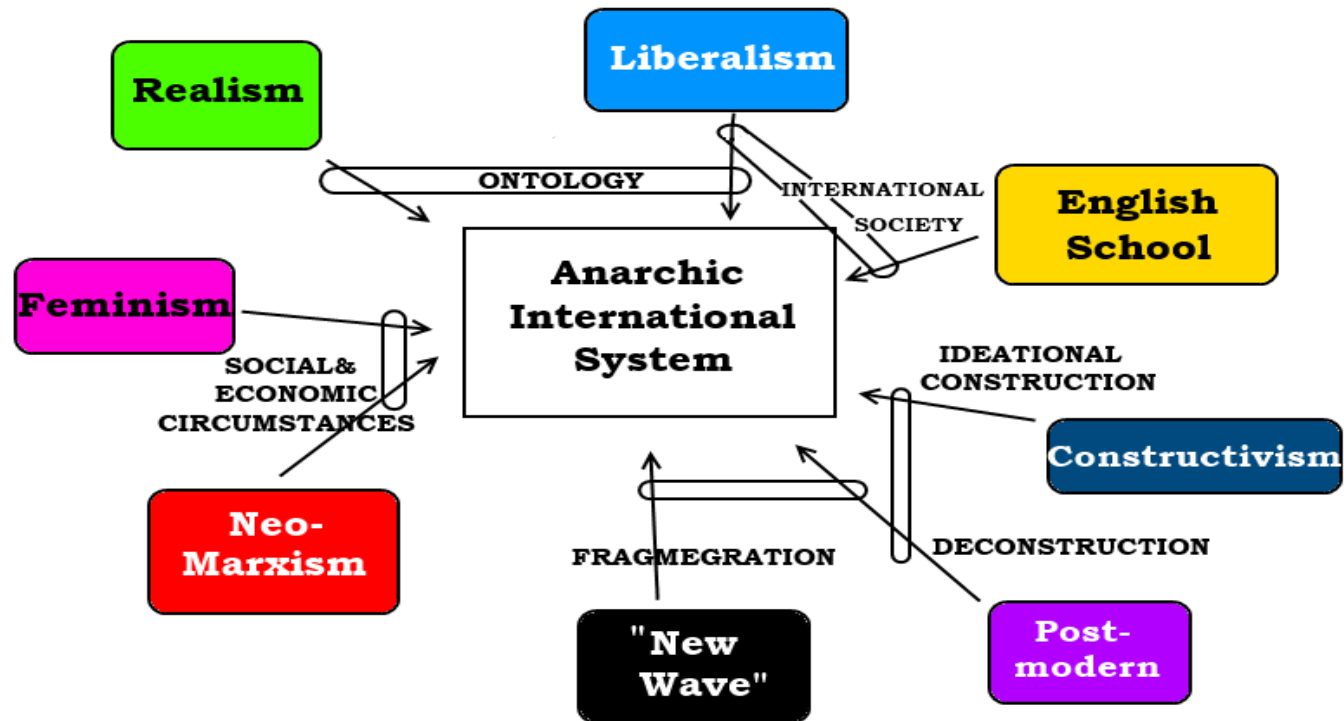


## ◆ Imre Lakatos & Research Programs (1963)

- ✓ The evolution of science is not cumulative, and a scientific methodology with universal scope cannot be constructed.
- ✓ **Research Program:** a set of theories having influence for a decade or a century; the theories belonging to one and the same research program are organized over a common conceptual core that are sublimated by negative and positive heuristics.
  - A **negative heuristics** prohibits scholars to alter some conception → The *Hard Core* of the program.
  - A **positive heuristics** is a kind of guidance for the ways of evolution process of the research program → The *Protective Belt* over the program will be changed.



# What's up with IP Schools?



## Realism

- National sovereignty
- States
- Military power
- Anarchical world

## Liberalism

- National sovereignty
- States and non-state organizations
- Limited international cooperation

## Critical views

- Interdependence
- Globalization
- Networks and nodal points
- Representations of global space

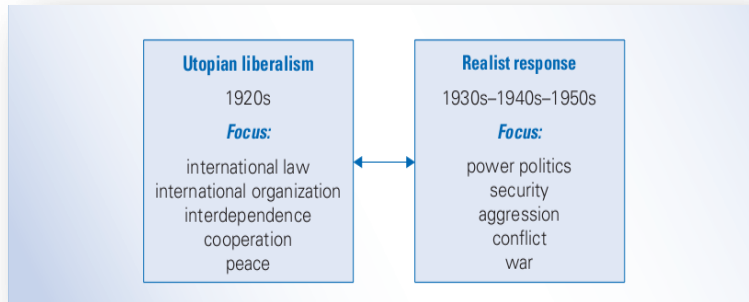
CONCEPTUAL  
HARD CORE

RESEARCH  
PROGRAMS

# Methodological Debates in IP

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

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



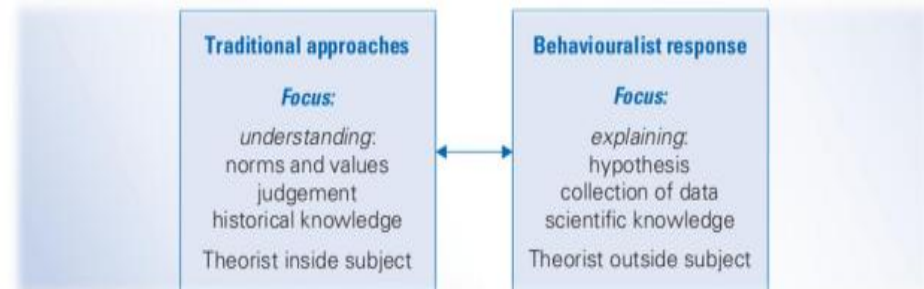
## 2. Behaviouralists vs. Traditionalists (during 1960s):

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

◆ **Traditional approaches:** The first generations of IP 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 IP.

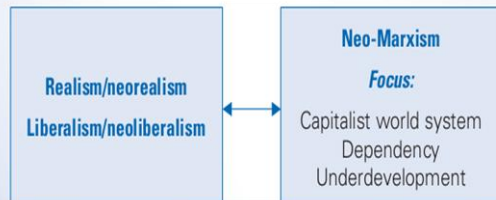
◆ **Behaviouralism:** The belief that social theories should be constructed only on the basis of observable behaviour, providing quantifiable data for research.

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 IP 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.

# Some Epistemological Problems

## ◆ No.2: Is there any trend in thinking about IP?

- Yes, or at least, we tend to think that.
  - ✓ The two mainstream schools of IP are: Realist and Liberal.
  - ✓ There are "national characteristics" of this thinking, emphasizing
    - geopolitical determinations,
    - culture and traditions (Q.: Is IR not too "Western-centric"?),
    - pragmatic perspective,
    - hegemonic efforts (e.g. UK, Russia or China),
    - messianistic visionary belief (e.g. Soviet Union, USA).
- **Example:** The main camps of Russian thinking about their country in the context of IP:

- ✓ **Geographic Principle (Vladimir Solovyov, Lev Mechnikov):**

Three conditions extremely impact on the statehood of Russia: i) the nature of land where they live; ii) the nature of tribe that they belong to; iii) the course of "external events" → the interaction of geographic and civilizational factors

- ✓ **Pan-Slavism (Mikhail Pogodin, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Nikolay Danilevsky):** A tribal-chauvinistic view, Slavic supremacy over others and dominating role in Europe as "second motherland"

- ✓ **Eurasianism (Nikolay Trubetskoy, Lev Gumilev):** A tribal-chauvinistic view, but the origin is rather goes back to Asiatic roots. The borders of Eurasian = Russian Empire.

- ✓ **Monarchists (Ivan Solonevich):** To establish a hegemonic Russian Empire needs strong monarchy

- ✓ **Westward viewers (Solovyov, Mechnikov, Vasily Klyuchevsky):** Western civilization as standard

- ✓ **Centralists:** Both anti-hegemonic (fear of nationalism and chauvinism) and anti-Western sentiment (anti-globalism and stress of cultural differences)



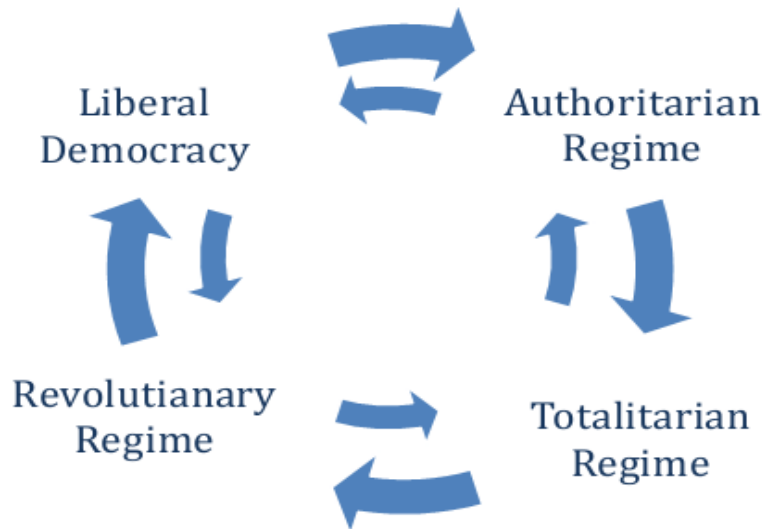
# Some Epistemological Problems

## ◆ No. 3: Why are there Conflicts and Wars?

### ➤ Is there something in Human Nature?

REALIST VIEW	LIBERAL VIEW	CRITICAL VIEWS
➤ <b>Psychological Egoism (Hobbes, Freud):</b> Individual Egoism ↓ Social Egoism ↓ International Egoism	➤ <b>Man is by nature a social animal (Aristotle, Locke)</b> ➤ <b>However, the state of nature and civil society are mutually opposed:</b> ✓ <b>In a state of nature</b> men are their own lawmakers and their own judges ✓ <b>In a civil society</b> an agreed-upon authority has the responsibility of making laws and executing them.	➤ <b>Generally view human nature as 'plastic'</b> ✓ <b>Neo-Marxism:</b> human nature is constructed by social relations ✓ <b>Feminism:</b> "Patriarchy" seen as source of power and oppression ✓ <b>English School, Constructivism:</b> three traditions i) Realist, ii) Lockean-Grotian, and iii) Kantian

### ➤ Is there something in Political Regimes?



#### Some Examples:

- September, 1973: a right-wing military coup (Augusto Pinochet) against the democratically elected Salvador Allende's government destroyed democracy in Chile.
- April, 1974: a left-wing military rebellion overthrew the totalitarian regime in Portugal and led to the creation of a democratic state.
- August, 1991: a hard-line Communist coup attempted to reverse democratic reforms in the Soviet Union. As a result of popular resistance, the coup failed.

# Levels of Analysis (#1)

## IN FOCUS

### The State Is . . .

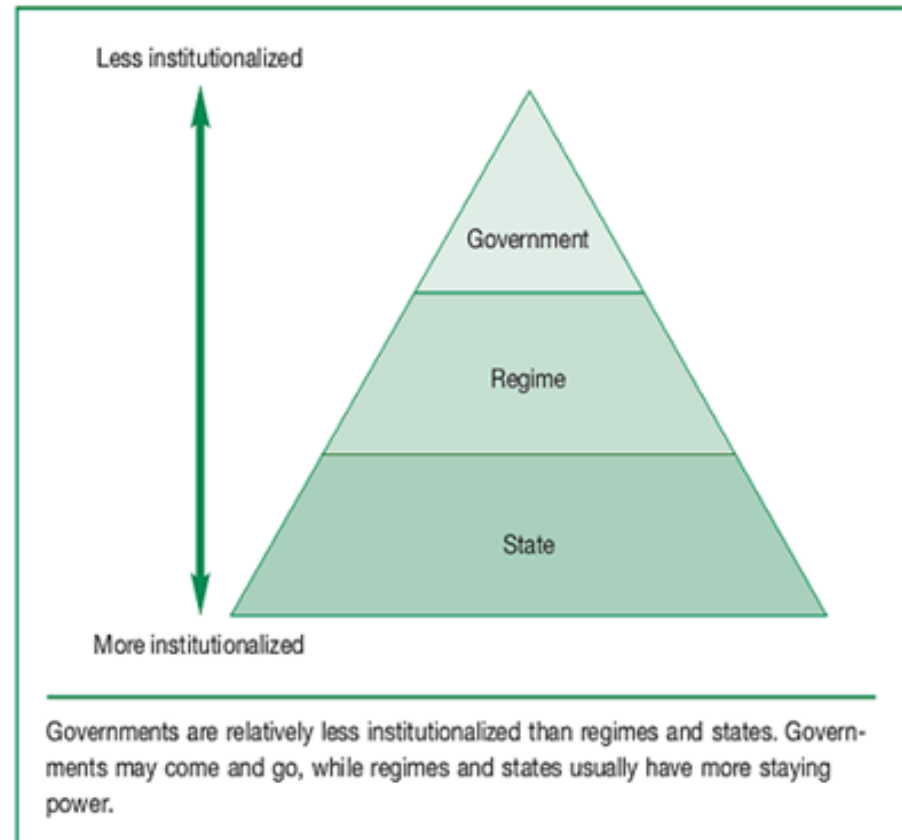
- The monopoly of force over a given territory.
- A set of political institutions to generate and carry out policy.
- Typically highly institutionalized.
- Sovereign.
- Characterized by such institutions as an army, police, taxation, a judiciary, and a social welfare system.

## IN FOCUS

### A Regime Is . . .

- Norms and rules regarding individual freedom and collective equality, the locus of power, and the use of that power.
- Institutionalized, but can be changed by dramatic social events such as a revolution.
- Categorized at the most basic level as either democratic or authoritarian.
- Often embodied in a constitution.

## STATE, REGIME, AND GOVERNMENT



# Levels of Analysis (#2)

## What is the place of Political Regimes in IP?

### Different stances:

➤ **To cut off PRs from IR:** All of these theories make certain assumptions about states and the interests and preferences of states in order to generate theories of how groups of states interact with each other or about the nature and dynamics of the international system as a whole.

**Examples:** Neorealism (Walz), "New Wave" paradigms **"Billiard Ball" view of IR**

➤ **PRs matter but the effects are not primary:** the imperatives of seeking security in a "self-help world" forces all states, good or bad, democratic or authoritarian, to seek their best foreign policy in an "anarchic" world politics.

**Example:** The other strands of Realism **"Self-Help States System" view of IR**

➤ **The effects of PRs are immediate:** this is a "bottom-up" view of IP in which states are not considered as black boxes or billiard balls. International phenomena cannot be separated from "domestic affairs".

**Examples:** Liberal strands, Neo-Marxism, Feminism **"Bottom-Up" view of IR**

# Levels of Analysis (#3)

- ◆ According to Rosenau, there are four major sources of foreign policy making:



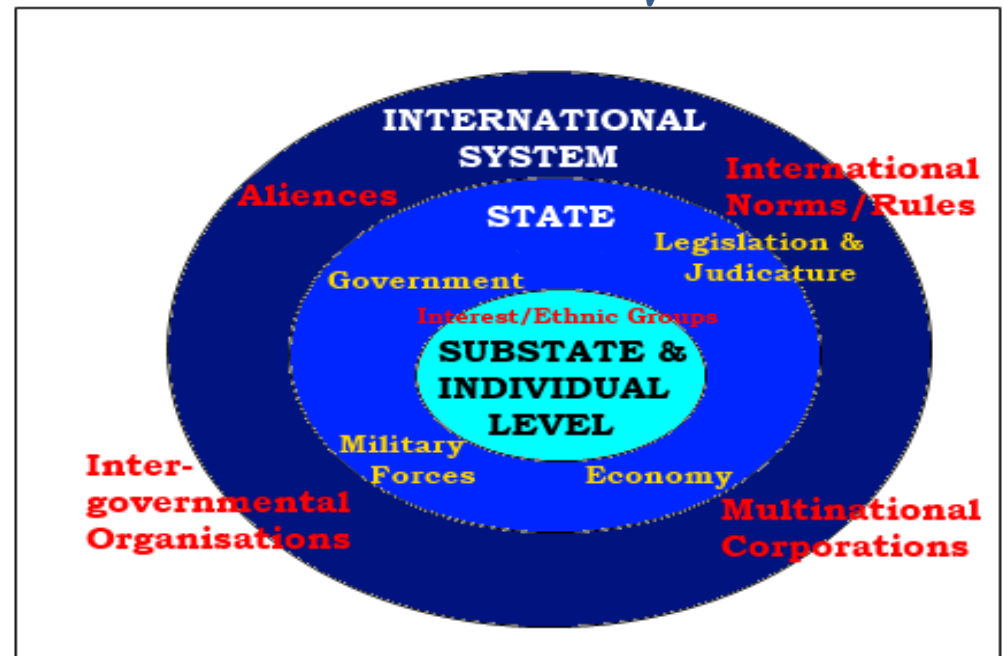
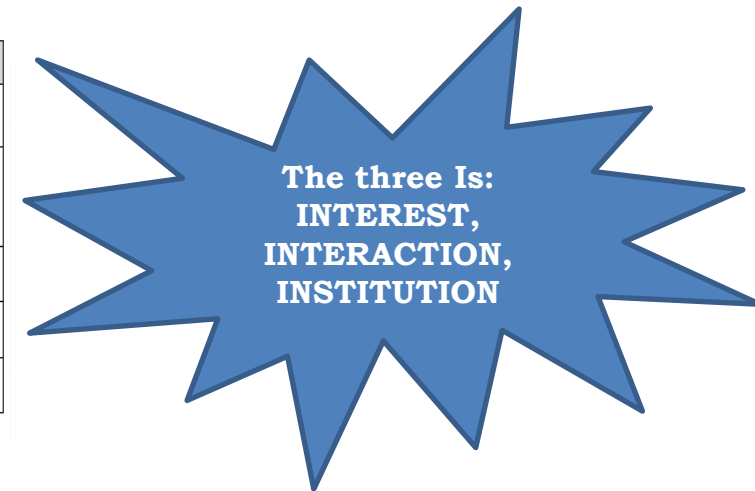
**James Rosenau**  
(1924-2011)



# Levels of Analysis (#4)

Levels	Actors
1. International System Level	The largest conglomerates of interacting and interdependent units that have no system above them (actually the entire planet)
2. International Subsystems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regional units that are territorially coherent (ASEAN, OAU)</li> <li>Conglomerates of units for some political or economic goal (OECD)</li> </ul>
3. Units	States (nations), transnational firms
4. Subunits	Organized groups within the units (bureaucracies, lobbies)
5. Individuals	The bottom line of analysis in Socials

Barry Buzan et al.: *Security*, 1998

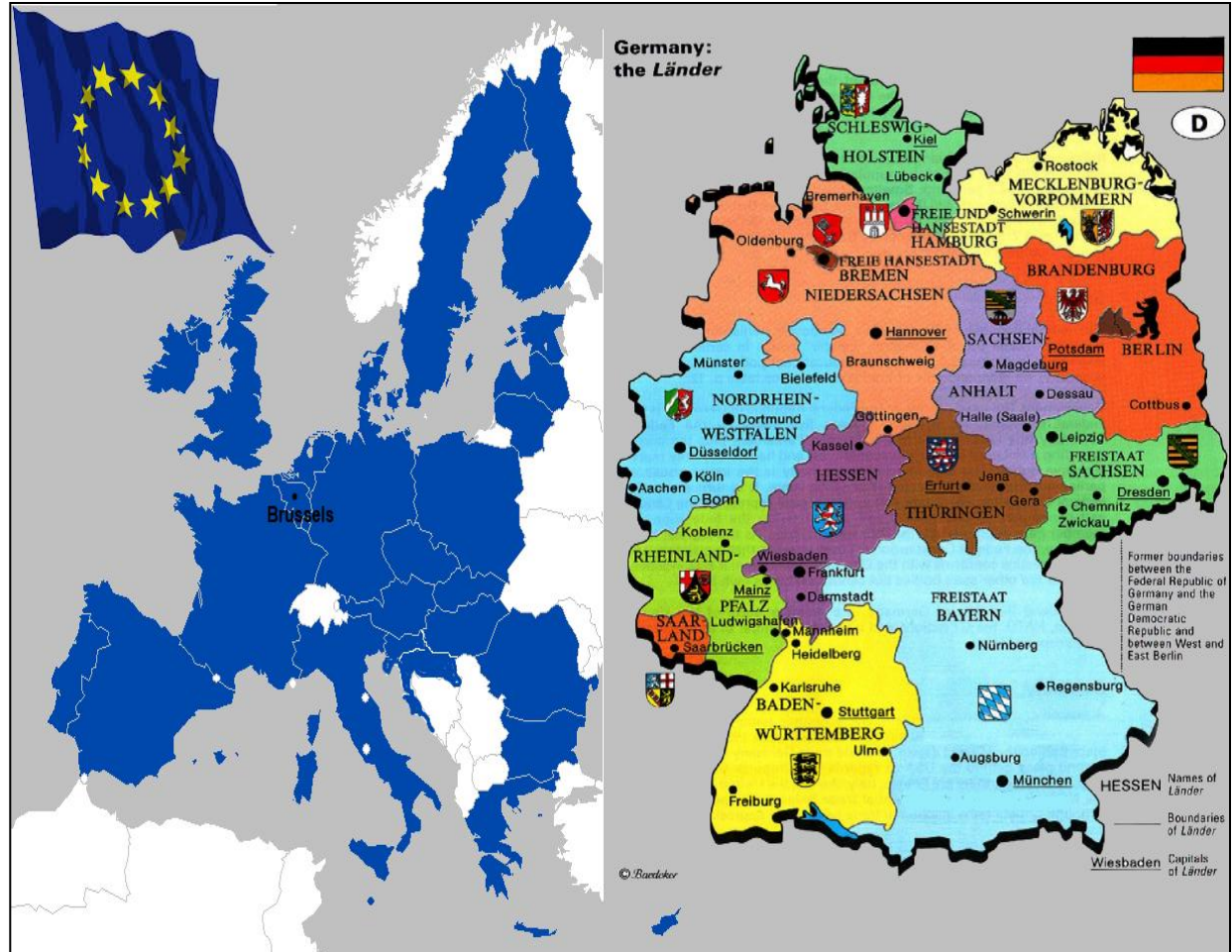


# Levels of Analysis (#5)

## Multi-level politics:

- ✓ Multilevel governance emerges when several tiers of government share the task of regulating modern society.

Australia	6 states, 2 territories
Austria	9 <i>Länder</i>
Belgium	3 regions
Canada	10 provinces, 2 territories
Germany	16 <i>Länder</i>
India	25 states, 7 union territories
Mexico	31 states, 1 federal district
South Africa	9 provinces
Switzerland	20 cantons, 6 half-cantons
USA	50 states, 1 federal district

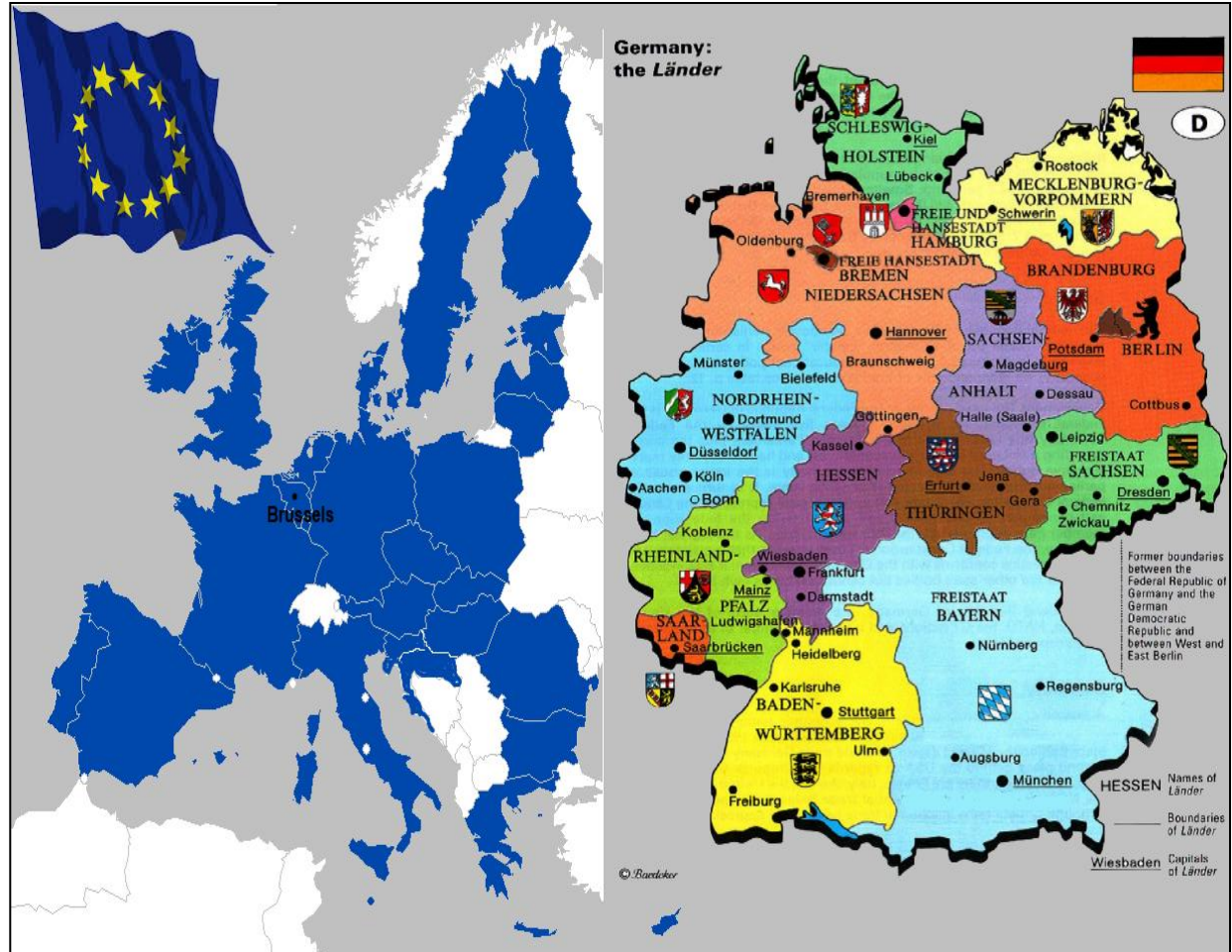


# Levels of Analysis (#5)

## Multi-level politics:

- ✓ Multilevel governance emerges when several tiers of government share the task of regulating modern society.

Australia	6 states, 2 territories
Austria	9 <i>Länder</i>
Belgium	3 regions
Canada	10 provinces, 2 territories
Germany	16 <i>Länder</i>
India	25 states, 7 union territories
Mexico	31 states, 1 federal district
South Africa	9 provinces
Switzerland	20 cantons, 6 half-cantons
USA	50 states, 1 federal district



# Some Epistemological Problems

## ◆ No. 4: What is the origin of international phenomena?

➤ IR theories can be roughly divided into one of two epistemological camps:

**"Positivist":** We should analyze the impact of objective, material forces. They typically focus on features of international relations such as geopolitical factors, state interactions, size of military forces, balance of powers, political regime, economic conditions, etc.

**"Post-positivist":** they reject the idea that the social world can be studied in an objective and value-free way. They focus instead on constitutive questions, e.g, what is meant by "power"; what makes it up, how it is experienced and how it is reproduced.

**Positive P.T.:** The purpose of the study is to describe social (international) phenomena in the world, and to explore the reasons for good/bad causes.

**Normative P.T.** is to explore moral expectations, decisions, and dilemmas in world politics by extending concepts such as justice, duty, and rights to global level.

➤ A Demonstrative Examples:



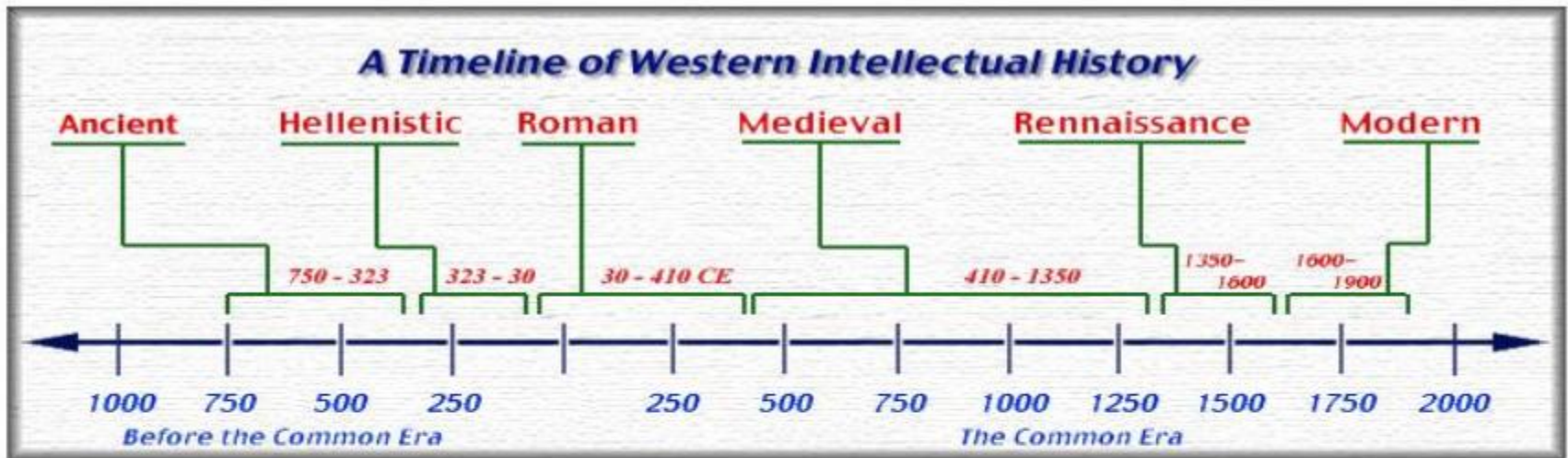
Study history, study history. In history lies all the secrets of statecraft.

History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon.



# **The Westpalian World Order**

# Toward Westphalian World Order



# Toward Westphalian World Order

## Ancient Times Period

### Greek city-states

- Start as an independent state system and end up as hegemony system
- Athens-Sparta rival city-states and their allies (Delian and Peloponnesian League)
- Persian threat → lead to military power in Athens → increase tendencies of hegemonic rule


### Roman Empire

- Imperial state system encompassing all of Europe, Middle East and Africa
- Introduce ideas of international law and international society
- Universal image of humanity

Major authority:  
Catholic church

## Medieval Period

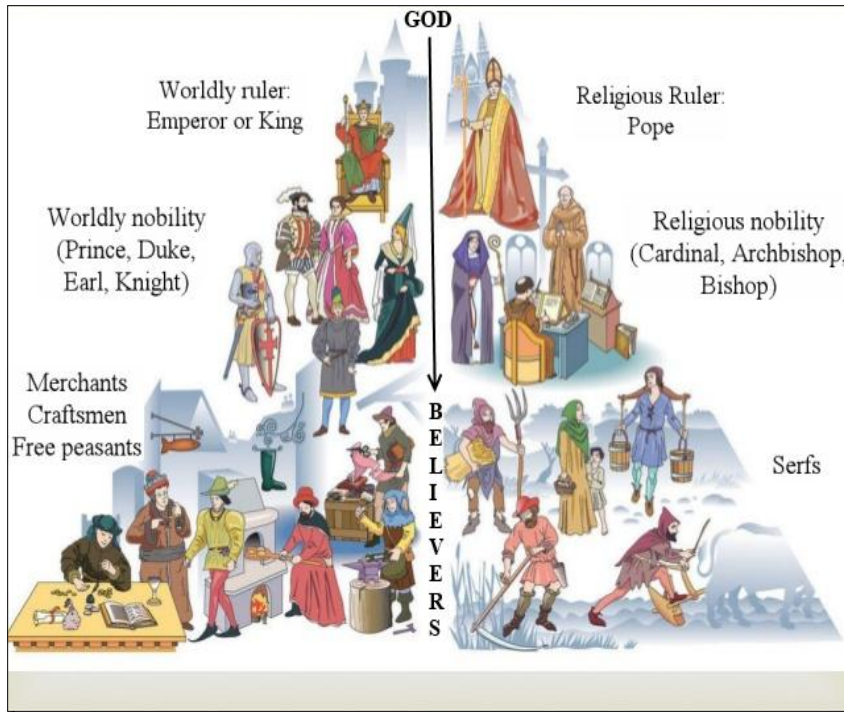
- Historically it began with the fall of Rome (476 A.D.): decentralization of political authority;
- From IR perspective, it started with the crowning ceremony of Otto I, the Great (962 A.D.), the Emperor of Holy Rome Empire.
- Double hierarchy: religious (Pope John XII) and political (Otto I, the Great).
- Lack of territorial political organization and control, and so many conflicts
- Though order was the responsibility of the emperor, but his capacity to enforce order was very limited



**Turbulence  
& Discord**

# Toward Westphalian World Order

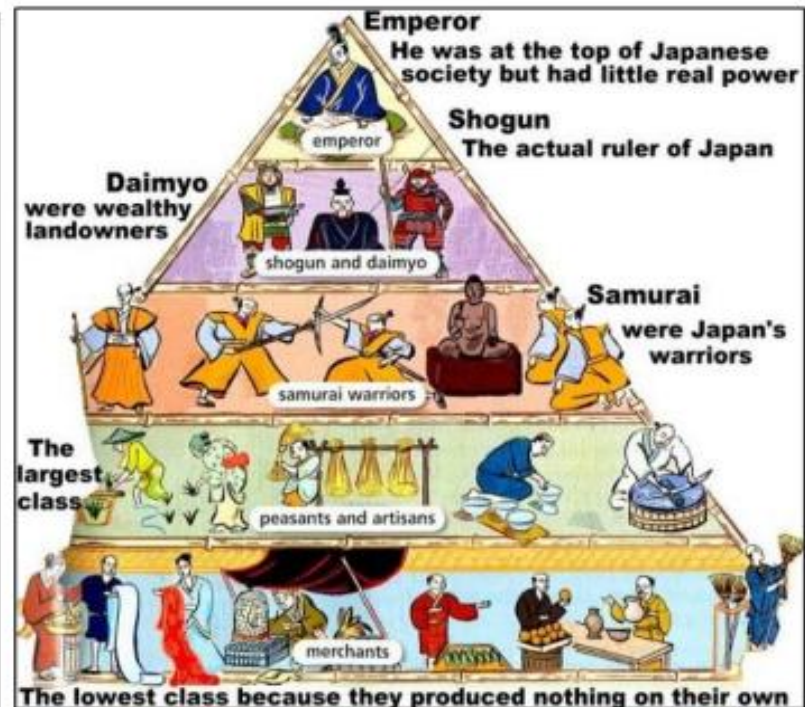
## FEUDAL SOCIAL SYSTEM:



### DOUBLE HIERARCHY

Until: 1555, Peace of Augsburg

**“Cuis regno, eius religio”**  
**“Whose realm, his religion”**



### UNTIL 1867, LAST SHOGUN:

Tokugawa Yoshinobu

↓  
**Emperor Meiji**  
**(Meiji reforms)**

Boshin war

# Shakespeare on his own Time

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

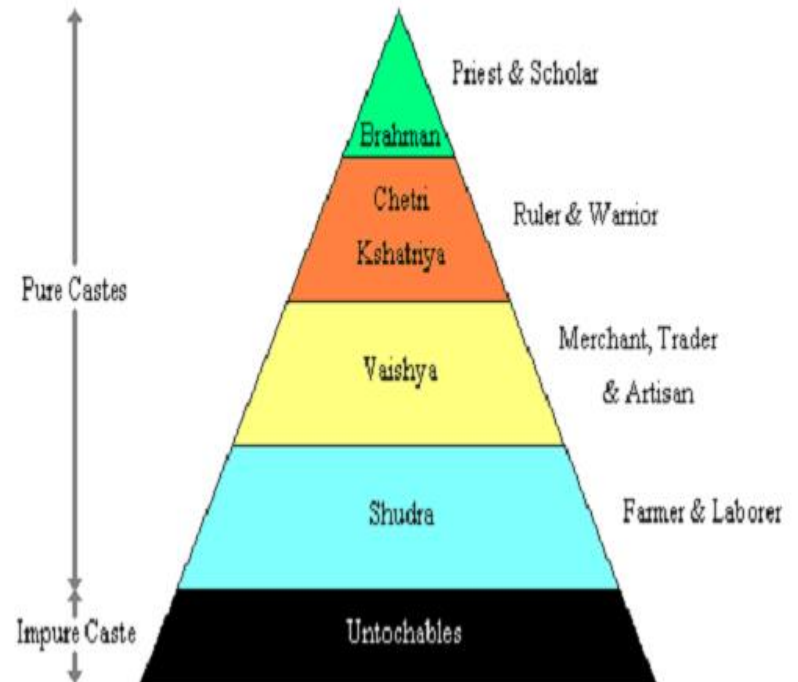
**Here it's the venom of hate flows in our lives**  
**Like in our veins**  
**Of course, our gardens are full of flowers**  
**Of course our women are beautiful and then**  
**It's like paradise on earth**  
**But our souls are in hell**  
You are in Verona

# Toward Westphalian World Order

## FEUDAL SYSTEM COMPARISON

Europe	What is it?	Japan
Pope	Religious Leader	Emperor
Monarch	"King"	Shogun
Nobles	"Lord, Duke, Count"	Daimyo
Knights	"Soldier"	Samurai
Merchants	Highest Commoner	Peasants
Craftsmen	Second Commoner	Artisan
Peasants	Lowest Class	Merchants

## Hindu Caste System



# Toward Westphalian World Order

## Peace of Augsburg (1555)

- The agreement allowed Holy Roman Empire's states' princes to select either Lutheranism or Catholicism within the domains they controlled.
- Residents who did not wish to conform to the prince's choice were given a period in which they were free to move to different regions in which their desired religion had been accepted.



## Thirty years war (1618-1648) → the first continental war in Europe

### 4 phases of the war:

1. Bohemian
2. Danish-Dutch

Local & Religious

Battle of White Mountain (1620)

Peace of Lübek (1629)

- 
3. Swedish
  4. French

Continental & Political

**Swedish Sworn & French Fund:** Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran King of Sweden: Father of modern (mobile) warfare → **Battle of Breitenfeld (1631)**

**The French vs. House of Habsburg** → Cardinal Richelieu and his Realpolitik: Catholic French funded Protestants against those catholic actors (Spain) that were under Habsburg's supremacy.

# Toward Westphalian World Order

SECULARIZATION

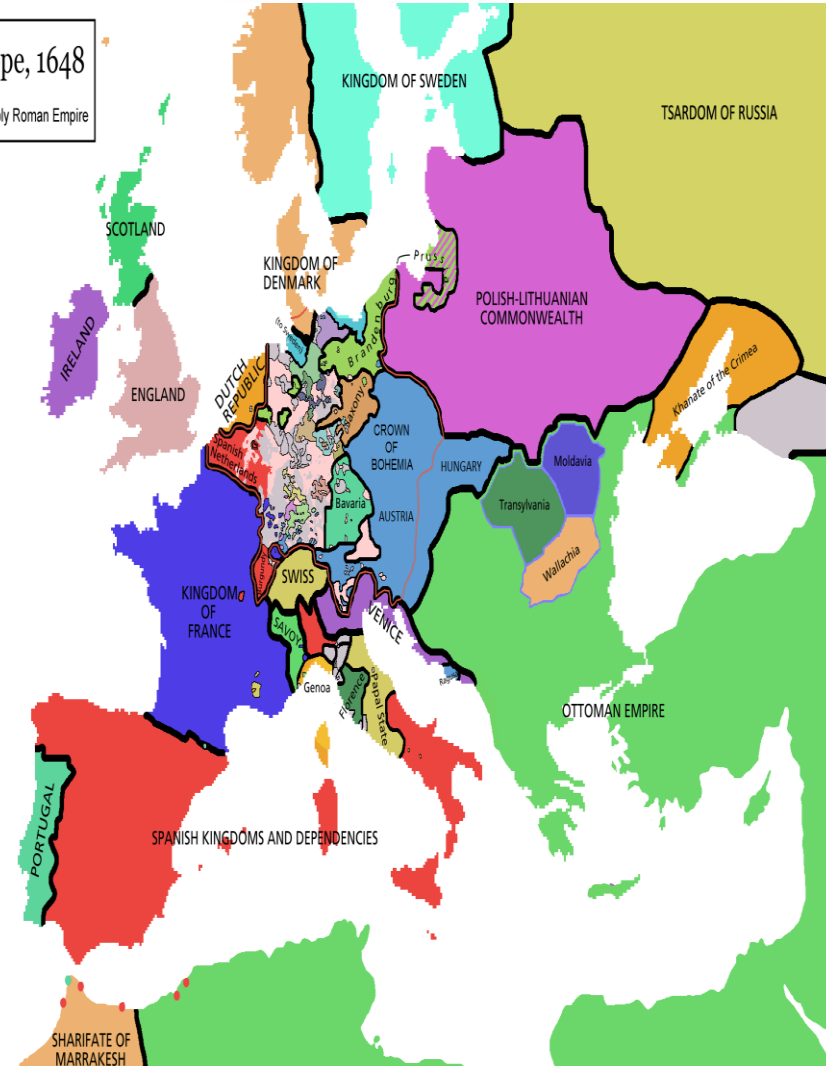
## The Peace of Westphalia (1648):

Three key principles governing international politics:

1. Territoriality
2. Sovereignty
3. Autonomy



Europe, 1648  
— Holy Roman Empire



# Toward Westphalian World Order

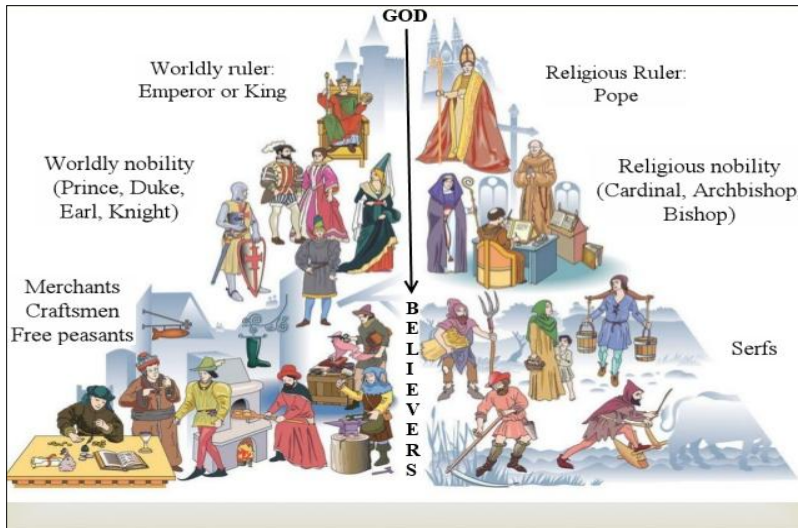
- Feudal and local conflicts between rival groups of knights;
- Sometimes between kings : e.g. the Hundred Years War between England and France (1337–1453);
- Sometimes between the emperor and the pope: e.g. between Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII (Walk to Canossa in 1077);
- Between religious civilizations: e.g. the Christian Crusades against the Islamic world (1096–1291).

## 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**

### Dispersed authority with Dynastic & Religious Conflicts and War



### Centralized authority with territorial (national) Wars



# World Politics under Westphalian World Order

- **Realism at the Forefront of World Politics:**

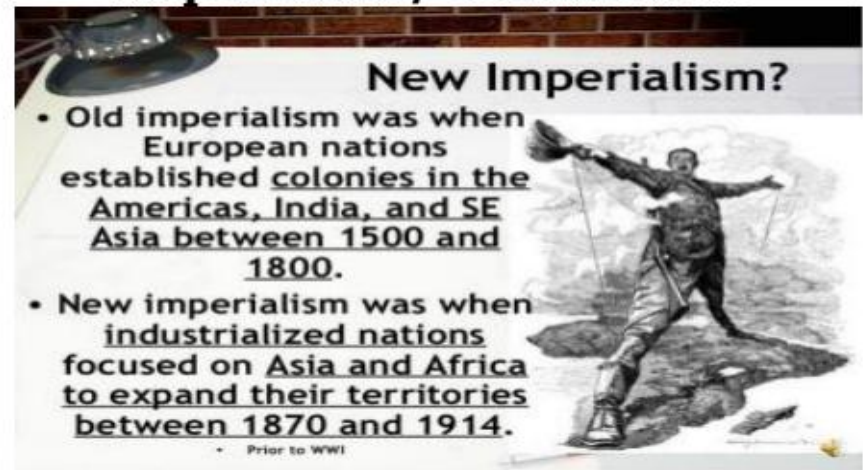
- ✓ **Independent State System:** Sovereign States + Self-help System

Balance of Power:

- ✓ The Holy Alliance (1815)
- ✓ Berlin Conference (1885)
- ✓ The Treaty of Versailles (1919)
- ✓ Yalta Talks (1945)

↓  
**Bipolar world (1946-89)**

Imperialism/ Colonialism:



- ✓ **Monroe Doctrine (1823):**

- Further efforts by European nations to colonize land or interfere with states in North or South America would be viewed as acts of aggression, requiring U.S. intervention.
- The US would neither interfere with existing European colonies nor meddle in the internal concerns of European countries.

ISOLATION POLICY

# Balance of Power 1

## ◆ The Holy Alliance (1815)

- **Precedent:** Revolutions: American (1775-83) and French (1789-1815)
- **Members:** Austria (Emp. Francis), Prussia (Emp. Frederick William), Russia (Cz. Alexander)
- **The time of sign:** after the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815)
- **Goals:** "Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures"
  - they will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity"
  - considering each other as fellow countrymen,
  - they will lend each other aid and assistance;
- **Disturbance:** European Revolutions in 1848 (Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, and Milan, but also in France, Denmark, Switzerland)
- **The end:** 1853-56: Crimean War (No aid to the czar), 1866: Battle of Königgrätz (Prussia vs. Austria)



## ◆ Berlin Conference (1885)

- **Members:** Otto von Bismarck (Germany) as the host, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden-Norway (as Union), the Ottoman Empire and the United States
- **Main Results:**
  - **Territorial settlement in the Balkan:**  
After San Stefano (1878) to maintain Balkanic national states  
Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Cyprus → GB, B-H → Austria-Hungary
  - **Territorial settlement in Africa:**
    - A memorandum about an international prohibition of the slave trade
    - "New Imperialism": Scramble for Africa



# Balance of Power 2

## ◆ The Treaty of Versailles (1919)

- **Precedent:** WW1
- **Leading Characters:** France (PM Clemenceau), GB (PM Lloyd George), USA (Pr. Wilson), Italy (PM Vittorio Orlando)
- **Goals:**
  - **France** (in spirit of realism): to weaken Germany as much as possible, and the division of Austria-Hungary.
  - **USA** (in spirit of idealism): rebuilding the European economy, encouraging self-determination, promoting free trade, creating appropriate mandates for former colonies, and above all, creating a powerful League of Nations (Wilson 14 points)
  - **GB:** supported French reparations of Central Europe but to a lesser extent than the French.



## ◆ Yalta Talks (1945)

- **Precedent:** WW2
- **Members:** USA (Pr. Roosevelt), Soviet Union (Gen. Stalin), GB (PM Churchill)
- **Purpose:** to plan the final defeat and occupation of Nazi Germany
- **Conclusion:** A new settlement of Europe, and induces a bipolar World system by dividing the world into two parts: east and west.



# World Politics under Westphalian World Order

- **“Utopian Liberalism” at the Forefront of World Politics:**

- ✓ **President Wilson's Fourteen Points (1919)**

- Support for Self Determination, i.e., put an end to empires
    - Liberated economic regulation
    - End of Secret Diplomacy;
    - Establishment of the League of Nations, i.e. “Collective Security” instead of the “Balance of Power”



President Wilson's  
Fourteen Points

1. Open diplomacy
2. Freedom of the Seas
3. Removal of economic barriers
4. Reduction of armaments
5. Adjustment of colonial claims
6. Conquered territories in Russia
7. Preservation of Belgian sovereignty
8. Restoration of French territory
9. Redrawing of Italian frontiers
10. Division of Austria-Hungary
11. Redrawing of Balkan boundaries
12. Limitations on Turkey
13. Establishment of an independent Poland
14. Creation of an Association of Nations

# The Cold War Period (1946-1991)

„Precursory”

The  
Beginnings

Scorchers

	1945 United Nations created (June)		1967 Six Day War
	1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb attacks (August)		1968: the year that rocked east and west (Paris, Prague and Civil Rights Movement)
	March 05, 1946 Churchill's Fulton Speech		1969 Apollo 11 lands on the moon as a reply to the "Sputnik Shock" (1957)
	1947 Truman Doctrine announced (April)		1971 Communist China joins the UN
	1947 Marshall Plan introduced (June)		1971 The End of Bretton Woods Monetary System
	1948-9 Berlin Blockade/Airlift		1973 Oil crisis
	1949 Soviet atomic bomb explosion (August)		1977 Economic reforms begin in China (Deng Xiaoping)
	1949 Chinese Revolution (Mao Zedong)		1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran (Ayatollah Khomeini)
	1949: NATO 1955-1991: Warsaw Pact		1979-89 Soviet Union invades Afghanistan 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War
	1950-53 Korean War 1955-75 Vietnam War		1986 M. Gorbachev and his reforms in the USSR (Glasnost & Perestroika – "Openness" & "Restructuring")
	1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary		1989 Berlin Wall falls (9 <sup>th</sup> November)
	1962 Cuban Missile Crisis		1991 Collapse of the Soviet Union
			1989: Washington Consensus (Economic paradigm for global world economy)

Springtime of  
the People  
(the "new 1848") →

The failure of  
the "Gold Standard"  
in World Economics →

Uprising of  
Chinese  
Economy →

Uprising of  
the Islamic  
World →

Uprisings in  
the Soviet Bloc →

Neoliberalism as  
paradigm for  
Global Capitalism

Fragmentations in WP

WORLD POLITICS

# Visionary Ideas 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)

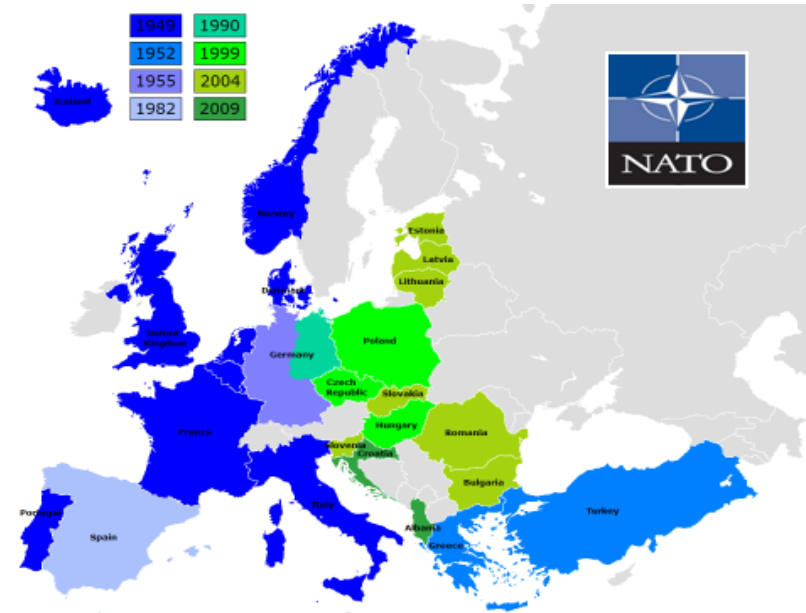
## **Thesis: Turbulence in World Politics**

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

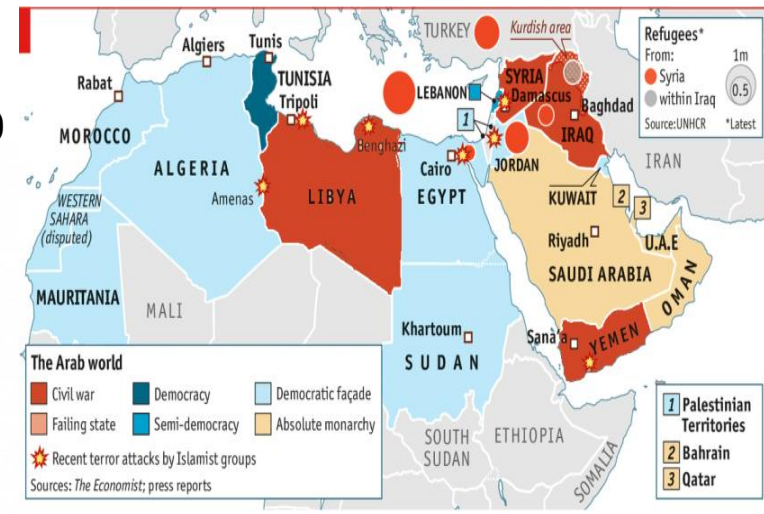
- The extensive degrees of interdependence among actors in the world → Increasing complexity
- Coexistence of the state-centric international system with a more dynamic, decentralized, multi-centric local system.
- Such turbulence, in turn, transforms long-standing parameters of behaviour (all the relevant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

# Post-Cold War Period

1. The US "unipolar moment" (Ch. Krauthammer)
  - The Gulf War (1991)
  - The Expansion of NATO (1990-2009)
2. 9/11 terrorist attacks on the USA in 2001
  - War in Afghanistan (2001-)
  - US-led invasion of Iraq (2003)
3. Russia nationalist / militarist replies?
  - War against Georgia in 2008 (annexation of Abkhazia and Ossethia)
  - Ukrainian Crisis, 2014- (annexation of the Crimea)
  - Military bases on the North Pole
  - Syrian intervention, 2015
4. Seething Islamic world
  - Arab spring (2010-2011)
  - Civil wars (Libya, Syria)
  - Ongoing violence (Egypt, Yemen)
  - Islamic state (2010)
5. Mass Migration → Migration Crisis, 2015
6. Toward to a Multipolar World (USA-China-Russia-EU)



- +
- The Decline of Washington Consensus (Neoliberalism), 2008
  - Ideological tensions (Liberalism ↔ leftist, rightist movements)



## **World Stability in Focus**

# World Politics as AOC together

- **Anarchy**



- **Psychological Egoism**
- **Hobbesian Thesis**



- **Order**



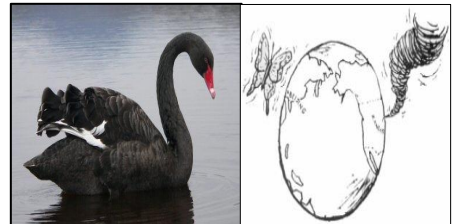
- **Westphalian World Order**
- **Hegemonic Stability Theory**



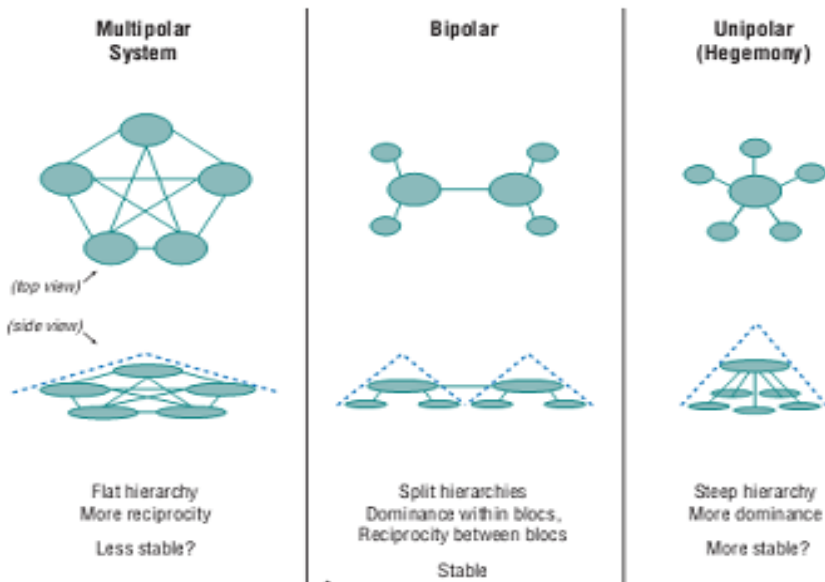
- **Chaos**



- **The Black Swans**
- **The Butterfly Effect**



# How to keep up Stability in Politics?

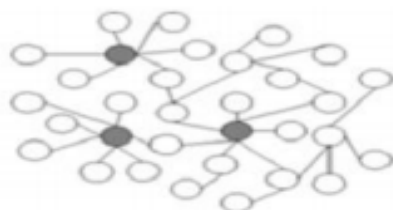


Author	Principal Criteria for classification	Principal types of party system identified
Duverger (1954)	Numbers of Parties	Two-party systems Multiparty systems
Dahl (1966)	Competitiveness of opposition	Strictly competitive Co-operative-competitive Coalescent-competitive Strictly coalescent
Blondel (1968)	Numbers of parties Relative size of parties	Two-party systems Two-and-a-half-party systems Multiparty systems with one dominant party Multiparty systems without dominant party
Rokkan (1968)	Numbers of parties Likelihood of single-party majorities Distribution of minority party strengths	The British-German "1 vs. 1+1" system The Scandinavian "1 vs. 3-4" system Even multiparty systems: "1 vs. 1 vs. 1+2-3"
Sartori (1976)	Numbers of Parties Ideological distance	Two-party systems Moderate pluralism Polarized pluralism Predominant-party systems

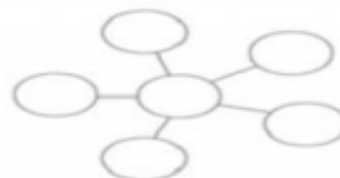
**Neorealism**

**Network Science**

**Comparative Politics**



**Scale-free  
Polyarchical  
Democratic**



**Star  
Centric  
Autocratic**



**Straggling  
Organizing  
Tentative**

IR

# Debates on World Stability

## • Neorealist Stability Theory: The Logic of numbers?

### ✓ Bipolar systems tend towards stability and strengthen the likelihood of peace. Reasons:

- The existence of only two great powers encourages each to maintain the bipolar system
- The existence of only two great powers reduces the chances of miscalculation and makes it easier to operate an effective system of deterrence
- Power relationships are more stable as each bloc is forced to rely on inner (economic and military) resources, external (alliances with other states or blocs) means of expanding power not being available.

Fewer great powers means the possibilities of great-power war are reduced.

## • The Critics of Neoclassic Realists:

- Stability cannot deduced from IS structure ← States are agents and has ontological superiority over the IS.

## • Neoliberal Critics:

- Neorealists focus on "high politics" of IP: the military and diplomatic dimensions of international relations
- Instead, the international agenda is becoming broader with greater attention being given to the "low politics" of welfare, environmental protection and political justice.

## World Order:

Multipolar  
(1900-1918)

WW2

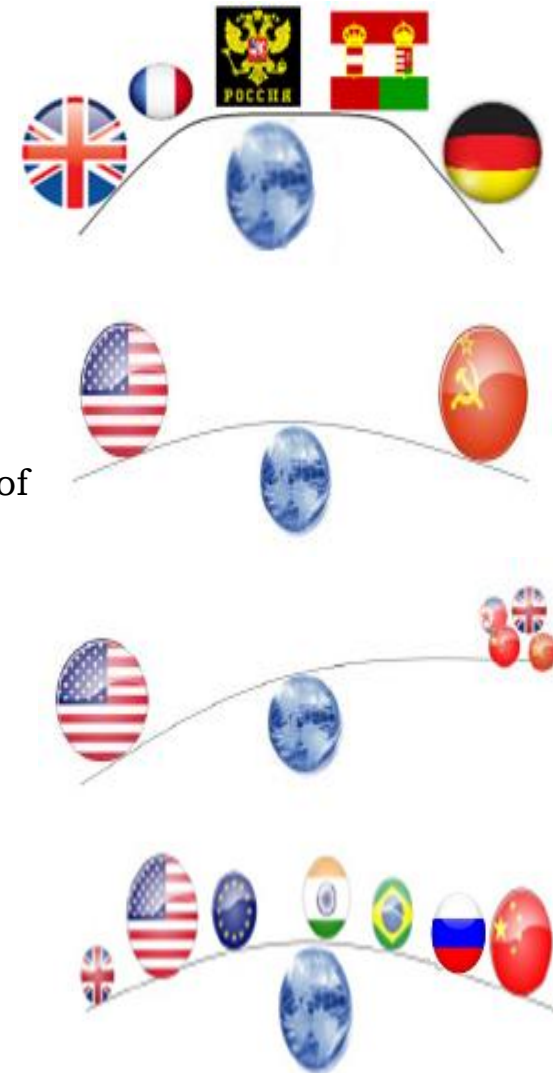
Bipolar  
(1945-1990)

The end of  
Cold War

Unipolar  
(1990-2001)

Fragmen-  
tations

Multipolar  
(?)

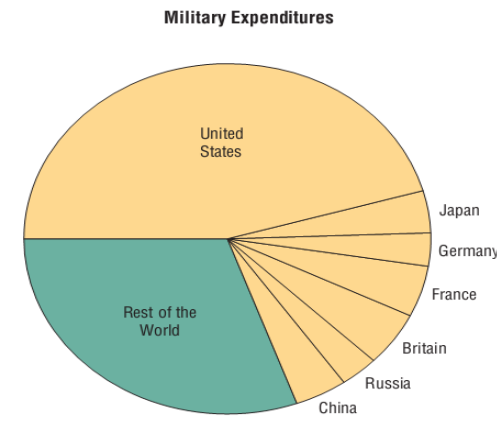
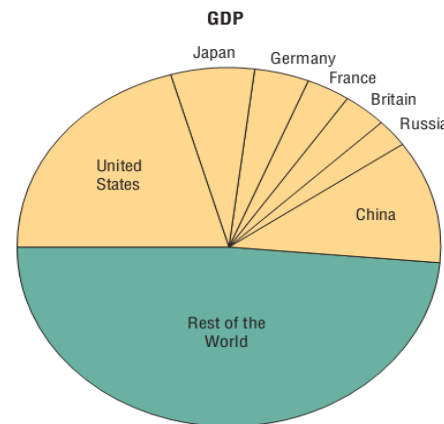
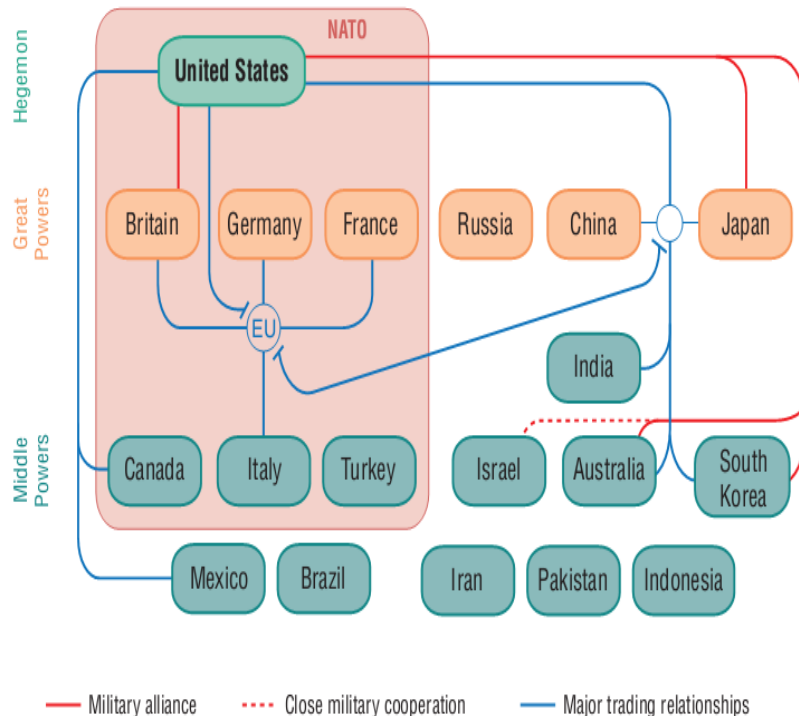


# Hegemonic Stability

◆ **Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST)** holds that there is always a proclivity towards instability in the international system, but this can be avoided if the dominant state assumes a leadership or hegemonic role. This role involves creating and upholding a system of rules (Bretton Woods System, GATT, World Bank, IMF) which provide a secure basis for international order and cooperation under conditions of anarchy.

**Hegemony** is the dominance of a single power. It is employed to explain how international order is possible even in the context of 'anarchy'.

◆ **Current Alignment of Powers:** ◆ **The Price of Hegemony:**



# Hegemonic Stability (con.)

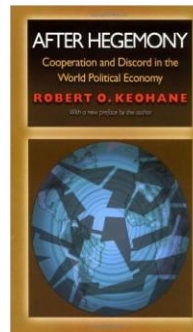
◆ **HST as Neo-realist Thesis:** Neorealists have found the concept of HST useful in explaining how an international economy based on fundamentally liberal principles and liberal economic practices could be secured in a world in which political authority was vested in nation-states with competing interests and possibly mercantilist impulses.

✓ Robert Gilpin: an analysis of US hegemony which rested on the premise that there was a direct relationship between US power and the stability of the international economic order.



◆ **After Hegemony:** Keohane argues HST, pointing at that

- the condition of hegemony is not the only possible form or motive for cooperation → HST might be partially valid, but it is not sufficient for understanding the conditions under which cooperation take place;
- cooperation seems to depend on other important factors:
  - expectations;
  - transaction costs;
  - conditions of uncertainty.



◆ **Critics:**

➤ **Neo-Marxism:** both schools miss the cushion

- ✓ Hegemony is a project of social forces
- ✓ The highest layer of society possesses
  - economic domination
  - intellectual and moral leadership
  - military power



# 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.

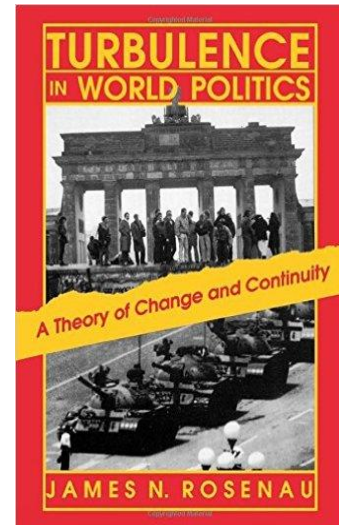
- **Coexistence of the long standing state-centric international system with an ever more dynamic, decentralized, multi-centric system.**

- **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.**”*

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



# The Decline of Westphalian World Order?



Modern politics based on

- Sovereign States (Westphalian system) and
- Universal Human Rights (Enlightenment) seems to be insufficient.



- Empowering of non-state organizations (MNCs, NGOs),
- Global Ecological Issues,
- Global communication and mobility (cyberspace, migration, contagions),
- Expressive individualism (multi-identification, religious fundamentalism → multicultural ways of life)
- Humanitarian interventions (to tackle crisis)
- 4th Generation Warfare (Terrorism, Cyber warfare, PMC)

**All these challenges include and may imply international security risks and potential conflicts**

**Back to square one in the study of World Politics:**

- **Ontological question:** what to know?
- **Epistemological question:** how to know?
- **Methodological question:** how to verify our knowledge?

# The "Billiard Ball" model in different fashions

- **Neorealist Model #1: *Kenneth Waltz***
  - ✓ Technical instrument to use: **absolute and relative gains**
- **Neorealist Model #2: *Robert Gilpin***
  - ✓ Technical instrument to use: **Marginal analysis**



## HEGEMONIC STABILITY THEORY

- **"New wave" paradigm: *James Rosenau***

**Turbulence**

**Frangmentation**

✓ Technical instruments to use:

**Chaos Theory**

*Paradigm shift:*

Chance is crucial and immanent in WP

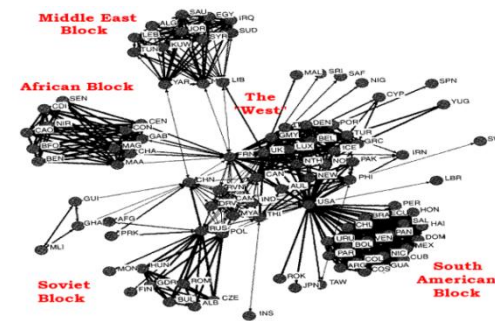
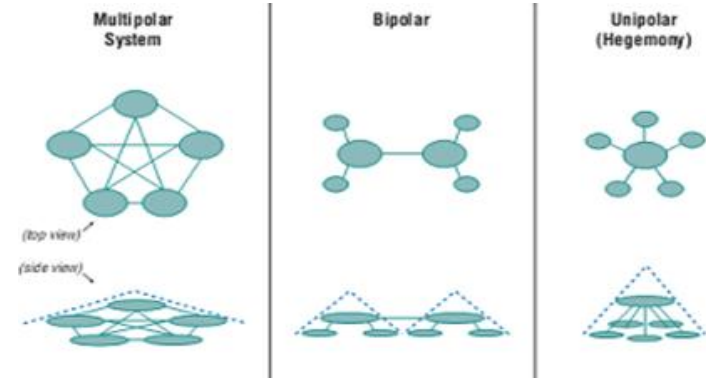
***Epistemic & Methodological turn***

**Network Theory**

*Paradigm shift:*

The fundamental entities are not states (realists) and individuals (liberals)

***Ontological turn***



# Constructed Reality

## ◆ Trouble with Causation

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

- Domino Effect:

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



- Mechanism:

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

KNOW	—	KNOW
KNOW	—	UNKNOWN
UNKNOWN	—	KNOW
UNKNOWN	—	UNKNOWN

## ◆ Instead of Causality

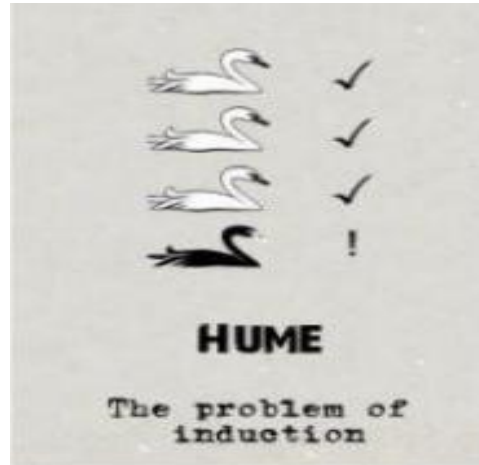
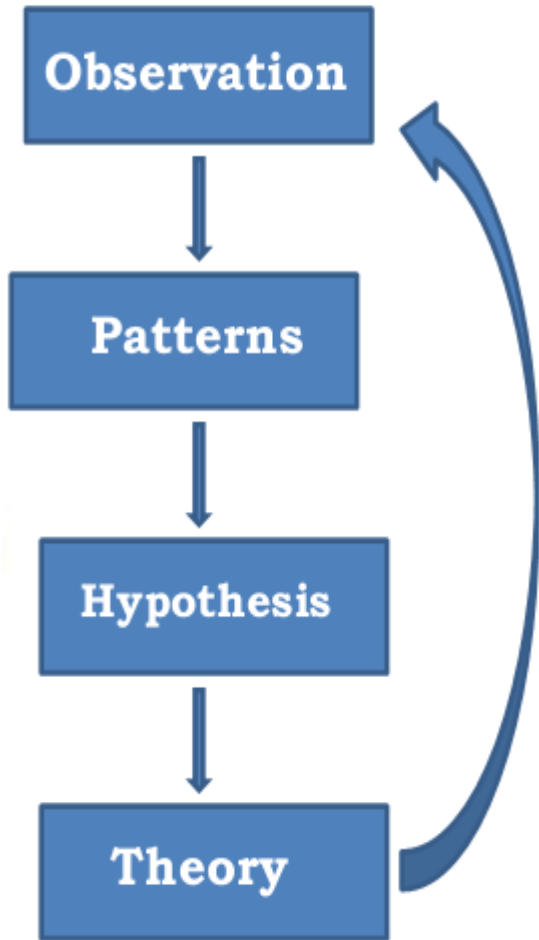
➤ **Discourse:** how to bring up meaning? → Social Constructivism

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

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

# 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.

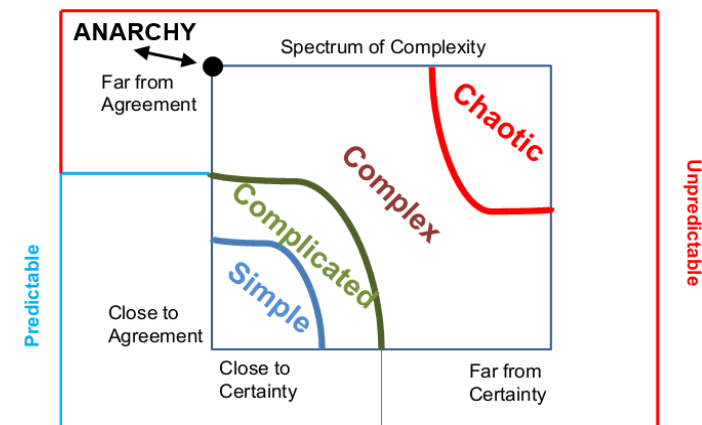
# Toward Chaos Theory: The Butterfly Effect

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

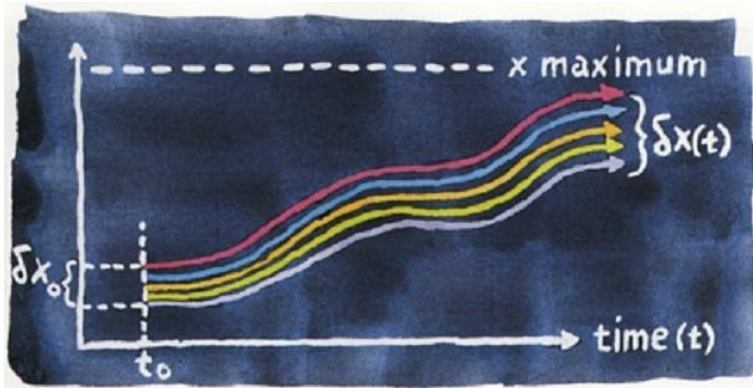
- **Non-linearity:** This construct means that small actions can stimulate large reactions in which highly improbable, unpredictable and unexpected events have huge impacts.
- **The Butterfly Effect:** Big movements of change have often started with tiny events or personal decisions that ended up affecting 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.



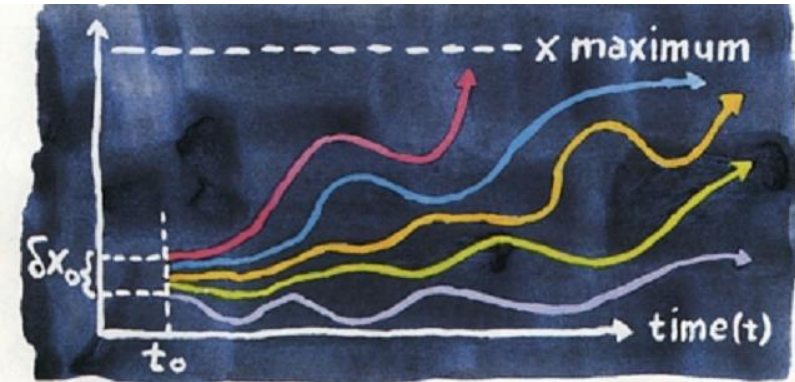
**Turbulence** ensures that two adjacent points in a complex system will eventually end up in very different positions after some time has elapsed.



# 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

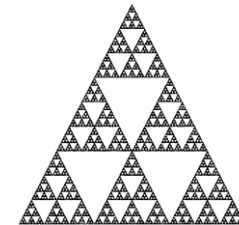
- ✓ **The “big picture”:** The pivotal point of the cold war in 1962.
  - Relations between Cuban communist leader, F. Castro, and the US were increasingly strained and Cuba moved closer in IRs to the Soviet Union.
  - In 1961 an invasion by Cuban exiles with US support was defeated at the Bay of Pigs.
  - 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.

# Chance itself is not so simple

## Randomness of the world



**Fractals – the Pictures of Chaos:** Fractals are infinitely complex patterns (attractor) that are self-similar across different scales. They are created by repeating a simple process over and over in an ongoing feedback loop.

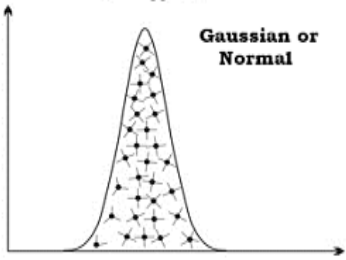
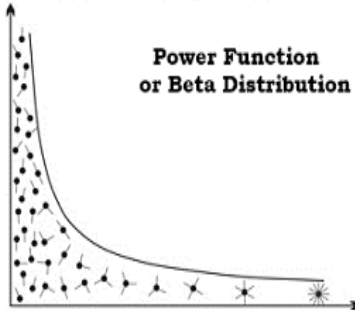
**Regular, long-run events with**

- **fractal patterns**
- **free-scale networks**



**Incidents, wars, economic shocks**

**with tentative, organizing structure**

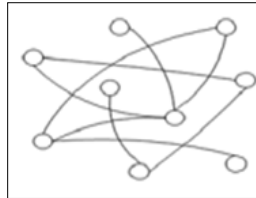
"Tackable Chance"	"Blind Chance"
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Terminus Technicus:</b> Risk</li> <li>• <b>"Calculable":</b> The relevant outcomes can be considered: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ some probabilities (<i>a priori probabilities</i>) are assignable to the outcomes</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Terminus Technicus:</b> Uncertainty</li> <li>• <b>Diffuse category:</b> We have no idea about the number, the types of outcomes</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The characterization of phenomena:</b></li> </ul>  <p style="text-align: center;">Gaussian or Normal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The characterization of phenomena:</b></li> </ul>  <p style="text-align: center;">Power Function or Beta Distribution</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The phenomena can be scaled</b> by the values occurring the most likely in patterns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>"Plastic world"</b> In chaotic mechanisms there might be typical, repeated patterns that govern and self-organize the system (economics, IR).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Examples:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Human descriptions (height, weight, IQ, death ratio)</li> <li>✓ Description of human community</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Examples:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ numbers and intensity of earthquakes</li> <li>✓ Income distributions</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

# Network Science as New Paradigm

## Random Graph or

### Erdős-Rényi model of networking:

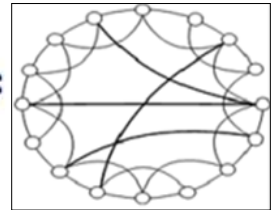
- Each edge has a fixed probability of being present or absent, independently of the other edges.



## Small-World or

### Watts-Strogatz model of networking:

- High clustering in networks
- Short average path lengths



In Socials different networks are not evolving randomly, that is to say, any nodes might have equal access to get other nodes. Instead, social networks are increasing by preferential attachment: heavily linked nodes ("Hubs") in the network tend to accumulate even more links.



## Scale-Free or

### Barabási-Albert model:

- Networks are increasing by preferential attachment ("the rich get richer")
- Heavily linked nodes ("hubs") tend to quickly accumulate even more links → power centers

### ◆ Network patterns:



**Scale-free**  
**Polyarchical**  
**Democratic**

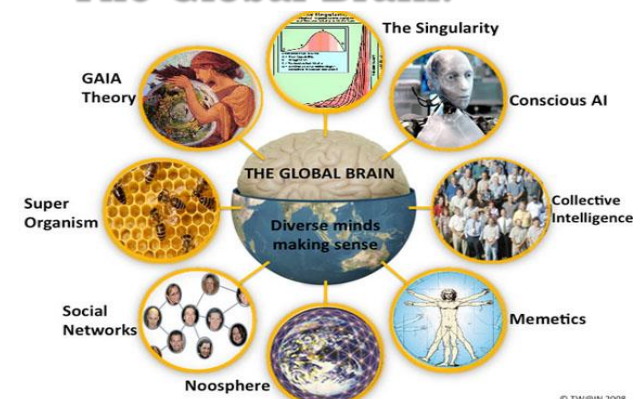


**Star**  
**Centric**  
**Autocratic**



**Scattered**  
**Organizing**  
**Tentative**

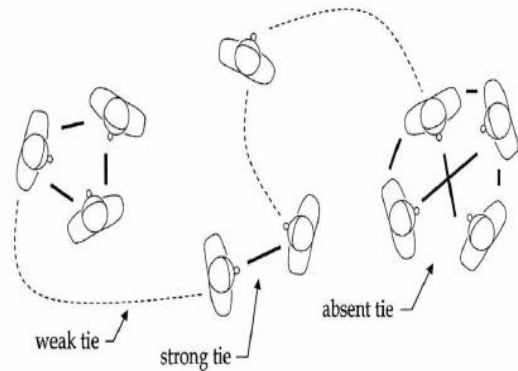
### ◆ The Global Brain:



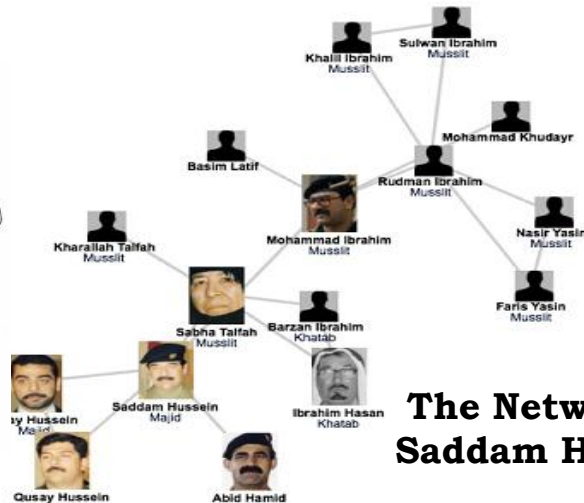
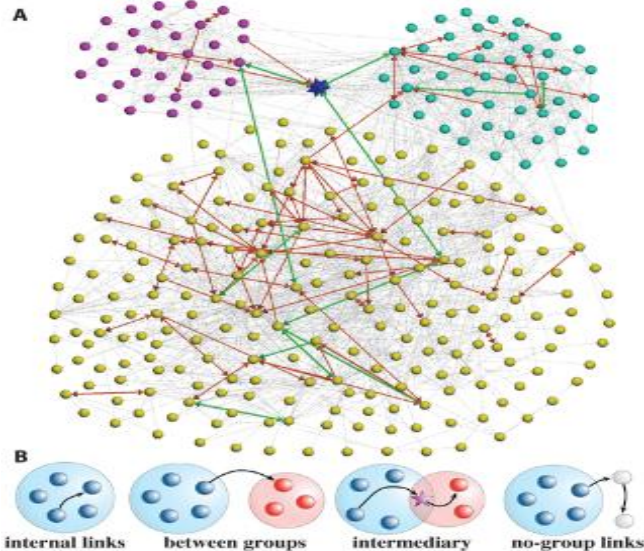
© TW@HN 2008

# Network Science (Supplementary)

## ◆ Social Networks:

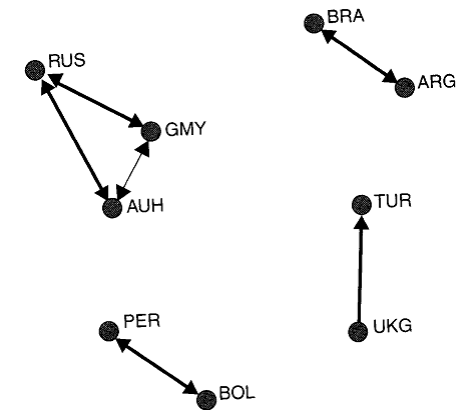


## Mark Garnovetter's Sociological model

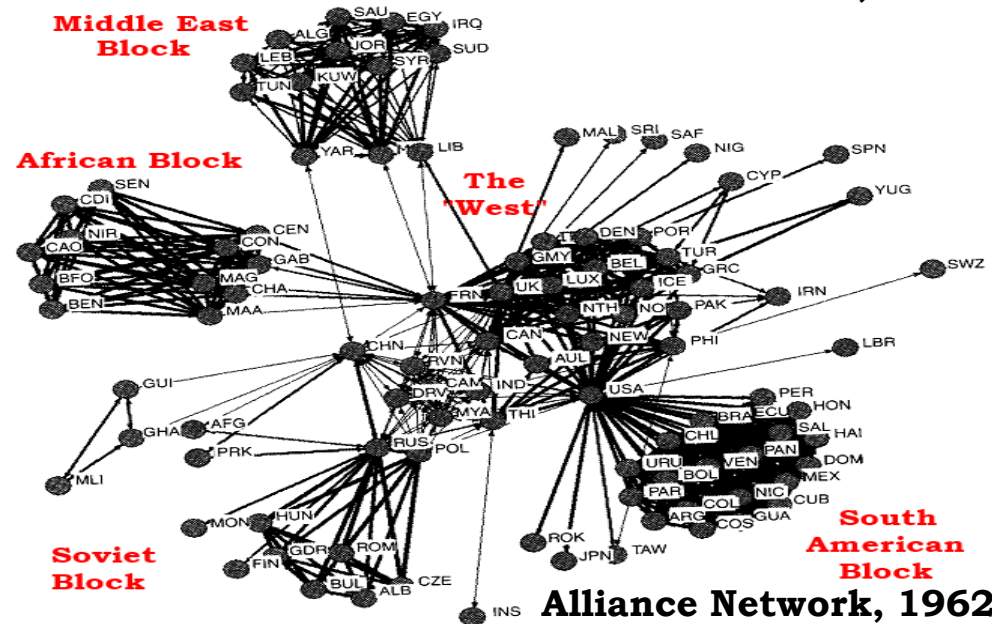


## The Network of Saddam Hussein

## ◆ Networks in IR:



### Alliance Network, 1878



## Alliance Network, 1962

# Connectography

## ◆ Parag Khanna, 2016: CONNECTOGRAPHY

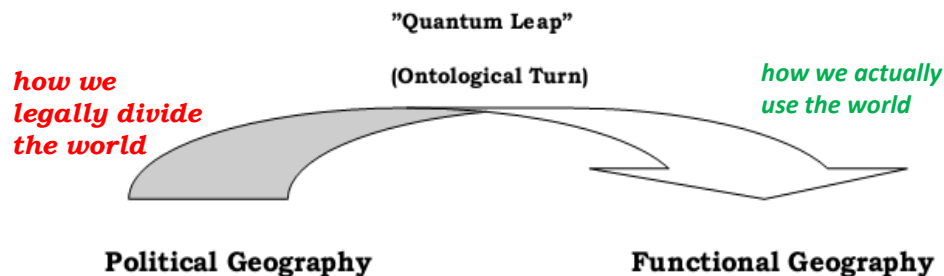
*"We are moving into an era where megacities will matter more than states"*

→ *Common challenges:* the consequences of urbanization such as pollution, inequalities, etc.

→ *Cities are learning from each other* by transferring technology, knowledge, and policies.

**Connectography =  
Connectivity + Geography**

### ● The megatrend of the world ("Hyperglobalization")



- Vertically integrated empires
- Horizontally independent nations

- Global Network Civilization with megacities

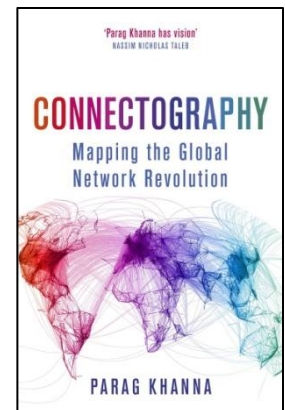
### ● Examples:

- ✓ Silicon Valley begins north of San Francisco down to San Jose and across the bay to Oakland.
- ✓ America's northeastern megalopolis begins in Boston through New York and Philadelphia to Washington.
- ✓ Tokyo through Nagoya to Osaka contains more than 80 million people and most of Japan's economy.
- ✓ In the middle of China, the Chongqing-Chengdu megacity cluster, whose geographic footprint is almost the same size as the country of Austria.

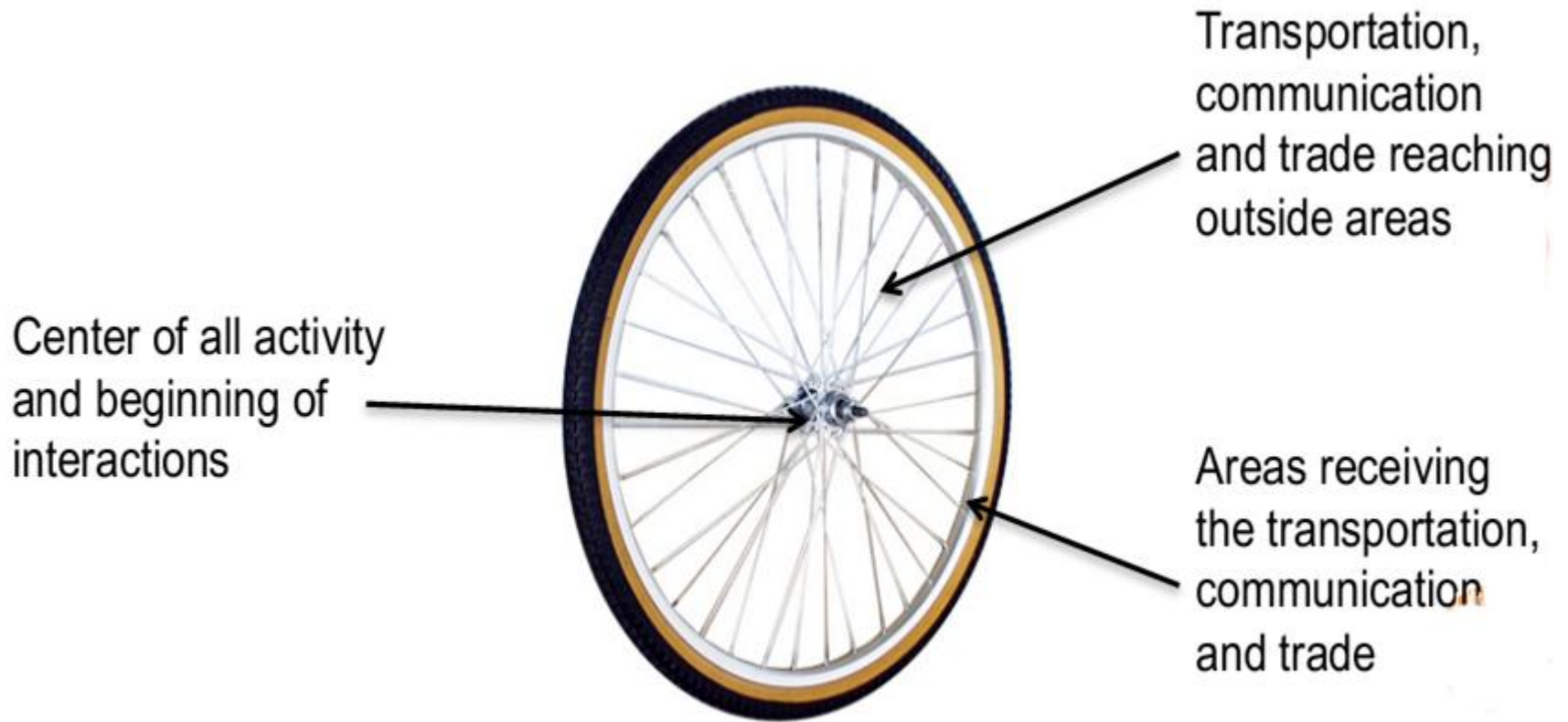
➤ Megacity clusters want to be part of global value chains.

✓ They want to be part of this global division of labor.

✓ Megacity clusters belong as much to the global network civilization as to their home countries. → **FRAGMEGRATION**



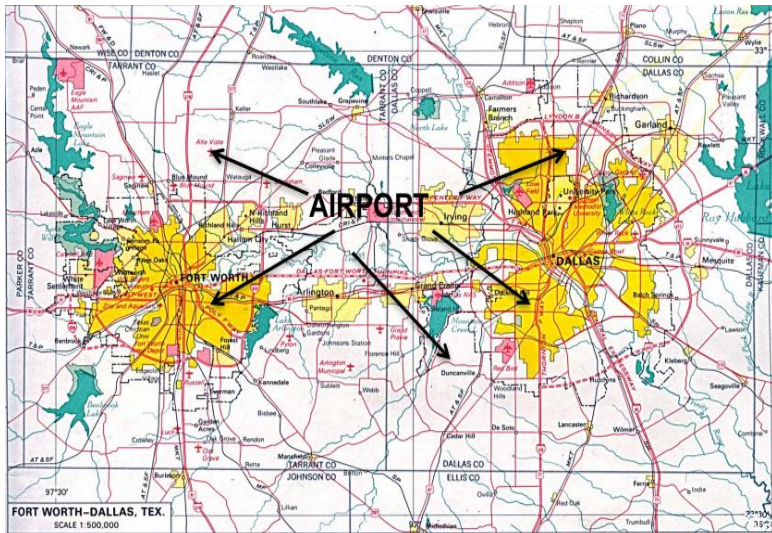
# Networking: an analogy



# Fragmegration in Geopolitics

## ◆ 21st Century Geopolitics:

### □ Fraggmegration: Fusion + Networking



The Dallas/Fort Worth metropolitan area is a functional region in that Dallas and Fort Worth share a common airport located between the two cities.



Geofusion in the World Map

# The Three types of Regions

## ◆ 21st Century Geopolitics:

### Three Types of Regions

**1 Formal regions** have one or more common characteristics. They can be political entities, climate regions or landform regions.

Southern Europe

**2 Functional regions** have a focal point with surrounding areas linked by transportation and communication systems.

New York metropolitan area

**3 Perceptual regions** are defined by how people perceive of an area.

Rust Belt

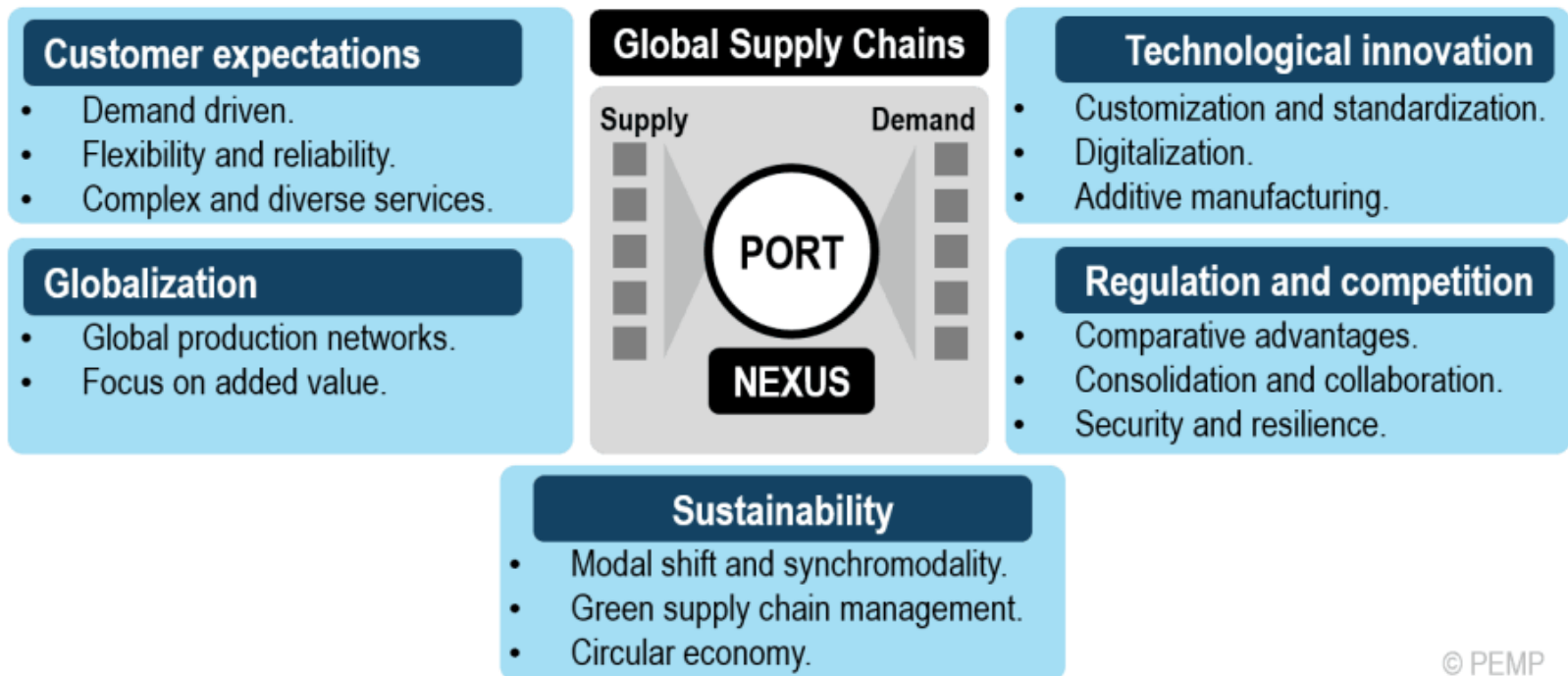


# The Era of Geoeconomics

## ◆ 21st Century Geopolitics:

### □ Functional Geography:

1. High degree of Human Capital and Added-Value Production
2. Connectivity to Global Supply Chains
3. Sustainability
4. Multi-lateral word



© PEMP

## **Different Schools, Different Focus**

# Different Schools, Different Focus

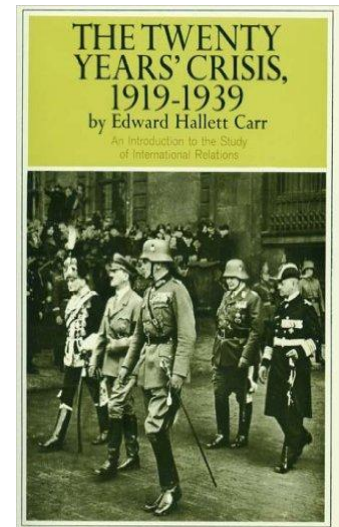
REALIST VIEW	LIBERAL VIEW	CRITICAL VIEWS						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Security issues:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Power politics;</li> <li>➤ Conflicts between states;</li> <li>➤ The conditions of War.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Freedom:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Cooperation;</li> <li>➤ Universal rights and international institutions;</li> <li>➤ The conditions of peace;</li> <li>➤ Belief in progress.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><b>The English School:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Order and justice:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Rationality;</li> <li>➤ Shared interests, rules, and institutions;</li> <li>➤ The significance of International Society.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>						
<p align="center"><b>TRADITIONAL VIEW OF THE SYSTEM OF STATES:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>States are valuable and necessary institutions:</b> they provide security, freedom, order, justice, and welfare</li> <li>➤ <b>Justifying the Westphalian state-system:</b> People benefit from the system of states</li> </ul>								
<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Realism</th><th>Liberalism</th><th>Critical views</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National sovereignty</li> <li>• States</li> <li>• Military power</li> <li>• Anarchical world</li> </ul> </td><td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National sovereignty</li> <li>• States and non-state organizations</li> <li>• Limited international cooperation</li> </ul> </td><td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interdependence</li> <li>• Globalization</li> <li>• Networks and nodal points</li> <li>• Representations of global space</li> </ul> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Realism	Liberalism	Critical views	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National sovereignty</li> <li>• States</li> <li>• Military power</li> <li>• Anarchical world</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National sovereignty</li> <li>• States and non-state organizations</li> <li>• Limited international cooperation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interdependence</li> <li>• Globalization</li> <li>• Networks and nodal points</li> <li>• Representations of global space</li> </ul>	<p><b>Neo-Marxism:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Welfare:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Wealth and equality;</li> <li>✓ Critics of capitalism.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Constructivists, Feminism, Greens:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Social conditions and relations:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Critics of traditional social views, norms, and institutions;</li> <li>✓ Revisionist view.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
Realism	Liberalism	Critical views						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National sovereignty</li> <li>• States</li> <li>• Military power</li> <li>• Anarchical world</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National sovereignty</li> <li>• States and non-state organizations</li> <li>• Limited international cooperation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interdependence</li> <li>• Globalization</li> <li>• Networks and nodal points</li> <li>• Representations of global space</li> </ul>						
<p align="center"><b>ALTERNATIVE (REVISIONIST) VIEW OF THE STATE:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>States and the state system are social choices that create more problems than they solve</b></li> <li>➤ <b>The majority of the world's people suffer more than they benefit from the Westphalian state-system</b></li> <li>➤ <b>Certain global reforms to tackle social problems</b></li> </ul>								

# Realism vs. Liberalism: the early debate



President Wilson's  
Fourteen Points

1. Open diplomacy
2. Freedom of the Seas
3. Removal of economic barriers
4. Reduction of armaments
5. Adjustment of colonial claims
6. Conquered territories in Russia
7. Preservation of Belgian sovereignty
8. Restoration of French territory
9. Redrawing of Italian frontiers
10. Division of Austria-Hungary
11. Redrawing of Balkan boundaries
12. Limitations on Turkey
13. Establishment of an independent Poland
14. Creation of an Association of Nations



◆ **“Idealism” or “Utopian Liberalism”** is most closely associated with US president Woodrow Wilson:

- An approach that emphasized international law, morality and organizations, rather than power.

◆ **Realism:** an approach that explained IP mainly in terms of states' pursuit of power

- States must seek to maximize power or face destruction:  
**WW1 was not “war to end all wars”**

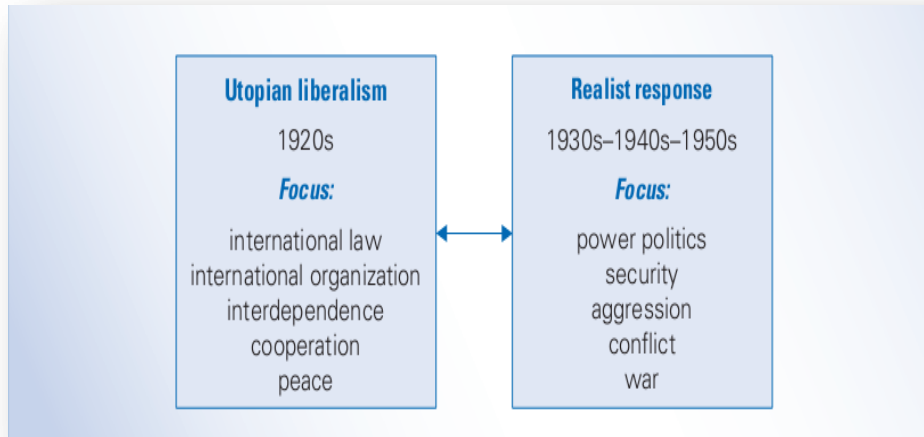
◆ **Edward Carr: *Twenty Years' Crisis*, 1939**

- British intellectual life in his day was dominated by idealists who largely ignored power politics. As he writes, “the utopian believes in the possibility of more or less radically rejecting reality, and substituting his utopia for it by an act of will.”
- Carr argued that WW2 proved that **“realism” was the correct theory**

◆ **Carr's main presumptions (following Machiavelli):**

1. There is causation between historical events;
2. Practice has priority over theory;
3. Morality is the product of power, and not reversed.

# Realism vs. Liberalism



## Main principles of Realists:

- Sovereign states are the most important actors
- States pursue their interests defined as power
- States maximize power to protect themselves in an anarchic world → conflict is inevitable

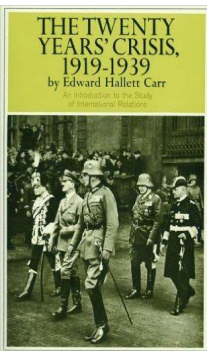
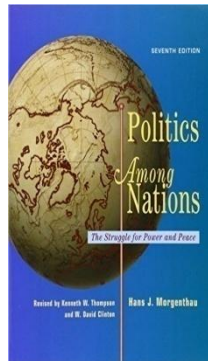
## Classic Realism

### Edward Carr

- Pragmatic, historical approach, influenced by interval period of the two world war (1920–39)
- IP is a competition between states:
  - ✓ Basis: limited resources
  - The gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" is a consequence of the conflict
- Precondition of cooperation in IPS is a re-socialization

### Hans Morgenthau

- More academic, more sophisticated, giving some basic principles of the objective laws of IP
- IP is a competition between states:
  - ✓ Basis: *raison d'état* defined in terms of power
- The cooperation in IPs is induced by (moral) diplomacy



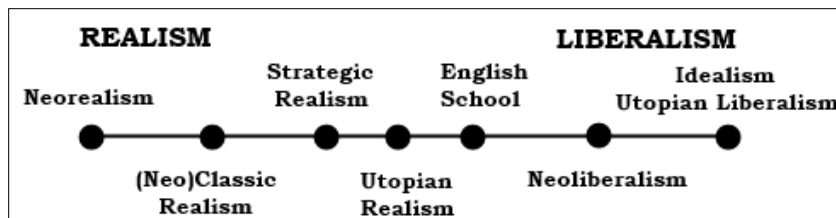
# Realism vs. Liberalism

## Realism

- **Neorealism:** “adaptive states”  
The anarchical IS is autonomous and self-constituting realm: the conception of “adaptive states”  
↕
- **Classic realism:** “states as agents”  
The ontological superiority of the state over the IS → As states change, so does the IS.
- **Strategic realism:** intermediate approach ↔  
  - ✓ focus on interactions between self-interest-follower actors (both conflicts and coopearations)
  - ✓ use sophisticated, analytic

## Liberalism

- **Utopian liberalism (Idealists)**  
  - ✓ States are motivated by morality and values
  - ✓ States cooperate to further values, such as peace
- **Neoliberalism**  
  - ✓ Transnational and substate actors are increasingly important
  - ✓ Economic capabilities are more imporatanant than military capacity
  - ✓ Complex Interdependences
- **The English School:** “Realist Liberal approach.” They believe in  
  - ✓ *anarchical society* but not so “pessimistic” than Realists
  - ✓ *shared norms and values* of states and how they regulate IR but not so “optimistic” than Libe/rals



International Society

# Critical Views: An Overview

◆ **Why to use "critical views"?** They are arguing the mainstream (realistic and liberal) views from certain perspectives:

- all critical views considering **societal features of international politics and global social challenges rather than international system**;
- to embrace a post-positivist approach that takes subject and object, and therefore theory and practice, to be intimately linked (Neo-Marxism and most forms of Green Politics). To sum up: *"Theory is always for someone and for some purpose"* (Robert Cox);
- contemporary critical perspectives seek to **challenge the global status quo and the norms, values and assumptions that it is based on. They have some emancipative features.**

◆ **The main critical approaches:**

- The Classic alternatives:
  - English School (International Society or Realist Liberal approach)
  - Neo-Marxism (International Political Economy)
- Contemporary Approaches:
  - The "New Wave" (Chaotic approach to IS, Networking Science)
  - Constructivism → Post-Positivist IP
  - Postmodern
  - Feminism
  - Green perspective

# Realism vs. Liberalism

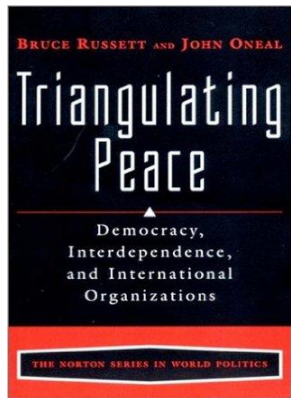
**Main Realist Challenge: Security Dilemma**



**Security under Anarchic**

**International Circumstances:**

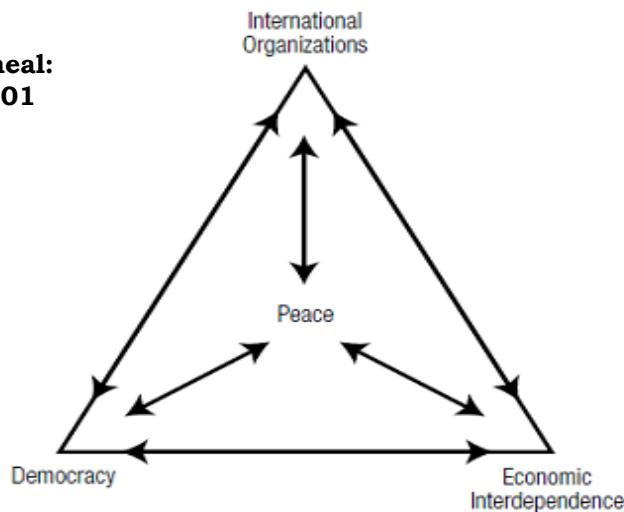
As states acquire capabilities to make themselves secure, they make others more insecure – leads to a cycle of arms races and growing insecurity.



**Bruce Russett – John Oneal:**  
**Triangulating Peace, 2001**

**Question: Can we convert somehow realist security dilemma "vicious circles" into "virtuous circles"?**

**Central Liberal Idea: Kantian Triangle (Tetrahedron)**



**Democracy (Republicanism):** To establish political regimes where preferences converted into policies which are legally enforceable. → Democracies will refrain from using force against other democracies.

**(Economic) Interdependences** that lead to peace: the more gains we have without the need for force, this may be incentive for more actors to lobby for peace

**IOs:** Regulations & share common values and norms → International organizations can constrain decision-makers by positively promoting peace.

# The Kantian Triangle in Post-War Europe

## ▪ **Democracy:**

The Second World War could readily be blamed on authoritarian or totalitarian states, especially Germany, Japan, and Italy. So the initial task was to establish stable democratic institutions and to root out old nationalist and authoritarian ideologies.

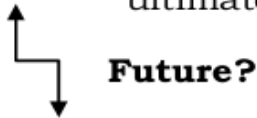
## ▪ **Economic interdependences:**

- ✓ Dictatorships had arisen largely because of the breakdown of the world economy in the 1930s and the Great Depression. Millions of Germans who were impoverished by unemployment and inflation in the 1930s turned away from democracy and toward Hitler, who promised prosperity and glory.
- ✓ After the Second World War American policy-makers insisted that Marshall Plan aid for European recovery from the Second World War ought to be coordinated by a new institution, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.
  - In 1951 the leaders formed the European Coal and Steel Community to ensure that Germany could not again turn its heavy industries into a war machine.
  - A similar plan for the nuclear industry (Euratom) followed.
- ✓ That ultimately became global, as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) with members around the world, including several newly industrialized countries.

# The Kantian Triangle in Post-War Europe

## ■ International institutions

- ✓ Economic interchange required organizations empowered to make rules that encouraged and protected it. All the benefits of free trade could not be achieved if member states had radically different labour or social policies.
- ✓ An evolution of EU institutions (at each stage the institutions assumed broader functions):
  - The European Common Market became the European Community and ultimately the European Union.

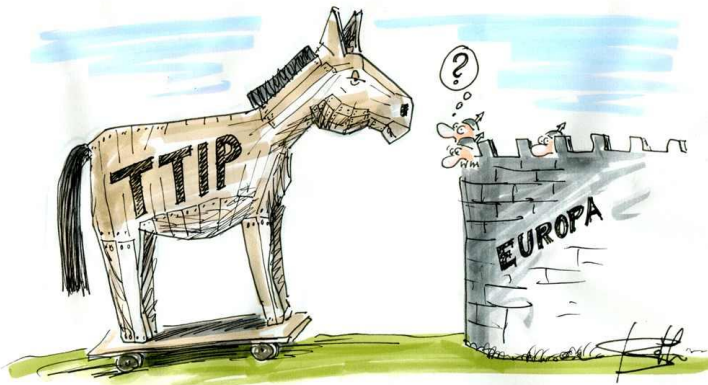


**Success:** Several countries want(ed) to join

**Challenges:** the degree of cooperation, interdependences and institutionalization  
– how more stable is EU? What and how to do?

**Failure:** “In and Out Games” – want exceptions to the (coercive) regulations

**Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership:** a bi-lateral trade agreement, which is about reducing the regulatory barriers to trade for big business, things like food safety law, environmental legislation, banking regulations and the sovereign powers of individual nations.



# Human Nature – the Mainstream Views

## 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

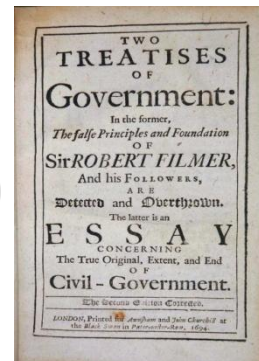


### SOCIAL STATE

(citizens under rules of law)

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

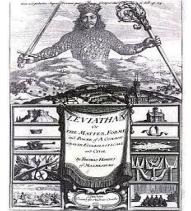
(Cooperation; Universal rights and institutions; Conditions of peace)



## Classic Contractualist Views in Focus

**Thomas Hobbes: *Leviathan* (1651):**

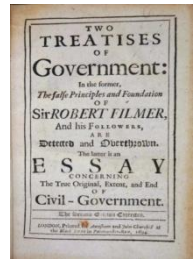
“Hereby it is manifest that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, *they are in that condition which is called War; and such a war as is of every man against every man.* [...] In such condition there is no place for Industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth; [...] no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continual Fear, and danger of violent death; *And the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.*”



### ***John Locke: Two Treatises of Government (1689)***

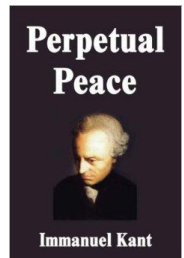
“6. [...] The state of nature is governed by a law that creates obligations for everyone. And reason, which is that law, teaches anyone who takes the trouble to consult it, that because we are all equal and independent, no-one ought to harm anyone else in his life, health, liberty, or possessions.”

“97. Thus every man, by agreeing with others to make one body politic under one government, puts himself under an obligation to everyone in that society to submit to the decisions of the majority, and to be bound by it. Otherwise — that is, if he were willing to submit himself only to the majority acts that he approved of — the original compact through which he and others incorporated into one society would be meaningless; it wouldn't be a compact if it left him as free of obligations as he had been in the state of nature.”



### ***Immanuel Kant: Perpetual Peace (1795)***

“Each people can – and for its own security should – encourage the other peoples to enter with it into a constitution like a civil one; for under such a constitution each can be secure in its right. This would be a league of nations, but it couldn’t be an international state, a state consisting of nations [...] This league doesn’t encroach on the power of the state; its aim is just to maintain and secure the freedom of the state itself and of other states in league with it, with no need for them to be constrained by civil laws as men in a state of nature must be. This idea of federation that is gradually to spread to all states and thus lead to perpetual peace. [...] If it so happens that a powerful and enlightened people can make a republic for itself, which by its nature must be inclined to perpetual peace, this provides a centre from which other states can be drawn into the federal union, thus securing freedom in accordance with the law of nations. By more and more such associations, the federation can be gradually extended.”



# Human Nature – the Mainstream Views

**Kant (1795):**

**Basis of Social Order:**

**Reciprocity and Justice**

*"Act only on that maxim which you can at the same time will to be a universal law."*

↓ Categorical Imperative

"Act so that you always treat people as ends in themselves, and never merely use them as means" → **Respect of Human Dignity**

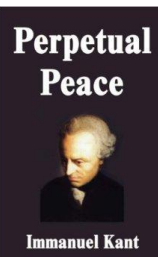
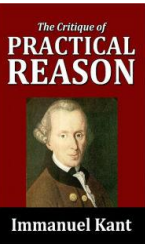
**Social Contract:** Fictive, hypothetic based solely on consensus. It is a reference framework to which we should turn in case of social debates. → the **"spirit of constitution"** → John Rawls: The Theory of Justice (1971)

**at International Level:** States have honour of Dignity → all states are entitled to have autonomy and sovereignty (and that's the reason why war is a sin)

- **Moral Conflict: Humanitarian Intervention** – "military force against another state when the chief publicly declared aim of that military action is ending human right violations being perpetrated by the state against which it is directed"

**Human Dignity ↔ Autonomy and Sovereignty of State**

**Kant's Vision:** Cosmopolitan Right (Universal Hospitality) and The League of Republics (a federation of free states)



# Critical Perspective: Burke

## An alternative to Locke and Kant: 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.)
- ❑ *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 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.



Reflections on the  
Revolution in France  
Edmund Burke



# Human Nature – the Critical Views

**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”



# Human Nature – the Critical Views



**The New Wave paradigms:** This problem is basically irrelevant for these schools.

**Constructivists** propose that the physical world is much less important than the social world constructed through systems of norms, beliefs, and discourse.

- Traditional approaches (Realism, Liberalism and Neo-Marxists) 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

**Feminists:** patriarchy seen as source of power and oppression

**Noam Chomsky:** rational & anarchic approach to human nature

Human creativity and cooperative venture  $\longleftrightarrow$  Power (State and Capitalism)

**Michel Foucault:** deconstructive & anarchic approach to human nature: the need for the revision of the presumptions of human abilities (against Chomsky: even human creativity is induced and influenced by family and educational system)

# Noam Chomsky: an anarchistic view of politics

◆ **Exponent:** Noam Chomsky, a US linguistic theorist and radical intellectual. Radicalized during the Vietnam War, Chomsky subsequently became the leading radical critic of US foreign policy.

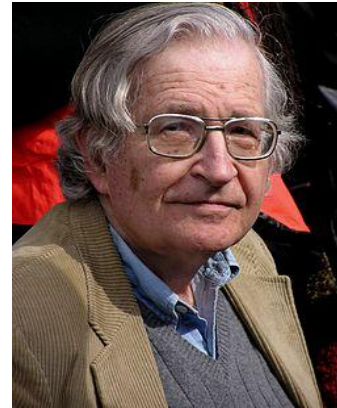
◆ **No Need for theory in IP:** focus on and comment situations and policies using only the available empirical evidence rather than apply any theory.

➤ **Human Nature is notoriously unverifiable:** it is basically creative and tend to being free. That's why traditional beliefs of International Political Theories cannot be justified:

✓ **(Neo)realism/(Neo)liberalism:** self-interest, anarchism, or power all based upon a hypothesis on human nature;

✓ **Neo-Marxian:** what if people do not recognise their exploitation or simple they accept it.

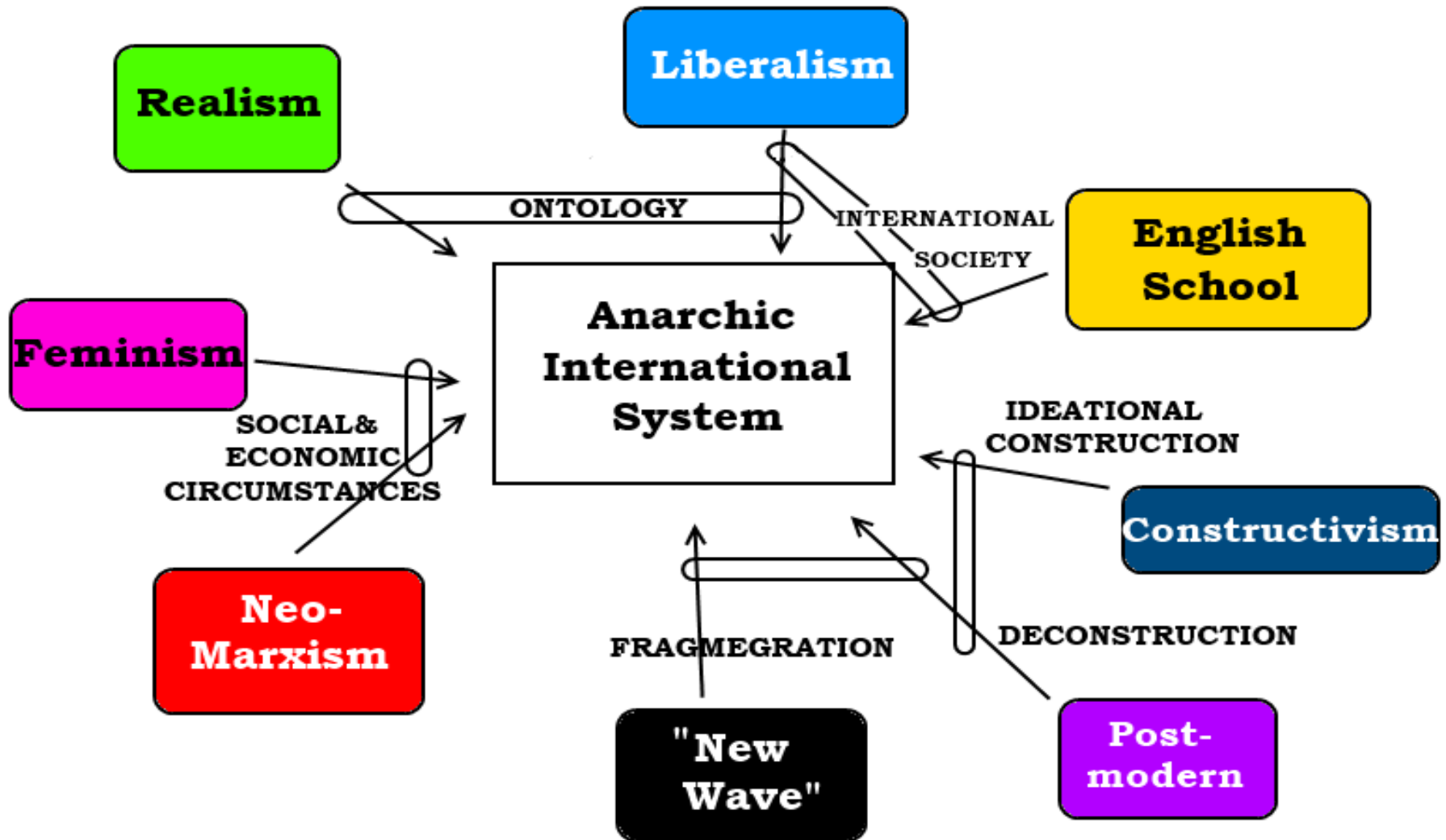
✓ **Constructivists** exaggerate the creative potentials of human beings (they say that the human subject is shaped from the flux and plurality of discourses, and so our creative potentials are infinite. But there are certain intrinsic properties of human nature, thus human faculty is in fact bounded).



Noam Chomsky

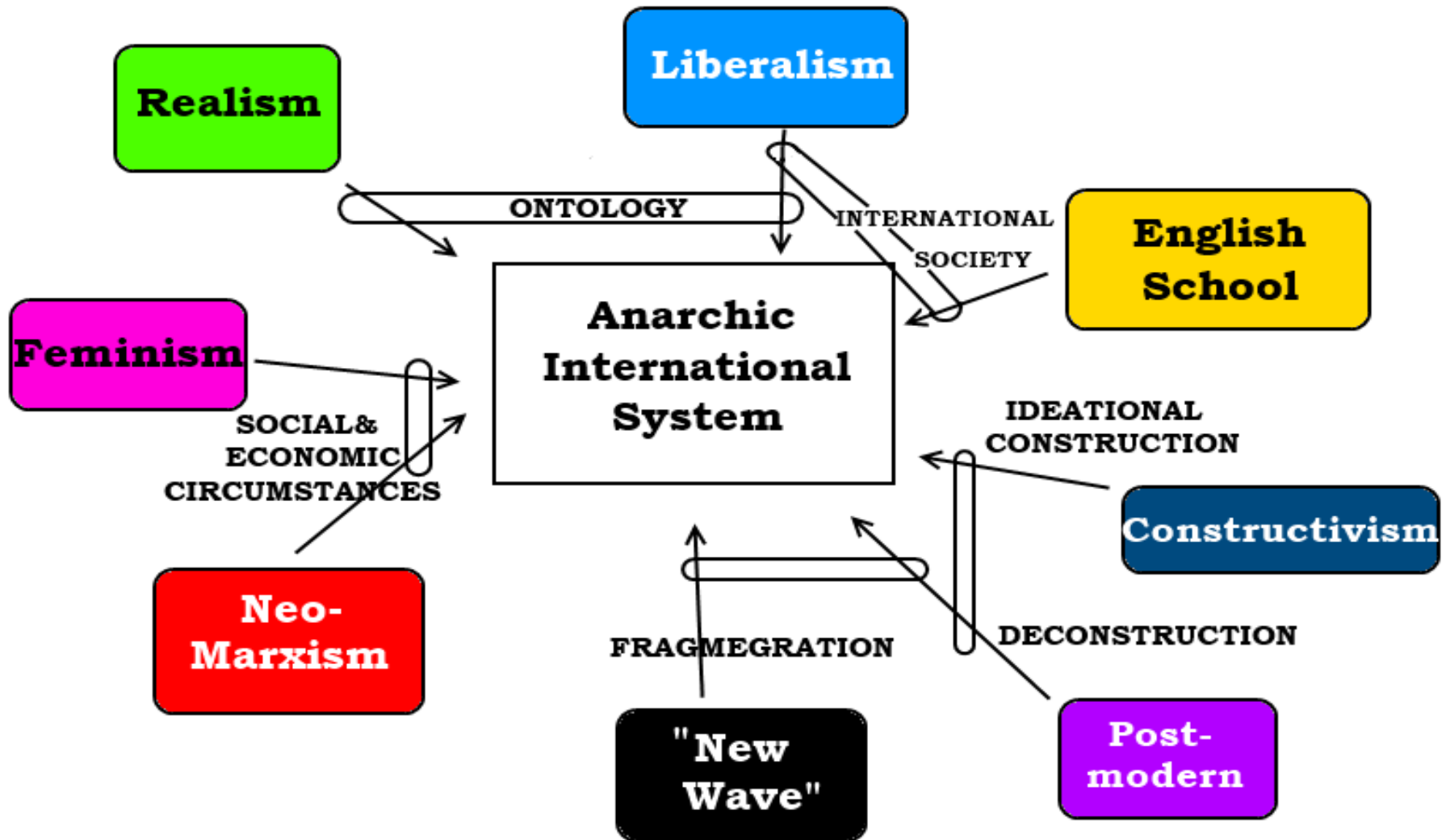
◆ **A kind of Anarchistic View (against State and Capitalism):** If human beings are essentially creative with an 'instinct for freedom' to pursue cooperative ventures, then states and capitalism must work against human nature, because both concentrate power into the hands of a few, thereby denying the many necessary conditions for cooperative, creative humanistic productive activity.

# The Nature of International System



## **Against the Mainstream**

# The Nature of International System



# Constructivism as Paradigm in IP

◆ **Key idea:** Although we typically think of construction as involving physical things, constructivists consider how the social world is built.

↓

◆ **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

◆ **Constructivism** is a theoretical perspective that proposes that the physical world is much less important than the social world constructed through systems of norms, beliefs, and discourse.

◆ **Key Figure:** Alexander Wendt: *„Anarchy is what States Make of it”, 1992*

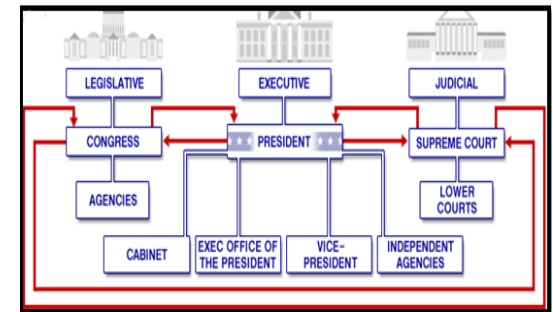
➤ The core of the argument is the rejection of the neorealist position, according to which anarchy must necessarily lead to self-help. Whether it does or not cannot be decided *a priori*; it depends on the interaction between states:

*„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.”*

# Different Strands with Different Methods

◆ **Research Traditions:** The subject of Socials is people and the community of people. Any question concerning them are from three different directions:

- **Macro-level → Holistic (Structural) Approach:** We can only understand and explain the “parts” of the social world by reference to their fit within the whole. Every part is interrelated, i.e., changes to one part affect other parts in both subtle and profound ways. Each part has a role to or function to play. The whole is said to be greater than the sum of its parts.
  - **Historicist theories** suggest that history is necessarily moving in a particular direction, towards a particular end (*telos*). This tendency is irreducible to individual actions and institutions and to which they are subordinated.
    - **Example:** Marxists, Utopian Liberals
  - **Functional explanations** account for institutionalized aspects of the social world by reference to the functions which they perform in wider social systems.
    - **Example:** Neofunctionalism, Complex Interdependences
- **Micro-level → Rational Choice Theory:** Society is supposed to be an ensemble of individuals having opposed, mixed or similar ambitions (interests) which govern them. The study always begins with individual actions; any social phenomenon is traced back to rational individual actions (Simply put, to act rationally means to choose the better-seem alternative over the rest under uncertainty).
  - **Example:** Sociological Liberalism, Neoliberalism, Strategic Realism
- **Mezo-level → Constructive (Cultural) Approach:** Human condition is socially situated, and knowledge is constructed through interactions with others. This is a basis of the culture for a community of people. Culture is a shared, learned, and symbolic system of values, beliefs, ideas, and attitudes that shapes and influences people’s perceptions and behaviours.
  - **Example:** Constructivism, English School (partly)



STRUCTURE



RATIONALITY



CULTURE

# 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



"Blpppgggghljsdlkfjowejfalsk  
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” Dichotomy

## ***Ishad Manji:***

- ✓ There is really a “muslim problem” but it stems not from the nature of Islam, but from a “tribal culture” that have taken over Islam.

## ***Geert Wilders:***

- ✓ Islam as a per definition totalitarian ideology that is incompatible with freedom as we perceive it in the Western world.

## ***Viktor Orban:***

- ✓ Historical heritage and national experiences, and sovereignty.

## ***Slavoj Zizek:***

- ✓ Let’s rethink about the framework of the problems of our ”modern life and practice” rather than accepting it.

## ***Richard Dawkins:***

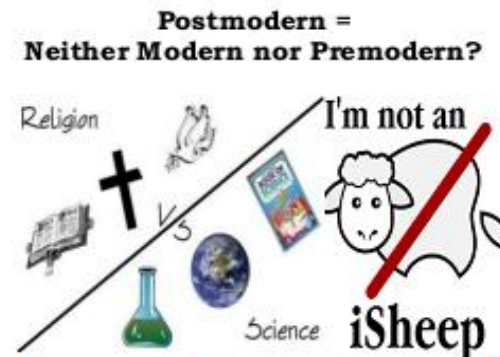
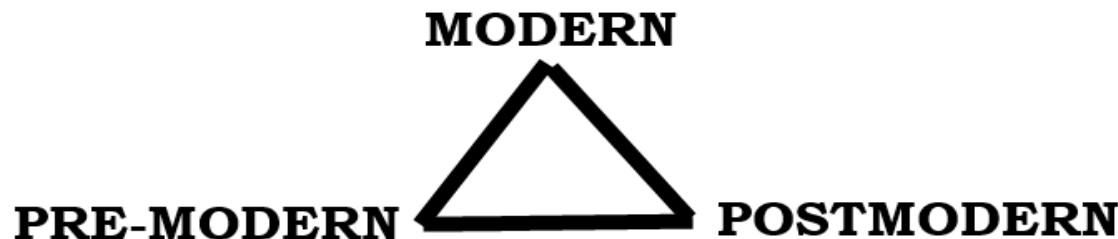
- ✓ Religions work in our time as cultural memes, their nature are dogmatic rested on a superstitious way of thinking, and thus they are harmful.

# 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>

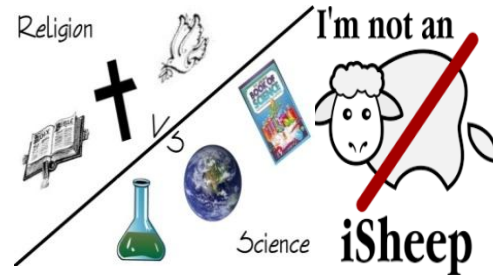
“[...] The transition from the closed to the open society can be described as one of the deepest revolutions through which mankind has passed. [... However, the twentieth century] civilization has not yet fully recovered from the shock of its birth – the **transition from the tribal or ‘closed society’, 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 able to deconstruct binaries, to expose our metaphysical belief system in which the meanings of discourses are constructed.

# Postmodern in Politics (The "dark side" of the story)



**Slavoj Žižek: (Postmodern) Barbarism with a (modern) human face, 2010**

**The model of political competition in classic democratic political regimes:** two main parties that addressed the majority of the electorate: **Right-of-Centre Party** (Christian Democrat, liberal-conservative) **vs. Left-of-Centre Party** (socialist, social-democratic), with smaller parties

**New paradigm: predominant centrist party** that stands for global capitalism, usually with a liberal cultural agenda (for example, tolerance towards abortion, gay rights, religious and ethnic minorities), opposing this party is an increasingly strong anti-immigrant, anti-globalist, and anti-elitist **populist party**.

## **Expressive individualism (multi-identification): "Anarchistic superID"**

- **Model: products deprived of their malignant property:**
  - ✓ coffee without caffeine,
  - ✓ cream without fat,
  - ✓ beer without alcohol,
  - ✓ virtual sex without sex (eg. long-distance relationship, polyamary)
- **Pluralism without its malignant property:**
  - ✓ "I respect others, other values, other ways of life, but they must not intrude too much on my own space. The moment they do, they harass me."
- **New Era of politics:**
  - ✓ **Politics without Politics** (*the art of expert administration*)
  - ✓ **Warfare without Warfare** (*C. Powell: warfare without causalities*)
  - ✓ "A terrorist whose deadly plans should be prevented belongs in Guantánamo, the empty zone exempted from the rule of law";
  - ✓ "A fundamentalist ideologist should be silenced because he spreads hatred."

## **The Mainstream: Liberals and Realists**

# Liberalism: Tradition and Strands

## FOCUS:

freedom, cooperation, peace, progress

## EARLY THINKERS:

**Locke** (1632–1704)

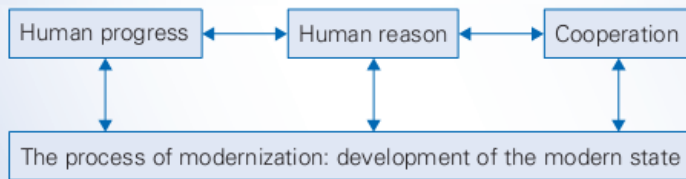
The rule of law 'Rechtsstaat'

**Bentham** (1748–1832)

Liberal states respect international law

**Kant** (1724–1804)

'Republics will establish perpetual peace'



1. Positive view of human nature (individuals are self-interested but cooperative)
2. Belief in progress and Modernization (Fukuyama : "The end of history?" thesis; Keohane: "possibility of cumulative progress")
3. State as constitutional entity (Locke): respect citizens rights to life, liberty and property
4. International law (Jeremy Bentham): rational interests of states to adhere to international law in their foreign policies
5. Republics will establish perpetual peace (Kant)

## ◆ Sociological Liberalism:

- James Rosenau
- Karl Deutsch
- John W. Burton



## ◆ Interdependence Liberalism:

- Richard Rosencrance
- Ernst Haas
- David Mitrany
- Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye



## ◆ Institutional Liberalism:

- Richard Cooper
- Robert Keohane
- Joseph Nye
- Stephen D. Krasner



## ◆ Utopian (Republican) Liberalism:

- Immanuel Kant
- Francis Fukuyama



# Utopian Liberalism

◆ **Basic Assumption:** liberal democracies are more peaceful and law-abiding political regimes.

◆ **Manifesto: Kant: Perpetual Peace (1795)**

- **Republican Constitutions:** The Civil Constitution of every State should be Republican (domestic political cultures based on peaceful conflict resolution)
- **The Right/Law of Nations:** The Right of Nations shall be based on a federation of Free States (common moral values)
- **"Ius Cosmopoliticum" (Cosmopolitan Right/Law):**
  - The Principle of Hospitality: "the right of a foreigner not to be treated with hostility because he has arrived on the land of another"
  - The Expansion of Hospitality with regard to "use of the right to the earth's surface which belongs to the human race in common (Common Heritage of Humanity)"
  - "Cosmopolitan Right shall be limited to Conditions of Universal Hospitality"

◆ **Modern exponent: Fukuyama: The End of History (1993)**

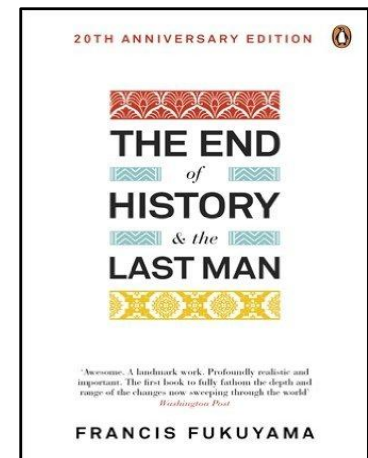
- According to Fukuyama, democracy, or more accurately, liberal democracy represents the determinate end-point of human history (the end-point what Hegel predict earlier)
- Liberal democracies were/are better than their competitors:
  1. Fascism: all these regimes were self-destruct.
  2. Communism: it was also destroyed as a living ideology by 1990.
  3. Religious fundamentalism or nationalism are not potent competitors, since the conflicts and problems created by them potentially resolvable by liberalism.

◆ **Critics: Security challenges appearing with globalization**

- ✓ **Huntington: The Clash of Civilization (1993,1996)**
- ✓ **One-sided dependence: Greek crisis**



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



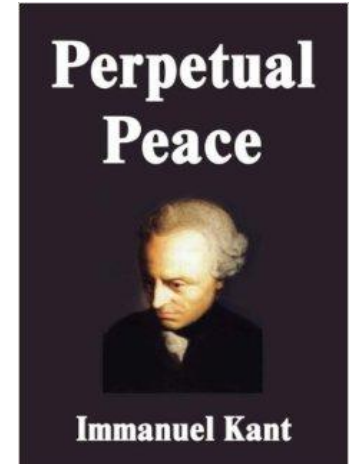
# The Kantian Vision (#1)

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

- **Any human relation**
  - Conflict & War ← natural that springs from human nature
  - ↕ **free will & intention ← FREEDOM**
  - Cooperation & Peace ← constructed based upon ration
- **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



# 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 (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 Cosmopoliticum" (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



# Sociological Liberalism (#1)

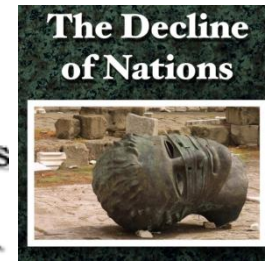
**Basic units of Liberalism: Individuals.**

**Focus: Nationalism → Transnational relations**

- IR is not only about State-State relations; it is also about transnational relations, that is, relations between individuals: people, groups, firms and other organizations belonging to different countries.
- The emphasis on society as well as the state, on many different types of actor and not just national governments, has led some to identify liberal thought by the term "pluralism" in IR.

◆ **Rosenau's five principle:** Citizens become important variables in global politics for at least five reasons:

1. The erosion and dispersion of state and governmental power
2. The rise of new media, use of computers, growth of foreign travel, and migration and the spread of educational institutions
3. The rise of global interdependence issues (AIDS, terrorism, environmental pollution) make citizens more active
4. Revolution of information technologies that make possible to follow events (Transparent World)
5. Leaders are increasingly becoming followers because individuals are becoming increasingly aware



# The efforts of Liberals

Levels	Actors
1. International System Level	The largest conglomerates of interacting and interdependent units that have no system above them (actually the entire planet)
2. International Subsystems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regional units that are territorially coherent (ASEAN, OAU)</li> <li>Conglomerates of units for some political or economic goal (OECD)</li> </ul>
3. Units	States (nations), transnational firms
4. Subunits	Organized groups within the units (bureaucracies, lobbies)
5. Individuals	The bottom line of analysis in Socials

Barry Buzan et al.: *Security*, 1998

The three Is:  
**INTEREST,**  
**INTERACTION,**  
**INSTITUTION**

## Vision about INDIVIDUALS:

- Free people
- Democratic states
- Peace based upon interdependencies

## INTEREST:

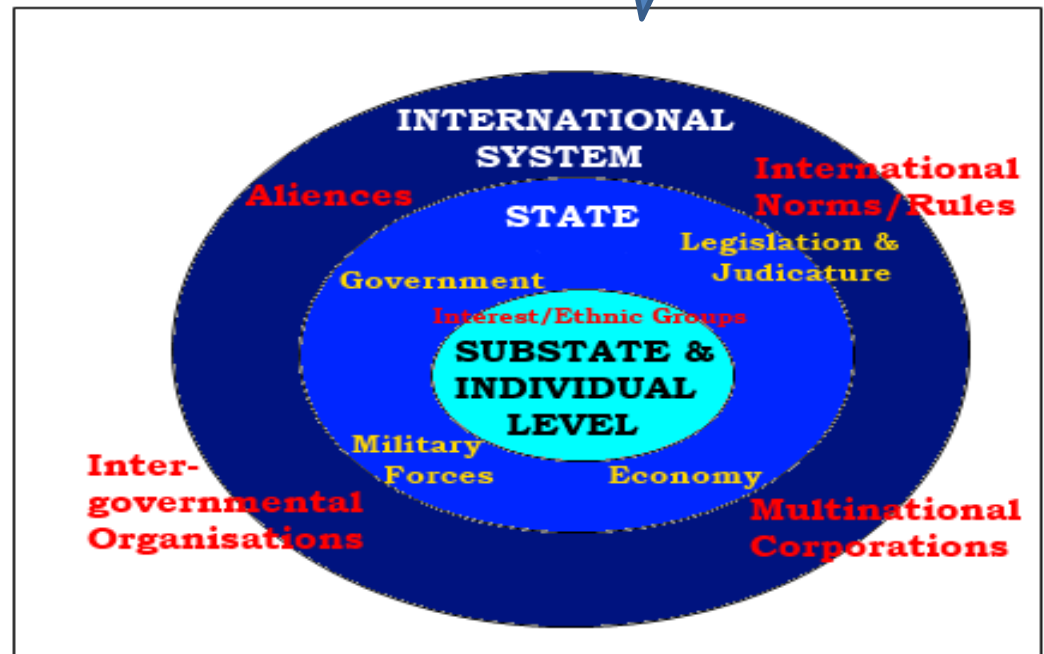
- Egoistic but ready to cooperate
- "High" and "Low" Politics

## INTERACTION:

- To advance cooperation in the competitive interdependencies among the actors in world politics

## INSTITUTION:

- Shared norms
- Regulated interactions



# Sociological Liberalism (#2)

## ➤ Karl Deutsch: Security Community (1957)

- ✓ *Security community* is a group of people believing that they have come to agreement on at least this one point: that *common social problems* must and *can be resolved by processes of "peaceful change"*, i.e., "the resolution of social problems, normally by institutionalized procedures, without resort to large-scale physical force".
- ✓ Two main types:
  - *Amalgamated*: two or more previously independent states form a common government.
  - *Pluralistic*: Security Community is based upon a kind of integration process.

## ➤ EU: Horizon 2020

Horizon 2020 is the biggest EU Research and Innovation Programme.



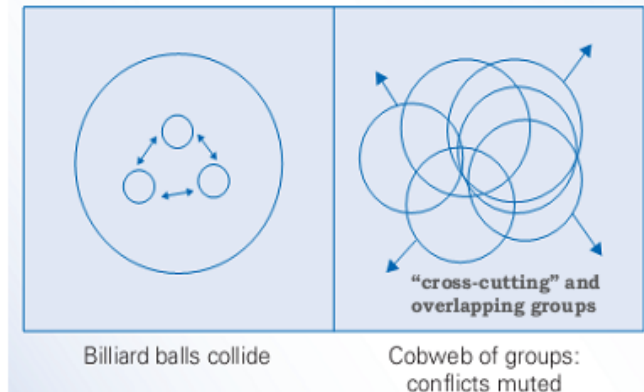
**One main declared policy: *Secure societies – Protecting freedom and security of Europe and its citizens:***

- To enhance the resilience of our society against natural and man-made disasters
- To fight crime and terrorism
- To improve border security
- To provide enhanced cyber-security

## ➤ John Burton: World Society or „Cobweb model“ (1972)

## ➤ James Rosenau (1992): A Multi-Centric World

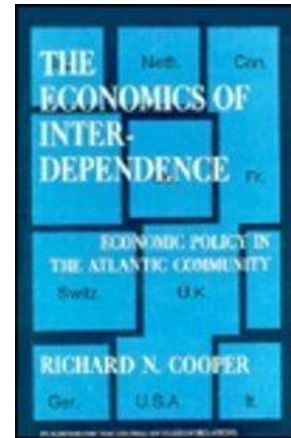
Anarchic system has not disappeared, but a multi-centric world has emerged: diverse sovereignty-free collectivities which exist apart from and in competition with the state centric world... (Question: Which one is better, and how stable is the multi-centric world?)



# Interdependence Liberalism

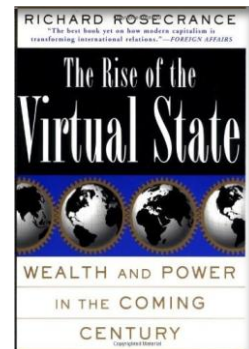
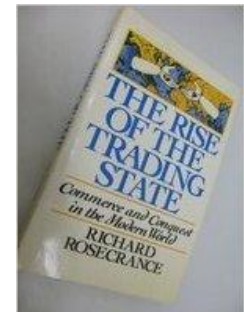
## ➤ **Richard Cooper: The Economics of Interdependence: Economic Policy in the Atlantic Community (1968)**

- Trade, investment, and financial flows were creating an increasingly integrated and highly interdependent global economy.
- The ideal solution was some type of international governance of the global economy.
- However, he doubted that nations would be willing to sacrifice national sovereignty and political/economic autonomy for the sake of a well-functioning international economy.



## ➤ **Richard Rosecrance: Increasing mutual dependence (1986, 1999)**

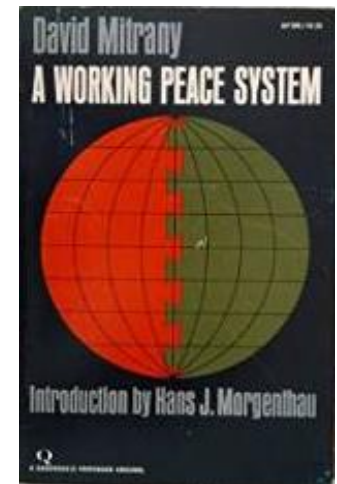
- Brute force is no longer the key to success, but highly qualified labour, access to information, and financial capital
- Economic development and foreign trade are more adequate and less costly means of achieving prominence and prosperity
- Most economically successful countries of the post-war period are the so called "trading states" (Germany, Japan)
- High division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence and decreases the risk of war.



# Interdependence Liberalism

## ➤ **David Mitrany: Functionalist theory of integration (1943):**

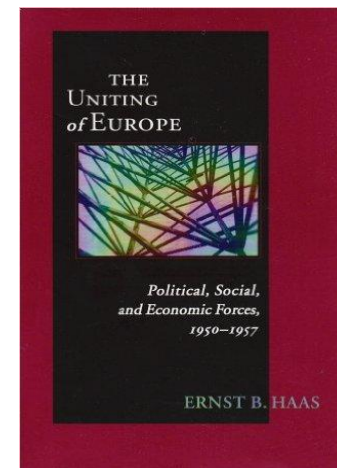
- ✓ In sociology functionalism interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole society. Each part of society is functional for the stability of the whole society.
- ✓ Cooperation should be arranged by technical experts and not by politicians.
- ✓ There are two ways of peace in the world:
  - *political way* à la Kant's sketch of Perpetual Peace.
  - *functional way*: to establish international organizations for different technical purpose to dissolve national states, as all the functions will be taken over by the IGOs from nations.



# Interdependence Liberalism

## ◆ E. Haas: European Integration and Neo-functional theory (1958)

- ✓ Goal: to explain how six European countries came to initiate a new form of supranational cooperation after WW2.
- ✓ The driving force of integration seems to rely on "permissive consensus" of the people of Europe → Regional integration is as an elite-driven process.
- ✓ **'Spillover'** ~ "the expansive logic of integration" → people involved in EU affairs shift their loyalties to EU institutions and away from their nation state.



Whereas **neofunctionalism highlights spillover processes** at the international level, **postfunctionalism emphasizes eurosceptic reaction to integration** at the domestic level.

As European integration has moved into core areas of state sovereignty and national identity, public opinion has turned against the EU. Eurosceptic parties have exploited this sentiment during national elections and in several referendums.

Spillover	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Functional spillover</b> takes place when cooperation in one sector functionally creates pressures for cooperation in another related area.</li> <li>▪ <b>Political spillover:</b> a more deliberate political process when actors make package deals in order to establish common agreement in a range of policy areas.</li> <li>▪ <b>Consequences:</b> Institutional, Geographical and Cultural spillover effects</li> </ul>	
Intergovernmental	Supranational
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Definition:</b> Intergovernmental cooperation is a traditional form of international cooperation between states</li> <li>➤ <b>Theoretician:</b> <i>Stanley Hoffmann</i></li> <li>➤ <b>Political Exponent in EU history:</b> <i>Charles de Gaulle</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Definition:</b> Supranational cooperation means that participating states confer some of their decision-making powers upon supranational institutions they have created.</li> <li>➤ <b>Theoretician:</b> <i>Ernst Haas</i></li> <li>➤ <b>Political Exponent in EU history:</b> <i>Jacques Delors, Jean Monet</i></li> </ul>
Hybrid theories	Federalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Multilevel Governance:</b> there are many interacting authority structures at work in the emergent global political economy.</li> <li>➤ <b>Theoreticians:</b> <i>Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Political Exponent in EU history:</b> <i>Altiero Spinelli</i></li> </ul>

# Complex Interdependences

## ➤ Robert Keohane – Joseph Nye: Power and Interdependence (1977)

- Post-war "complex interdependence" is qualitatively different from earlier kinds of interdependence
  - ✓ "High politics" as security and survival vs. "Low politics" as social and economic affairs are not easily separable:

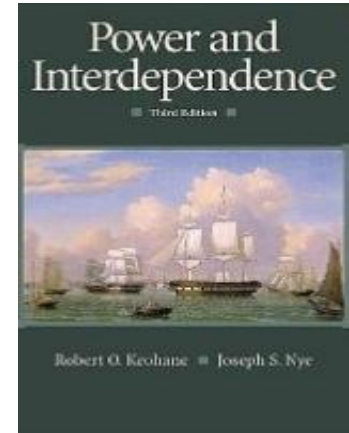
Types of international relations	
<b>REALISM</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• States dominant actors and coherent units</li><li>• Force usable and effective</li><li>• Military security dominates the agenda</li></ul>	<b>COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Transnational actors increasingly important States not coherent units</li><li>• Military force less useful. Economic and institutional instruments more useful</li><li>• Military security less important. Welfare issues increasingly important</li></ul>

- In case of dramatic conflict or revolutionary change, the use of threat of military force over an economic issue or among advanced industrial countries might become plausible. "Then realist assumptions would again be a reliable guide to events."

# Institutional Liberalism

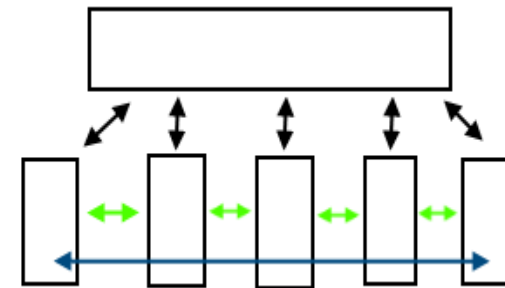
## ◆ The Role of Institutions:

- Provide a flow of information and opportunities to negotiate;
- Enhance the ability of governments to monitor others' compliance and to implement their own commitments – hence their ability to make credible commitments in the first place;
- Strengthen prevailing expectations about the solidity of international agreements.



		GOAL OF ORGANIZATION		
		Specific	General	
TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP	Regional	Intergovernmental	NATO, NAFTA	AU (African Union)
		Supranational	ECSC, EURATOM	EU
		Transnational	European Anti-Poverty Network	European Movement
	Universal	Intergovernmental	WHO, IAEA	UN
		Supranational	IMF	-
		Transnational	Amnesty International	World Federalist Association

## Display of Supra-Inter- and Trans-national Relations



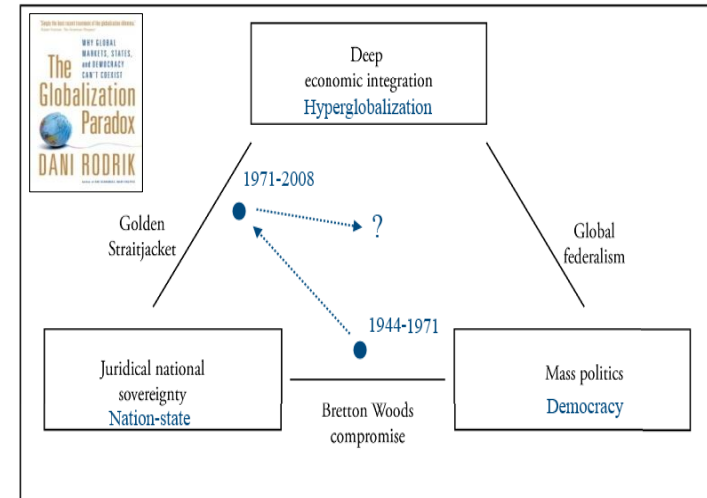
# The Political Trilemma of Globalization

**Dani Rodrik (2007, 2011):** Democracy, national sovereignty and global economic integration are mutually incompatible: we can combine any two of the three, but never have all three simultaneously and in full. Reason:

- ✓ *Deep economic integration* requires that we eliminate all transaction costs traders and financiers face in their cross-border dealings.
- ✓ *Nation-states* generate sovereign risk, create regulatory discontinuities at the border, prevent global regulation and supervision of financial intermediaries → Briefly, they are a fundamental source of transaction costs.

## What do we do?

1. To go for **global federalism** à la Kant's vision, where we align the scope of democratic politics with the scope of global markets.
  - Scepticism at a global scale: It is pretty difficult to achieve even among a relatively like-minded and similar countries, as the experience of the EU demonstrates.
2. In the spirit of national sovereignty, **to maintain national competence in decisions** and to make it responsive only to the needs of the international economy. This would be a state that would pursue global economic integration at the expense of other domestic objectives.
  - Trouble with this option is to have a crowding-out effect: national economic policy will primarily focus on the confidence of market and investments with cutting down the interest of the citizens.
3. To go for **a limited version of globalization**, which is what the post-war Bretton Woods regime was about (with its capital controls and limited trade liberalization).
  - Disorder in the recycling mechanism (from mid 1960s-1971), the lack of compromise embedded in that system implied first the instability of exchange rates, then an increasing of inflation, and finally the unilateral cancellation of the gold standard based upon the US dollar (Nixon Shock).



**Bretton Woods System:** The Bretton Woods system was the first example of a fully negotiated monetary order with two pillars

1. To recycle surplus in international trades
2. To manage the value of money by
  - ✓ compensating the lack of gold in part
  - ✓ stabilizing exchange rates throughout the global economy

## The three principles:

1. **Gold Standard:** a standard economic unit of account is based upon a fixed quantity of gold.
  - ✓ Conversion **US \$ → GOLD** pagged at **35\$/oz.**
2. **Free convertibility** of the state's moneys partnering the monetary system
3. **The stability of exchange rates:**
  - ✓ To adopt a monetary policy that maintains exchange rates within 1 percent;
  - ✓ If it is higher/lower, intervention is needed.

# Realism: Tradition and Strands

## THUCYDIDES

Political fate  
Necessity and security  
Political survival  
Safety

## MACHIAVELLI

Political agility  
Opportunity and security  
Political survival  
Civic virtue

## HOBBS

Political will  
Security dilemma  
Political survival  
Peace and felicity

History of the  
Peloponnesian War  
(431 B.C.)

The Prince  
(1517)

Leviathan  
(1651)

## Basic assumptions of Realism

1. **Pessimistic view of human nature**
2. **International relations are necessarily conflictual and conflicts are ultimately resolved by war**
3. **Basic values: national security and state survival**
4. **Scepticism about progress**

### ◆ Neoclassical realism:

- Hans Morgenthau
- Herman Kahn, Henry Kissinger
- Fareed Zakaria, Randall L. Schweller

### ◆ Neorealism:

- Kenneth Waltz
- John J. Mearsheimer (Offensive realism)
- Robert Gilpin (IPE)

### ◆ Strategic Realism:

- Thomas Schelling
- Robert Jervis (Defensive realism)
- Kenneth A. Oye (IPE)

### ◆ Utopian Realism:

- Hans Jonas
- Ken Booth



# Neoclassic Realism: Morgenthau

## ◆ Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism:

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.**

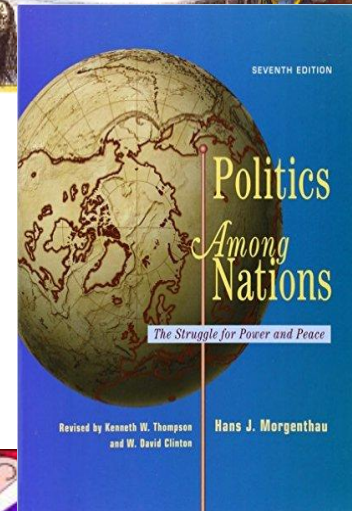
*"Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. [...] We must approach political reality with a kind of rational outline [...] we put ourselves in the position of a statesman who must meet a certain problem of foreign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

2. **National Interest defined in terms of Power**

*"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."*

3. **National Interest is an objective category, always dynamic, formulated by political and cultural context (often by the political regime of the state), and is defined in terms of power.**

*„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."*



# Neoclassic Realism: Morgenthau (cont.)

## 4. Abstract Moral Principles cannot be applied to Politics

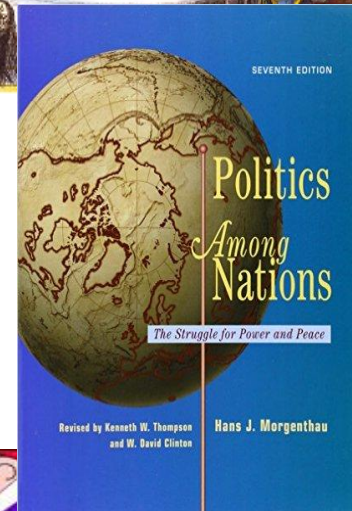
*"Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action."*

## 5. Difference between moral aspirations of a nation and the universal moral principles: particular nations cannot impose their ideologies on other nations (c.f. US foreign political ambition in Iraq War in 2003).

*"Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. As it distinguishes between truth and opinion, so it distinguishes between truth and idolatry."*

## 6. International Politics is an autonomous sphere of action, and so cannot be reduced to Political Economics or to Ethics. Political realism, specifically, is neither idealistic nor legalistic and nor even moralistic in its approach to International Politics.

*"A political realist always thinks in terms of interest defined as power, as an economist thinks of interest defined as wealth; the lawyer, of the conformity of action with legal rules and the moralist, of the conformity of action with moral principles."*



# The "Billiard Ball" model in different fashions

- **Neorealist Model #1: *Kenneth Waltz***
  - ✓ Technical instrument to use: **absolute and relative gains**
- **Neorealist Model #2: *Robert Gilpin***
  - ✓ Technical instrument to use: **Marginal analysis**



## HEGEMONIC STABILITY THEORY

- **"New wave" paradigm: *James Rosenau***

**Turbulence**

**Frangmentation**

✓ Technical instruments to use:

**Chaos Theory**

*Paradigm shift:*

Chance is crucial and immanent in WP

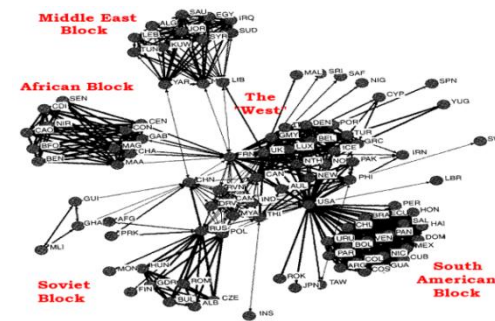
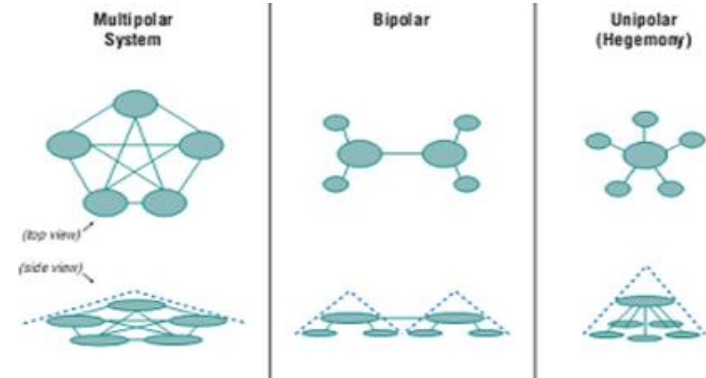
***Epistemic & Methodological turn***

**Network Theory**

*Paradigm shift:*

The fundamental entities are not states (realists) and individuals (liberals)

***Ontological turn***



# Neorealism: Waltz's "anti-reductionism"

- Neorealism considers **national interest**, **sovereignty**, and **international order** as the most important values
  - ✓ Against "reductionism": it is not possible to understand world politics simply by looking inside of states
  - ✓ Structural and determinist theory – If we want to consider how actors will interact, we must look at the system within which they interact.
  - ✓ Focus on the structure:
    - Ordering principle: **Anarchy**
    - International system is composed of like units
    - The only thing that matters is relative power (**Relative Gain**)

## ➤ Absolute and Relative Gains:



### 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.

# Main Debates in Realism: Classic vs. Neo

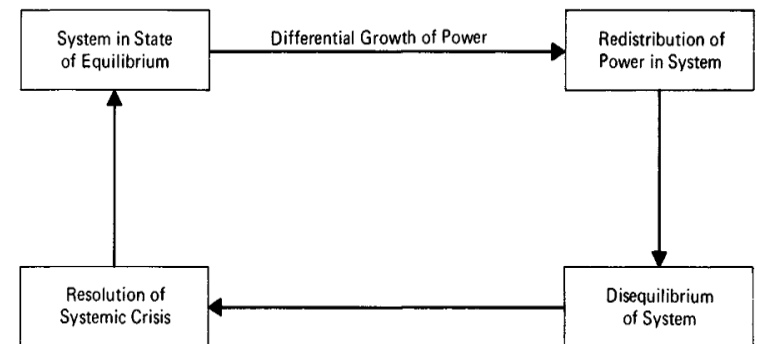
**Central Question:** What breeds competition in the international system?

**Purpose:** Critics against Neorealist Theory that is too deterministic: we need making realism more realistic by incorporating more specific interpretations about the preferences and perceptions of the states.

- **Kissinger:** In the history of diplomacy there are two stances to prevail: real-politics (*raison d'état* and *BoP*) and political moralism. The root of wrong decisions and delusions in IP is not to adopt the two stances properly in a particular case
  - ✓ Dominant realism will lead to the crush of the society as a result of the dynamics of expansion. → Outcome: scapegoat and downfall.
  - ✓ Overdriven moralization will result in the loss of the perspective of world politics → Outcome: weakness (e.g.: a target of attacks; isolation)
- **Scheller:** Bring individual and unit variations back to theory
  - ✓ The motivations and interest of states are different and change: there are "status quo" and "revisionist" states depending on the international situation (e.g. Germany before and after the WW2)
  - ✓ The perceptions of state leaders: there is no objective reading of the distribution of power → "Relative Gain" is a diffuse category to use
- **Zakaria:** State-society relationships: State-strength means the ability to extract and direct resources from the societies that they rule

**Robert Gilpin: WAR AND CHANGE IN WORLD POLITICS (1981)**

- Economic (marginal) analysis explaining how states behave in IP
  - ✓ A state will attempt to change the international system if the expected benefits exceed the expected costs
- Although the international system is one of anarchy, the system does exercise an element of control over the behaviour of states
  - ✓ Mechanisms of control: an analogy between domestic and international political system
- *Neomercantilist attitude:* state is the most significant actor in keeping up the stability of international politics and economy.



Domestic	International
Government <sup>a</sup>	Dominance of great powers <sup>b</sup>
Authority	Hierarchy of prestige
Property rights	Division of territory
Law	Rules of the system
Domestic economy	International economy

<sup>a</sup>Based on distribution of power among domestic groups, coalitions, classes, etc.

<sup>b</sup>Based on distribution of power among states in the system.

# Main Debates in Realism: Classic vs. Neo

(Neo)Classic Realism	Neorealism
<b>Main characterization:</b> States as agents (i.e. the purposive, volitional dimension of states)	<b>Main characterization:</b> Adaptive states
<b>1. Historical variability</b> The ontological superiority of the state over the IS → As states change, so does the IS.	<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.
<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)	<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
<b>3. “Social” Rationality</b> State interest is shaped by state-society relations and international norms <b>4. Variable domestic agential state power</b> Domestic agential power varies in time, and impacts on state behaviour and IP. <b>5. Social sovereignty assumption</b> State sovereignty changes in time, and shaped morally and functionally by domestic and external influences	<b>3. “Survival” Rationality</b> The sovereign state rationally pursues its national interest of “military survival” <b>4. Billiard ball model</b> State’s internal and domestic properties are irrelevant to state behaviour and IP. <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.

# Offensive vs. Defensive Realism

## Offensive Realism

- **Exponent:** *John Mearsheimer*
- **Assumptions:**
  - All states possess some military capability
  - All states concerned about survival
  - All states uncertain of other's intentions: *"Friends today can be enemies tomorrow"*
- **Description:** "Mr Bond, they have a saying in Chicago: Once is happenstance. Twice is coincidence. The third time it's enemy action." (Ian Fleming: Goldfinger)
- **Result: the "culture of fear"**
  - Great powers should think and act aggressively;
  - Whenever they can maximize power and exploit other's weakness;
    - ✓ e.g. Athens and Melos

## Defensive Realism

- **Exponent:** *Kenneth Waltz, Robert Jervis*
- **Assumptions:**
  - The anarchic nature of the international system encourages states to undertake defensive and moderate policies:
    - "The first concern of states is not to maximize power but to maintain their position in the system."
    - "Ultimate concern is not for power, but for security"
- **Description:** "Stag Hunt" story
- **Result:**
  - States do not need to be so quick to maximize power to survive
    - ✓ e.g. post-WW1 France
    - ... or to fail (?)

# Strategic Realism

◆ **Strategic realism:** this theory is developed by Thomas Schelling analyses how a state can employ power to get a rival to do what the state desires, i.e. through coercion instead of brute force, which is always dangerous and inefficient.

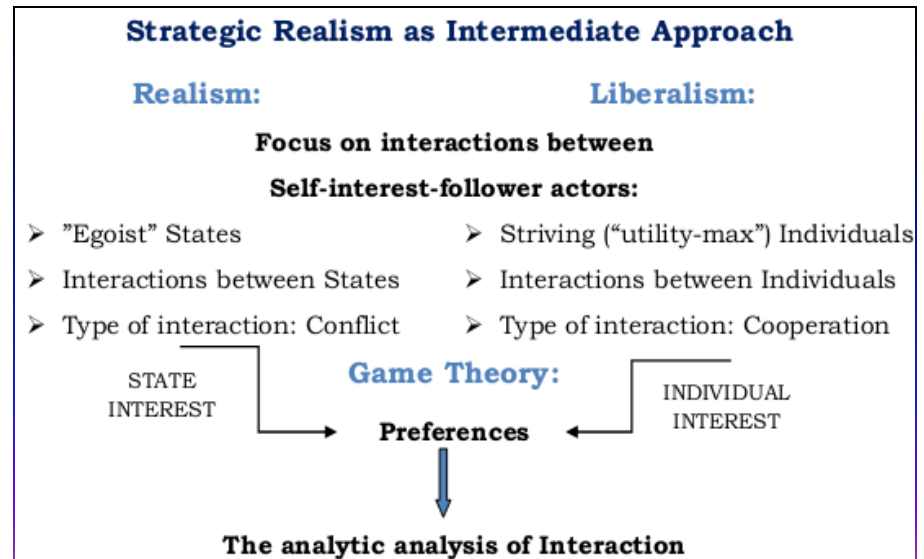
- Unlike classical, neoclassical or neorealism, strategic realism does not make normative claims: values are taken as given and not weighed during analysis.
- Rather, the theory seeks to provide analytical tools (via game theoretical analysis) for diplomacy and foreign policy.

## ◆ The analysis

➤ In the analysis of game theory the logic of considered situation and the cogs and wheels of processes are discovered, which are hidden because of the complexity of realness.

➤ The results of actors in games, i.e. the loss or gain of theirs, are called payoffs that rank the outcomes of the game. The higher is the outcome in player's preference, the greater is the payoff to the outcome.

➤ The primary goal of each player has to be seemed to guarantee the greater payoff to player against the efforts of opponents with different interest.



# The Neo-Neo Debate

◆ **The Debate between Neoliberalism and Neorealism** is not a debate between two polar opposite worldviews. **Common: ontology**, focus on similar questions, agree on number of assumptions about IP.

➤ NR and NL are **mainstream theories on mainstream issues**:

- What about inequality?
- Society and domestic politics;
- Ethical and moral issues backed by the society and international networks.
- What about a less state-centric world?

◆ However, there are several **epistemological differences and hence different answers**:

- NRs focus on security and military issues. NLs focus on political economy, environmental issues and lately human rights issues.
- NRs focus on relative (and absolute gains). NLs on absolute gains
- NRs: world is still a competitive place with self-interests, be cautious about cooperation. NLs: states can be persuaded to cooperate if they are convinced that all states will comply and cooperation will result in absolute gains.

# Neo-Neo Debate (con.)

	Neorealism	Neoliberalism
<b>International System</b>	Anarchic. Anarchy put more constraints on the state and NRs minimize the importance of survival as the goal of state	Anarchic. NRs minimize the importance of international interdependence and regimes
<b>Focus</b>	Relative power, security, survival in a competitive (and anarchic) international system	Economic welfare, international political economy (IPE), environment
<b>International cooperation</b>	Will not happen unless states make it happen. Hard to achieve, difficult to maintain, and dependent on state power	Easy to achieve in areas where states have mutual interests
<b>Gains</b>	The fundamental goal of states in cooperative relationships is to prevent others from gaining more. ( <u>Relative gains</u> )	Actors with common interests try to maximize <u>absolute gains</u>
<b>Emphasis</b>	Capabilities over intentions and interests	Intentions and preferences
<b>Institutions and regimes</b>	Do not mitigate the constraining effects of anarchy on cooperation	Significant forces in international relations, that facilitate cooperation

# NeoCons or Democratic Realism

◆ **New World Order:** To make the whole world uni-polar in the post-cold war period under the hegemony of USA

- ✓ A kind of HST incorporating both realist and liberal principles → "Pax Americana" (Muravchik):
  - utopian liberalism: to extend liberal democracies to all over the world
  - realism: to achieve "democratic world", one has to spread and defend the democratic world order, and it requires force and sanctions



Leo Strauss  
(1899-1973)



◆ **Exponents:** Charles Krauthammer, Joshua Muravhcik, Robert Kagan, William Kristol, Paul Wolfowitz

◆ **Critics:** Democratic realism is a bizarre mix of the wish of world democracy and hegemonic force:

- ✓ It is neither realist nor liberal:
  - Unilateralism denies the tradition of Realism;
  - It also denies the Kantian idea of Perpetual Peace.
- ✓ It results in a sort of US imperialism and not in a kind of "Pax Americana"
  - Aggressive and offensive foreign policy;
  - Dubious tools in practice under the administration of the US president G.W. Bush (2001-2008): Patriot Act; Guantanamo Bay detention camp
- ✓ Paul Kennedy's "Military Overstretch" Thesis: The ambitions and security requirements of Hegemons in history are greater than their resource base can provide for.

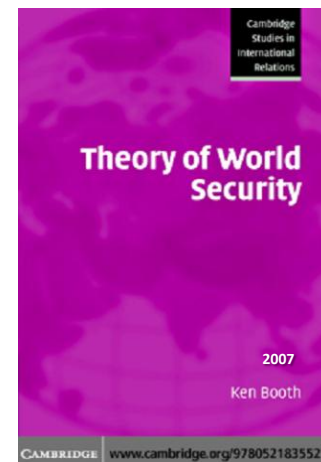
# Utopian Realism

◆ **Ken Booth** as E. H. Carr Professor in the Department of International Politics at the University of Wales gives a critical exploration of the “hard core” of realism that are steeped in prejudice against the developments in IP, however

- ✓ *realism is not really realistic*: it does not provide an accurate picture of the world;
- ✓ *it is too static paradigm*, without being capable of complying with the changing world;
- ✓ *it is reductive* (it leaves out much of the picture) with *unspoken assumptions* that are *regressive* (e.g. it leaves no space for gender or class) and too *narrow agenda* (it over-concentrates on the military dimension to the exclusion of other threats);
- ✓ *its ethics are hostile* to the human interest;
- ✓ though its *methodology is unsophisticated*, *it is intellectually rigid*;
- ✓ *it fails the test of practice* (it cannot offer a reliable recipe book for several problems).

◆ That's why he is intended to pave the way for a complete reconceptualization of IR. It includes two efforts:

- ✓ **A critical theory of security** because security is now more than ever a cosmopolitan and local at the same time: a problem of individual humans (e.g. citizens in failed states) and of the global community (e.g. ecological threats, nuclear extinction)
- ✓ **To work out an “emancipatory realism”** which means the liberation of people from those physical and human constraints (war and the threat of war, poverty, poor education, political oppression...) which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do.

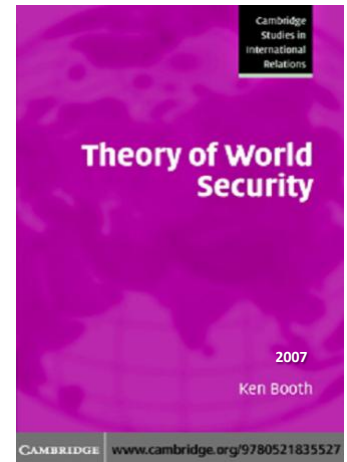


# Utopian Realism (#2)

◆ The need of a global categorical imperative the aim of which to conceive the relationship in political life between means and ends

✓ **Human society, globally, will face “a long hot century”**

- Global interactions and issues have increasingly turned human society into a community of fate.
- Issues to be focused:
  1. **The scope of political violence** what we need reducing.
  2. Leaders who claim to be the standard-bearers of **democracy** must behave democratically indeed.
  3. Law-governed world should judge their external policy according to the test of **lawfulness**. This means that powerful governments will sometimes be prevented from doing what their power might enable them to do.
  4. Those who wish for a world of **human rights** must not connive in human wrongs.
  5. Beliefs and norms in the spirit of responsibility for genuine human life - **people always come first, states are merely tools.**



**Hans Jonas**  
**Das Prinzip Verantwortung (1974)**

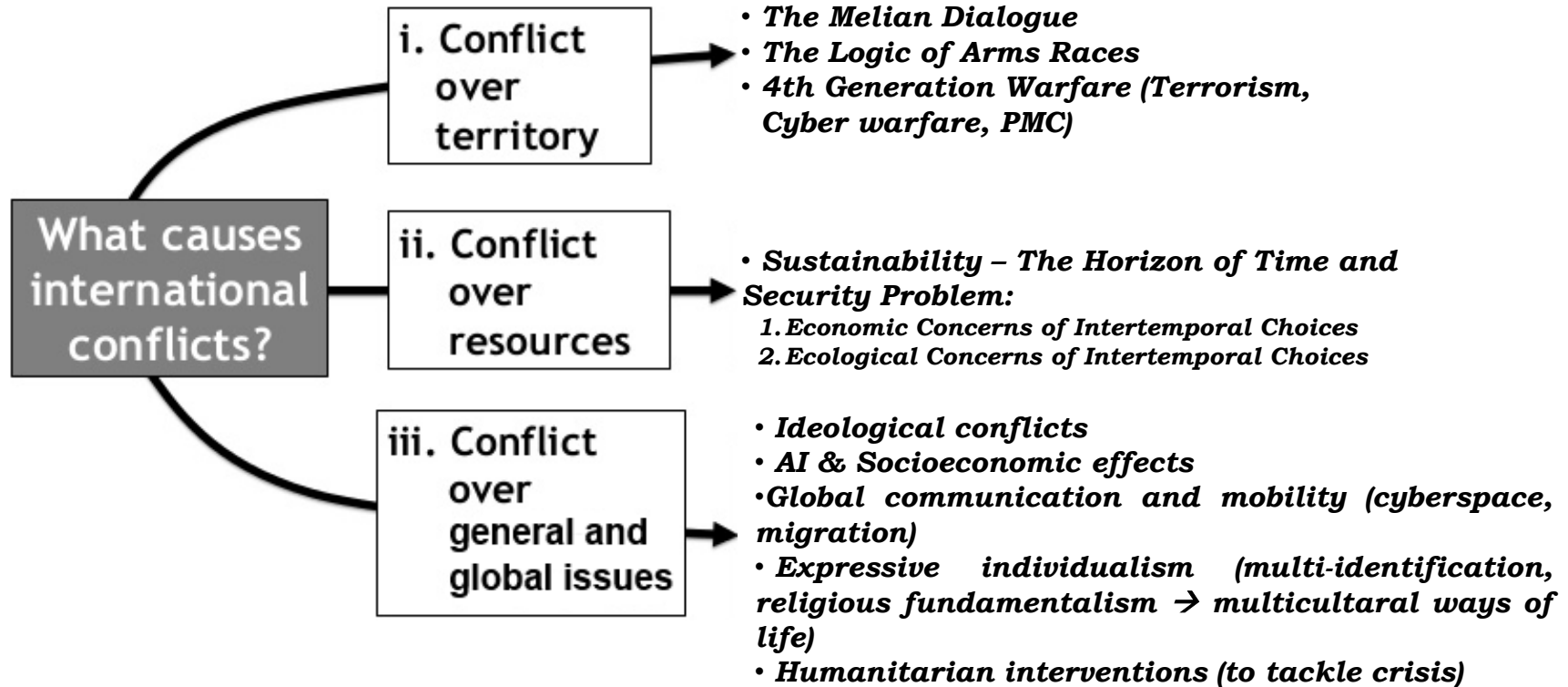
◆ **Hans Jonas:** The power of knowledge is hugely increased due to modern technology. Traditional ethics are rescinding, and so human nature is fundamentally altered.

✓ Suggestion for a new categorical imperative in spirit of responsibility as follows:

**"Act so that the effects of your action are compatible with the permanence of genuine human life".**

# **International Security**

# On International Security



# Lessons from the Ancient Times



## The Balance of Power between Greek City-states:

- Athens and its allies (Delian League)
- Sparta and its allies (Pelopon. League)

Local conflicts between the cities, but a rough equilibrium between the leagues.

## The Great Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC)

### Causes:

- Athen's effort to dominate the other cities
  - Lesson 1: **Melian Dialogue**
- Competition between the Leagues for the control of the Greek world.
  - Lesson 2:

**Local Conflict(s)** → **Global War**

**Outbreaking local conflict:** Corinth (P.L.) and Corcyra (D.L.) over trade issues.

# The Melian Dialogue

***The Melian dialogue (416 B.C.). Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War, V.84-116.***


Athens wanted Melos to join its own League, and they gave an ultimatum to Melians: Either they join Delian League or invade Melos because they are too weak to defend themselves.

The Melians took 4 points into consideration: —————> Decision: Refuse the Athenian ultimatum

1. **The point of justice:** whether the demands of Athen are fair enough?
2. **The point of utilitarianism:** How could they be better-off?
  - ✓ either to remain natural, or
  - ✓ to join the League, or
  - ✓ to resist?
3. **How likely is it** that Athens is going to attack them?
4. **The point of honour and prestige**



**Idealist reasons**



**Realist reasons**

The Athenian reply was an invasion, and they justify it by the points below:

1. To refer to law and justice is not the case if there is no balance of power: **if there are weak and strong states, the stronger will dictate** (“all we do is to make use of it [power], knowing that you and everybody else, having the same power as we have, would do the same as we do”)
2. **The world is governed by the law of power** and Athens acts according to it.
3. **Any independence may be maintained under sufficient power**, because the law of power holds every time and everywhere.

# Game Theory in Nutshell

- **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. Metaphor: Invisable Hand Game.



# Game Theory in Nutshell



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

# Realist and Liberal Ideas Reformulated

**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)

**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):**

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)

**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"

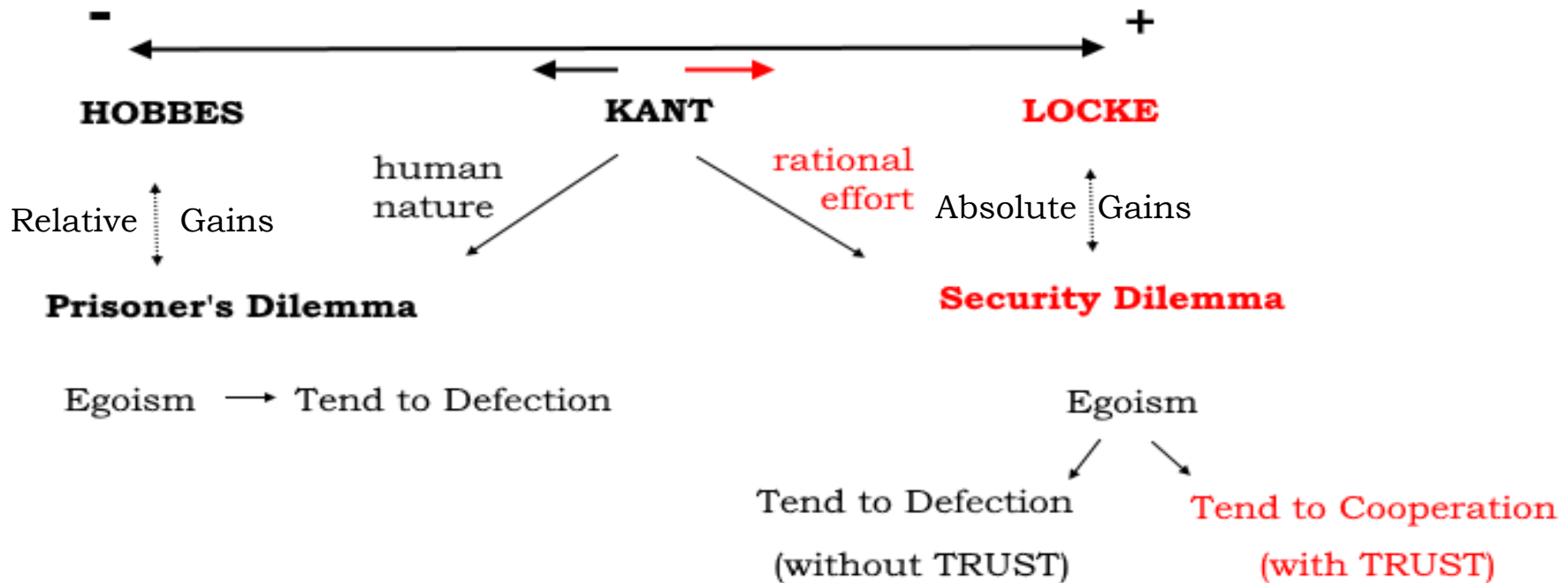


	C	D
C	2, 2	-2, 1
D	1, -2	-1, -1

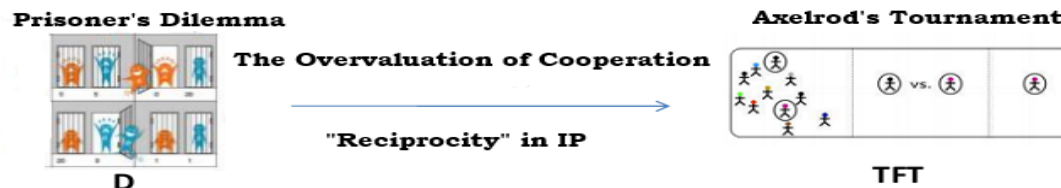
CC DC DD CD

# 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).



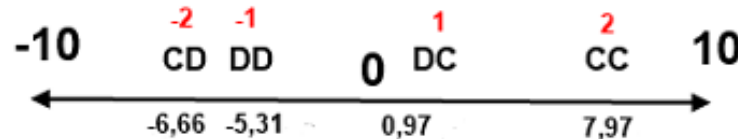
# Another Perspective

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)

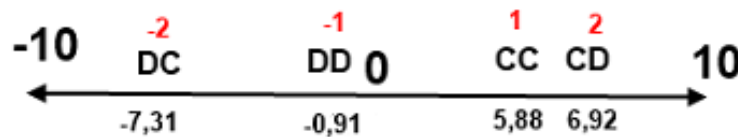
## Security Dilemma



		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 Three models of Arms Races

Main question:

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

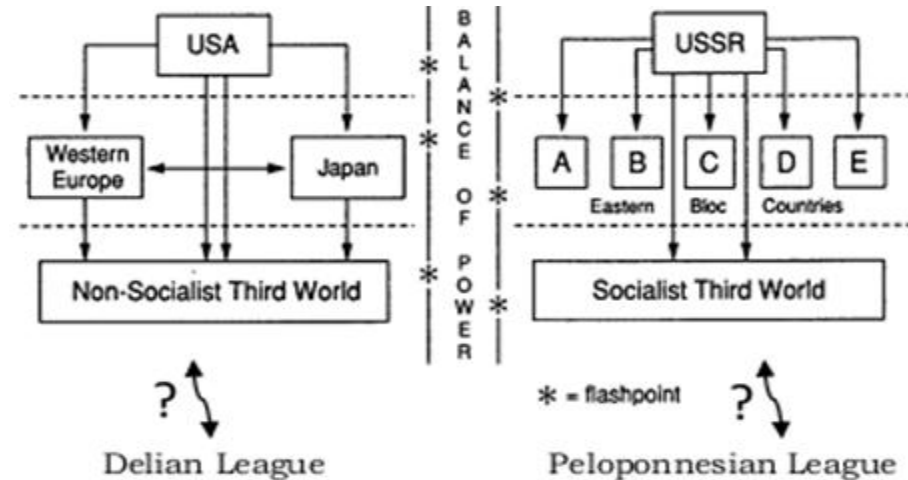
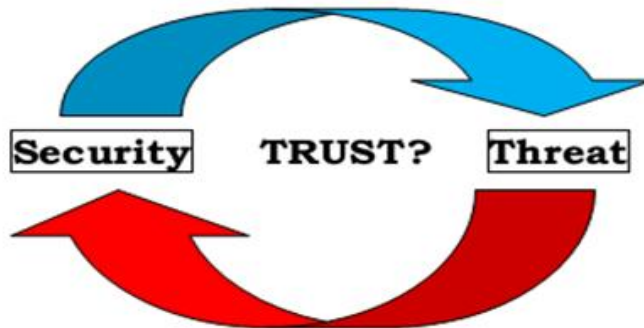
The Cold War  $\begin{cases} \text{Prisoner's Dilemma} \\ \text{Security Dilemma} \\ \text{Perceptual Dilemma} \end{cases}$

Our viewpoint (EGO):

*Security Dilemma*

The Others (ALTER):

*Prisoner's Dilemma*



The 3 models of arms races:

- **Threat**  $\leftrightarrow$  Prisoner's Dilemma
- **Trust**  $\leftrightarrow$  Stag Hunt Dilemma
- **Perception**  $\leftrightarrow$  Perceptual Dilemma

# Sustainability: Challenges from a wide perspective

**1. AI & Socioeconomic effects:** Every 20 years or so, the digital revolution produces a quantum leap:

- 1970s and 80s: tiny processors and memories on microchips that miniaturized technical devices
- 1990s and 2000s has linked digital agents and processes. Computers were connected to local and global networks
- 2010s: cheap and ubiquitous sensors (laser-based, gyroscopic, magnetic, blood chemistry sensors, hundreds and thousands of which are connected to a wireless network → BIG DATA
- Due time is 2030 → from "smart devices" to "expert devices" → The externalization of intelligence & the "Technological unemployment"

## **2. Challenges to Economics:**

- We are facing a resource crisis in 30-40-year term. Now we think in industry that everything can be thrown away and replaced by another, or we use them again by involving them in a recycling technology.
- No one talk about the limits to the stock of matter and energy: how much energy is required to produce new things or there is a degree of loss in recycling technology.
- **Future Economics:** Under very strong scarcity instead of moderate scarcity, Growth & Effectivity → Availabilty & Allocation (redistribution?)

## **3. Ecological Challenges:**

- Malthusian Nightmare
- Global Warming Effect

# The Horizon of Time: Intertemporal Decisions



## The Horizon of Time and Debts

### At Individual level (at Households)



All citizens should pay back their debt, they cannot roll it till the end of time because their horizon of time is limited: all humans will eventually die.

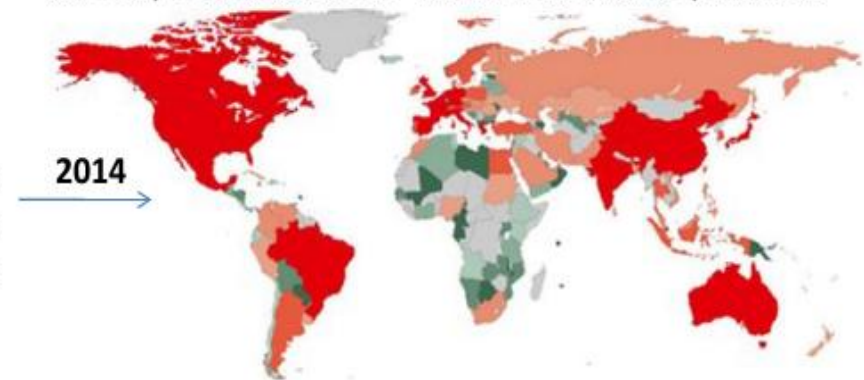
The most developed economies of the world are the countries with the highest rates of debt (red zone → green zone).

### At State (national) level



The aim is not to pay back debt, but to economically overgrow the rate of debt.

The state can mass its debt by refinancing it, which practically means it borrows a new loan. This is due to the fact that the state’s horizon of time is practically infinite. The only constraint to do that is to hold its reputation.



Higher Debt Lower Debt

Source : Economist Intelligence Unit

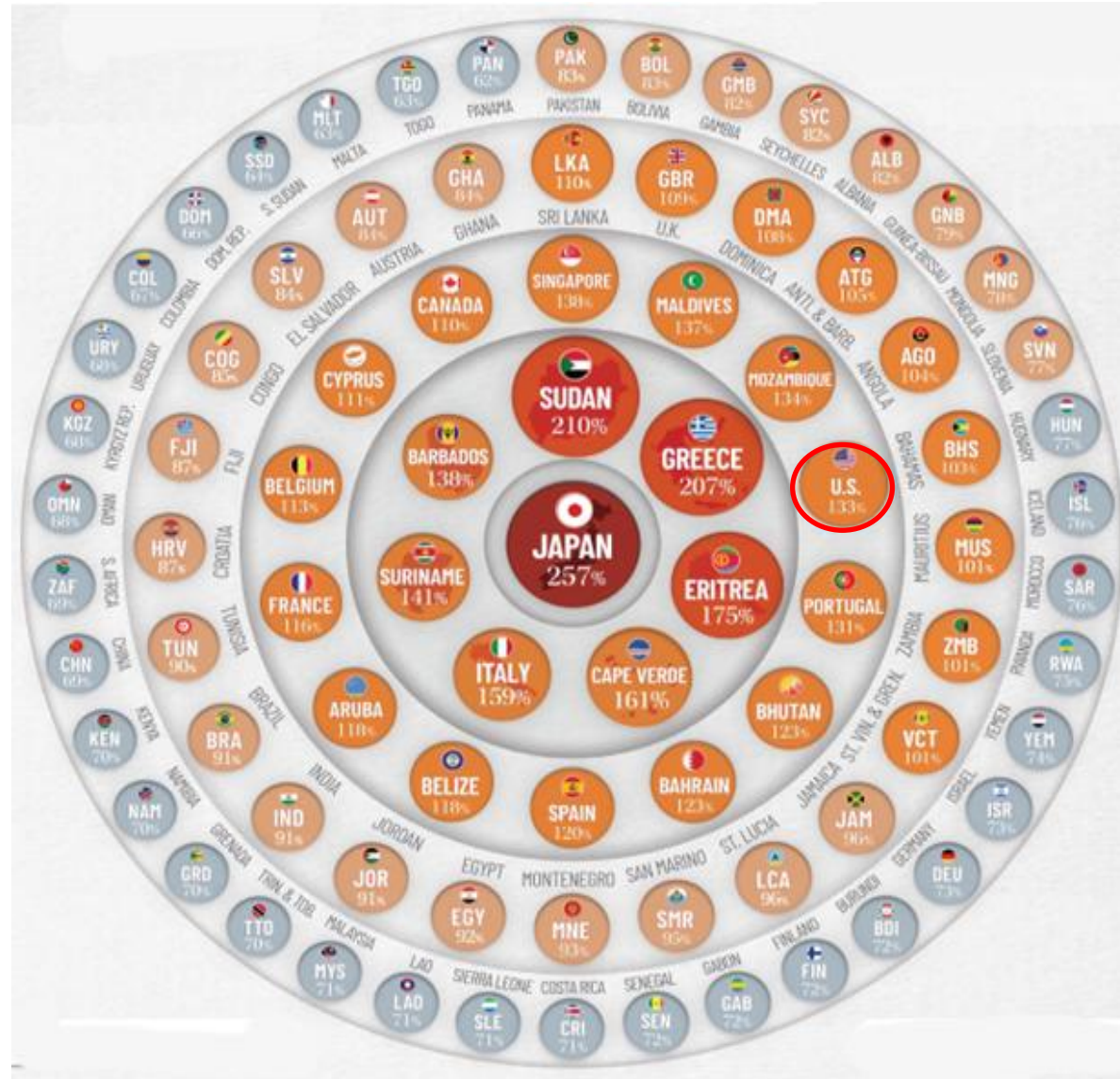
# Public Debt to GDP ratio by Country

Public Debt to GDP Ratio (Rounded, 2016)

<a href="#">Japan</a>	229	<a href="#">Canada</a>	84
<a href="#">Zimbabwe</a>	202	<a href="#">Cyprus</a>	80
<a href="#">Greece</a>	177	<a href="#">Germany</a>	71
<a href="#">Lebanon</a>	139	<a href="#">Hungary</a>	75
<a href="#">Italy</a>	132	<a href="#">Malta</a>	64
<a href="#">Portugal</a>	129	<a href="#">Jordan</a>	89
<a href="#">Jamaica</a>	132	<a href="#">Austria</a>	86
<a href="#">Singapore</a>	105	<a href="#">Iceland</a>	68
<a href="#">United States</a>	104	<a href="#">Netherlands</a>	65
<a href="#">Spain</a>	100	<a href="#">Israel</a>	64
<a href="#">Belgium</a>	106		
<a href="#">France</a>	96		
<a href="#">Ireland</a>	93		
<a href="#">Egypt</a>	90		
<a href="#">UK</a>	89		

List of countries with respect to external debt in trillion dollars (2022)

United States	24
United Kingdom	8.73
France	7.04
Germany	6.46
Japan	4.36
China	2.64
Italy	2.51
Spain	2.26
Canada	1.93
Australia	1.83
Switzerland	1,82



# Economic Concerns of Intertemporal Decisions

**Malthusianism:** The unchecked population growth is exponential while the growth of the food supply was expected to be arithmetical → - disease, starvation, and war  
- a need of population control.



Thomas Malthus

*"The power of population is so superior to the power of the Earth to produce subsistence for man, that premature death must in some shape or other visit the human race."* —Thomas Malthus, 1798

*"If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next 100 years."*

—The Club of Rome think tank, 1972

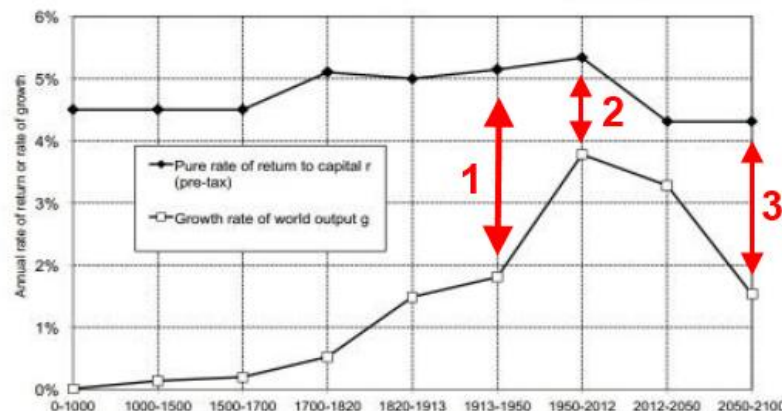
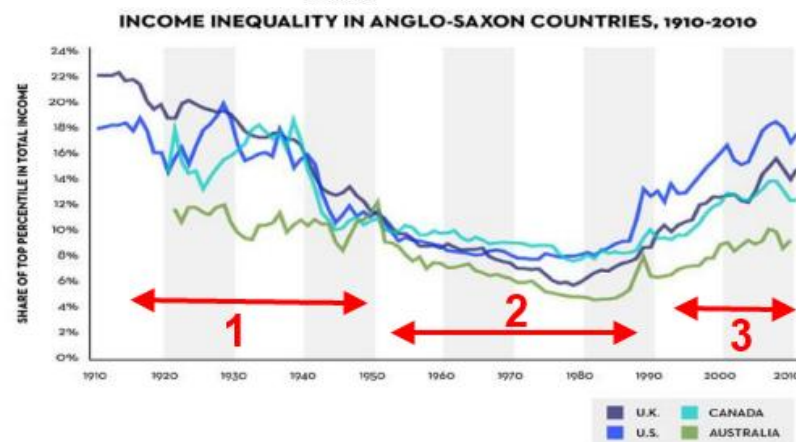
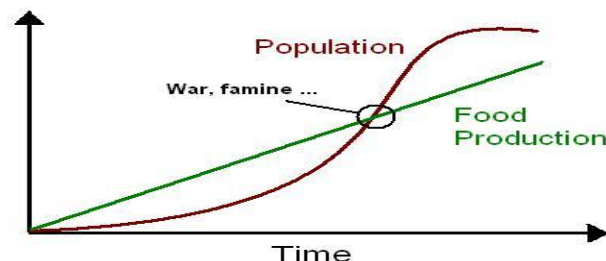
## Thomas Piketty: Capital in the Twenty-First Century (2014)

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.*

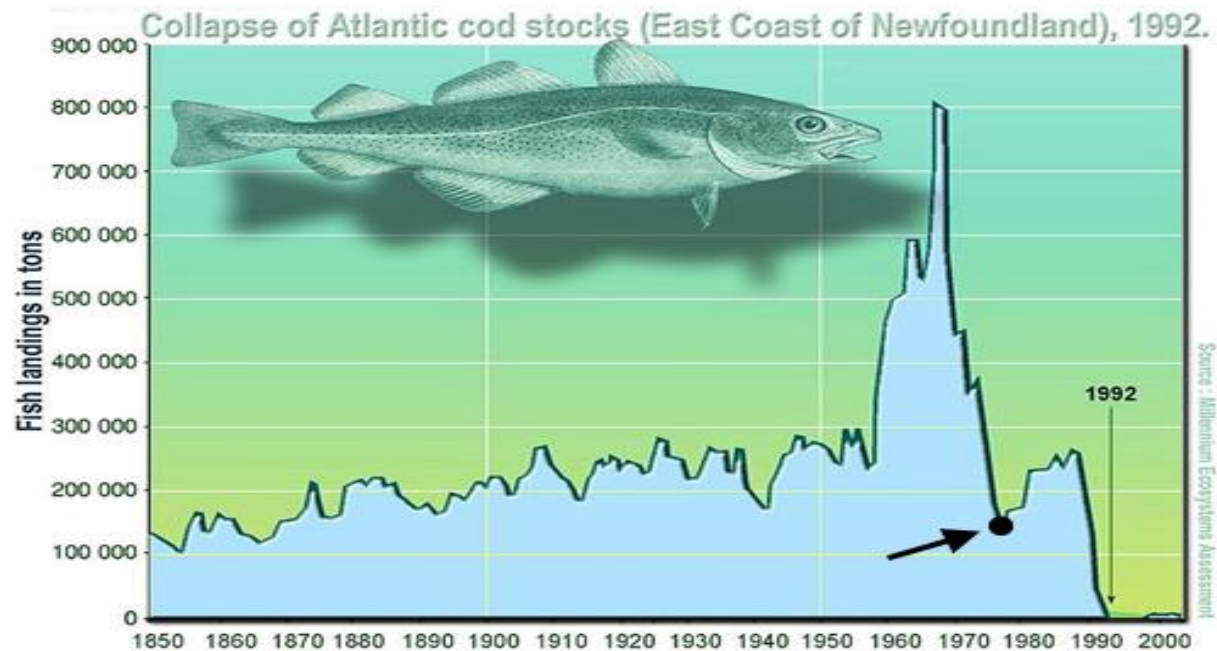
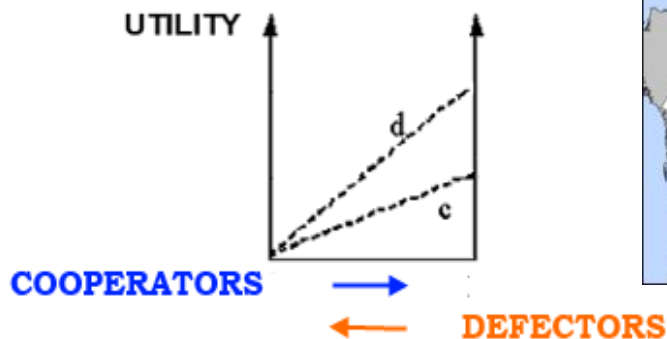
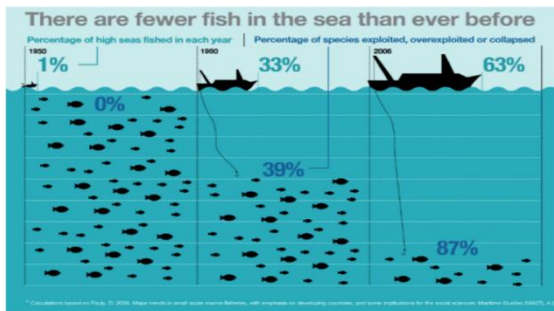


# Ecological Concerns of Intertemporal Decisions

## Tragedy of the Commons:

It is a prisoner dilemma with a finite horizon of time

➤ **Overfishing:** when so many fish are caught that the population can't produce fast enough to replace them.

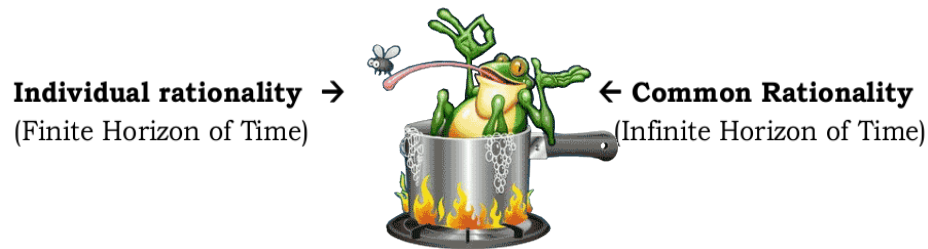


- From the 1960s, offshore bottom trawlers began exploiting the deeper part of the stock, leading to a strong decline in the underlying biomass.
- 1970s: First, Internationally agreed quotas, following the declaration by Canada of an Exclusive Fishing Zone in 1977
- Towards the collapse: National quota systems ultimately failed to arrest and reverse the decline

# Ecological Concerns of Intertemporal Decisions

## Tragedy of the Commons:

- **Individual Rationality:** Individual users acting independently according to their own self-interest over shared-resources system (e.g. soils, rivers, oceans, freshwater, fishstocks, etc. )
- **Common Rationality:** Set up coercive regulations that restrict over-exploitation of common resources.
- **The Boiled Frog Syndrome:**

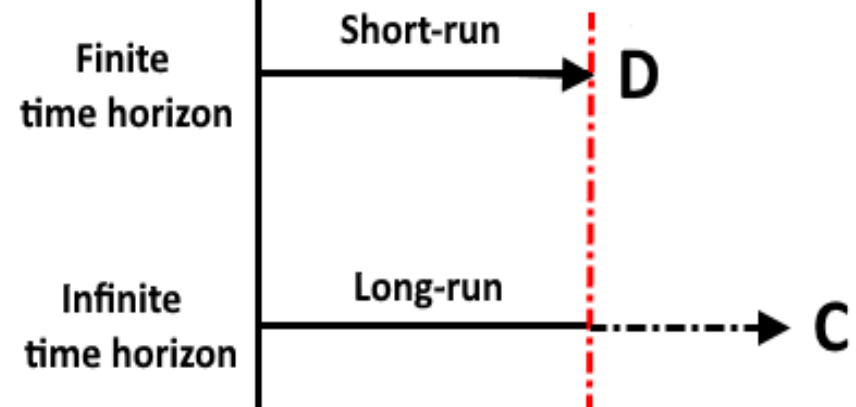
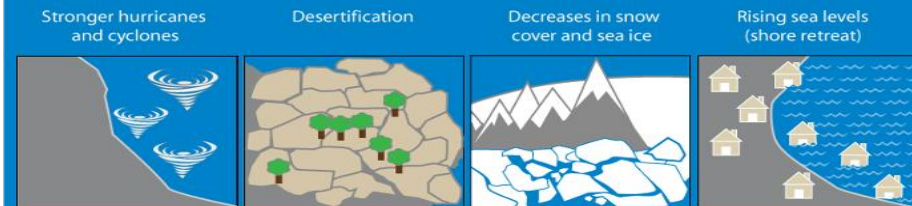


Anecdote: If a frog is placed in boiling water, it will jump out, but if it is placed in cold water that is slowly heated, it will not perceive the danger and will be cooked to death.

## GLOBAL WARMING EFFECTS



### Global warming causes



# Global Security Challenges (#1)

## Global Trends against Reciprocity in the World:

### Inequalities in focus

#### 1. Demographic problems

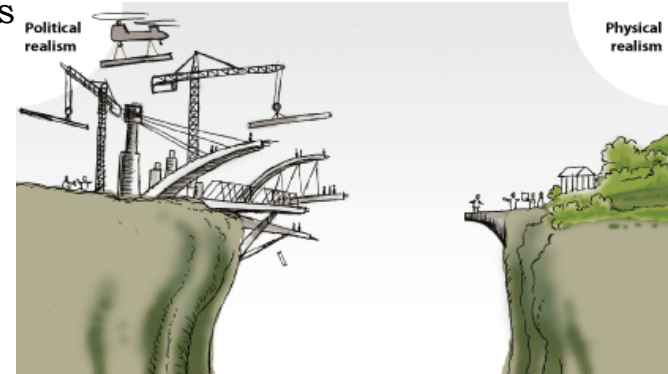
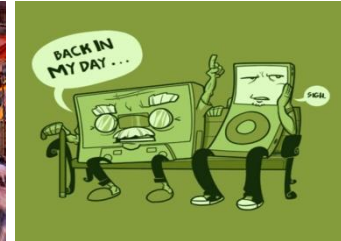
- ✓ Increasing number of the world population  
West  $\leftrightarrow$  Rest
- ✓ Generational and Cultural Gap:
  - 2nd /3rd generational descendents of immigrants
  - Traditional & Boomer  $\leftrightarrow$  X, Y, and millennial

#### 2. Divergent Dynamics of Wealth Distribution

- ✓ Capital Gap: "Haves"  $\leftrightarrow$  "Have-nots"
  - High Fiscal Debt to GDP ratio in industrialized states
    - How long is it sustainable?
    - Who will pay at the end of day?
- ✓ The Lack of Capabilities
  - Class-conflicts
  - Regional Gap:
    - States  $\leftrightarrow$  States
    - Cities  $\leftrightarrow$  Villages
  - Digital Analphabetism

#### 3. Threats of Environmental Disaster & Nuclear War

- ✓ The lack of adequate regulations
  - Asymmetric sides and interests
- Misintelligence: "Do Survive!"



### Malthusian Nightmare



Thomas Malthus

*"The power of population is so superior to the power of the Earth to produce subsistence for man, that premature death must in some shape or other visit the human race."*  
—Thomas Malthus, 1798

*"If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next 100 years."*

—The Club of Rome think tank, 1972

# The 4<sup>th</sup> Generation Warfare

The “changing face of war” in course of time:

**1<sup>st</sup> Generation** – *massed manpower*, using line and column tactics.

Example: Napoleon Wars



**2<sup>nd</sup> Generation** – *concentrated firepower*: break-through at a chosen location and time (pitched battle), without sufficient force and materials static and trench warfare. Example: WW1, Siege of Fallujah (Iraq) in 2004.



**3<sup>rd</sup> Generation** – *mobile warfare or the blitzkrieg (lightning war)*: fast advances, focus on maneuvering and speed to bypass the enemy's defend lines. Example: WW2, Gulf War in 1991.



**4<sup>th</sup> Generation** – a set of tools with two main warfare goals:

1. Survival (using guerrillas, terrorists and riots);
2. To convince the enemy's political decision makers that their goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefit.

Characterization: highly decentralized (the actors are often non-states), occurs in low intensity conflict (traditional way of warfare is not successful), a highly sophisticated (media, cyberwar, lawfare), all available pressures are used (political, economic, social). Example: Vietnam War, Syrian Civil War (ISIS)



# Example: The Beginning of Cyberwarfare

## 2007: Russian-Estonian Conflict

**Historic Background:** The Bronze Soldier is the informal name of a controversial Soviet World War II war memorial in Tallinn, which were relocated to the nearby Tallinn Military Cemetery. The Russians consider the action as an offence of defamation.

### Cyberattacks on Estonia:

- ✓ 128 DDoS attacks;
- ✓ The length of time of each attack was between 2 and 10 hours;
- ✓ Techniques:
  - To spin up data traffic up to 100 Mbps (needed huge zombie networks), which has reached the 1000-fold rate of the average;
  - The Estonian Parliament had no internet connection during 4 days;
  - No Banking services in the country for more than 24 hours;
  - Communication devices were inactive.

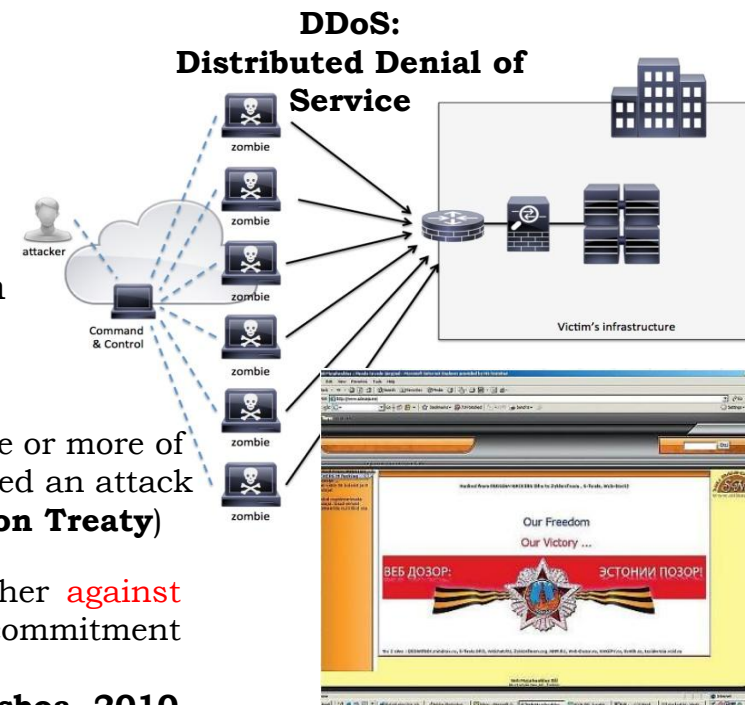
"The Parties agree that **an armed attack** against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all" (**from Article 5 of the Washington Treaty**)

### Nato Reply:

"4.a. Collective defence: NATO members will always assist each other **against attack**, in accordance with Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. That commitment remains firm and binding."

**Strategic Concept For the Defence and Security of NATO, Lisboa, 2010**

**Jozsef Zoltan Malik**



# The "outsourcing" of military services

**Private Military Companies** are private corporations offering special services to tackle wars and armed security actions in unstable regions. These activities related to intelligence, information gathering and civil security, strategic planning, as well as weapons procurement, other logistic supporting and offensive military operations.

## **The Political Rationality of the institutionalisation of PMCs**

- political expectations
- to enlarge military capacities
- to optimize military budget

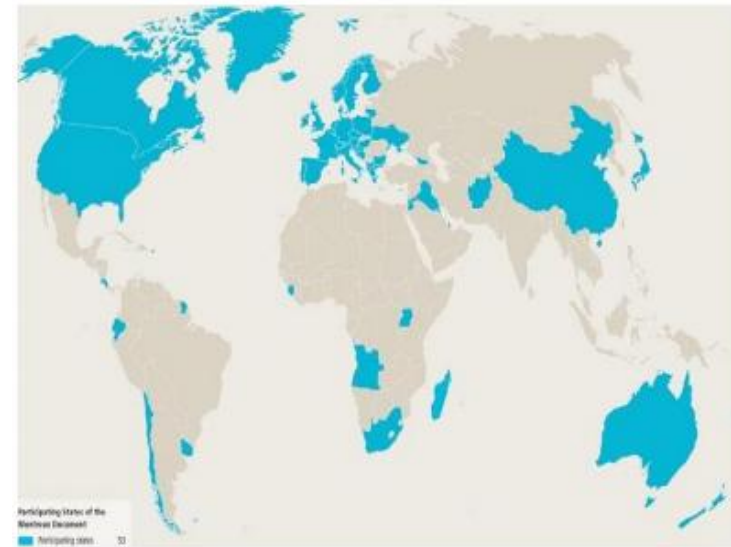
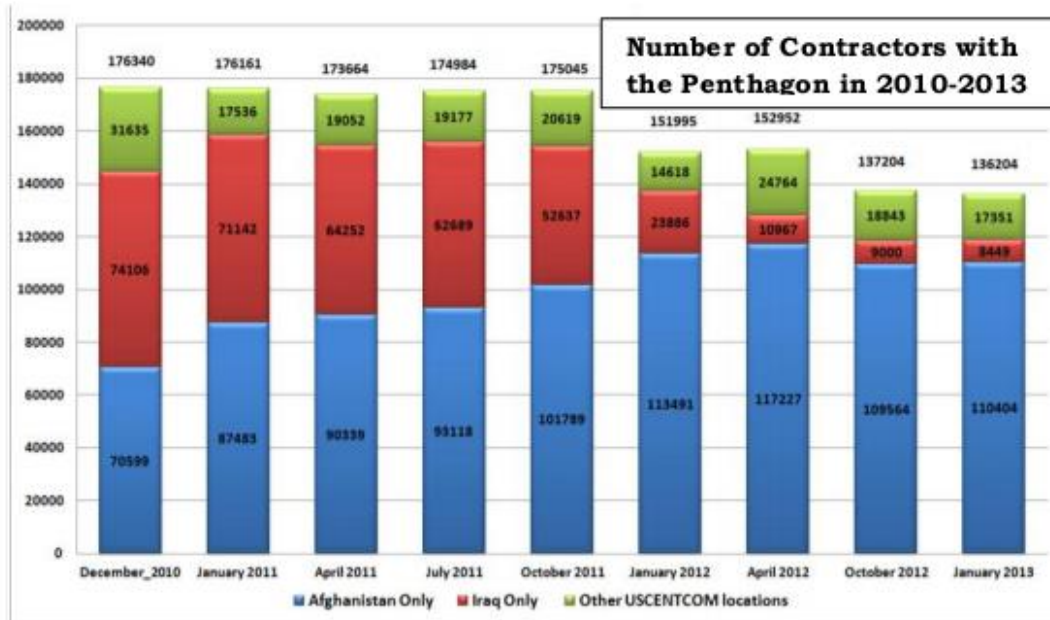
## **The complex problem of Regulations, Monitoring, and Accountability:**

- Constitutive State (Non-official War?)
- The state whose territory the action is taken;
- The state where the company is registered;
- All the states considered by the nationalities of mercenaries (employees of the PMCs)

# PMCs all over the World

## Institutionalisation of PMCs:

- National level: USA
- International level:
  - ✓ The Montreux Document (2008);
  - ✓ The International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers (ICoC)



# Global Security Challenges (#2)

## 1. Regional spillovers of crises:

- ISIS
- Iran-US
- Russian-Ukraine
- Disputes over East China Sea

## 2. Technology for War:

- Cyber crime and war
- Information threats (intelligence units, counter-intelligence, your freedom on Internet)
- The “outsourcing” of military services (PMS)

**TERRORISM**

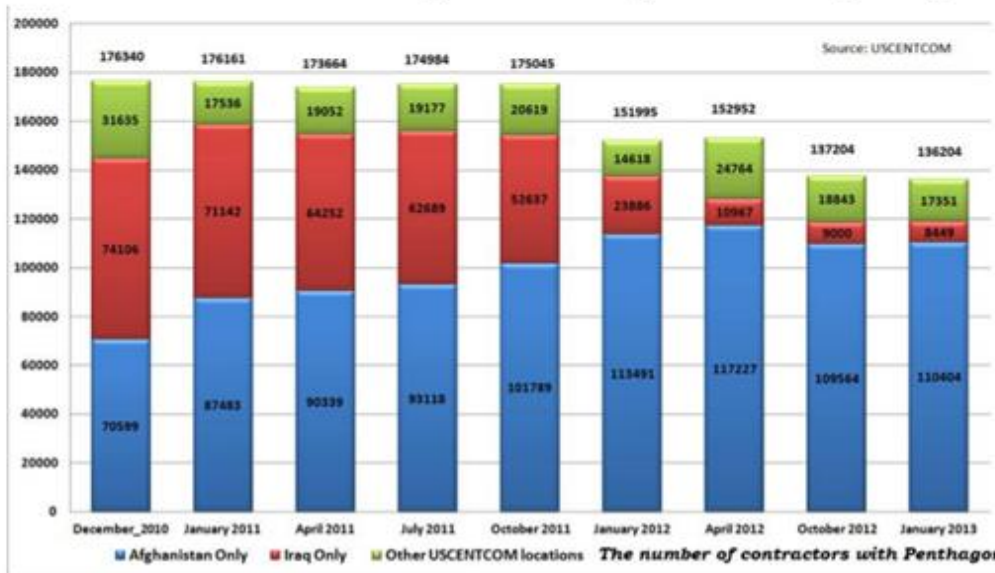
**3. The Crisis of Urbanization:** last decade, urban fragility has emerged as a central challenge in global security and development. Like the fragile state, fragile metropolis suffer from rising instability, poverty, and violence.

**4. Elections with Global Impact:** Several countries in the world, the incumbent party had or will have ruled for a decade or more, however all countries are suffering from frustrated expectations, particularly among the middle (lower) class.

**5. Migration Problem:** No progress has been made to fix the global management of migration. The challenge will remain permanently, because of

- political reasons (refugees);
- economic reasons
- social reasons
- environmental reasons

**6. Others:** contagions (1918 Flu Pandemic), natural disasters (Fukushima, 2011), etc.



## **Beyond the "Mainstream": Critical Views**

# Critical Views: An Overview

◆ **Why to use "critical views"?** They are arguing the mainstream (realistic and liberal) views from certain perspectives:

- all critical views considering societal features of international politics and global social challenges rather than international system;
- to embrace a post-positivist approach that takes subject and object, and therefore theory and practice, to be intimately linked (Neo-Marxism and most forms of Green Politics). To sum up: *"Theory is always for someone and for some purpose"* (Robert Cox);
- contemporary critical perspectives seek to challenge the global *status quo* and the norms, values and assumptions that it is based on. They have some emancipative features.

◆ **The main critical approaches:**

- The Classic alternatives:
  - English School (International Society or Realist Liberal approach)
  - Neo-Marxism (International Political Economy)
- Contemporary Approaches:
  - The "New Wave" (Chaotic approach to IS, Networking Science)
  - Constructivism → Post-Positivist IP
  - Feminism
  - Green perspective
  - Postmodern

# 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:**

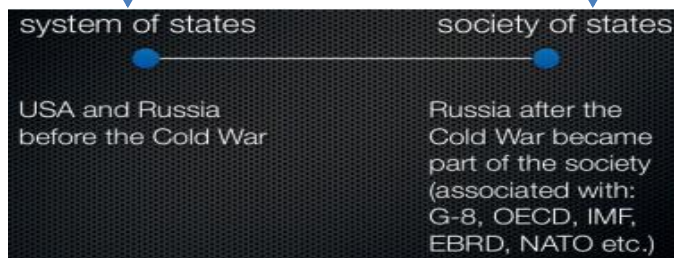


❖ **International System**  
means contact between states  
and the impact of one state on  
another

*composed  
by states*

*constituted  
by states*

❖ **International Society**  
means common interests and  
values, common rules and  
institutions.



- 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*

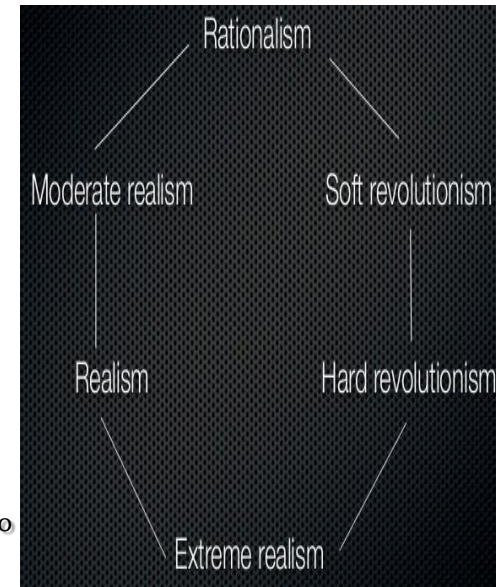
# Martin Wight: *International Theory*



## 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

**Revolutionalism:** 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"

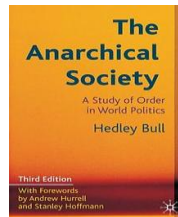
Believe in **shared norms and values** of states and how they regulate IR but not so "optimistic"

- **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 Anarchial 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.**



Order	Justice
<b>1. Order in social life</b> <b>2. International Order:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ belongs to great powers</li> <li>▪ 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)</li> <li>▪ "simple balance of power" (bipolarity) vs. "complex balance of power" (multi-polarity)</li> <li>▪ general balance of power (USA-USSR); local balance of power (Israel and the Arab states)</li> <li>▪ objective balance of power; subjective balance of power</li> </ul> <b>3. World Order</b>	<b>1. Individual or Human Justice</b> ( <i>Human Rights</i> ) <b>2. International or Inter-state Justice</b> ( <i>notion of equal state sovereignty</i> ) <b>3. Cosmopolitan or World Justice</b> (what is right or good for the world as a whole, global environmental standards)

## 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

# 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:

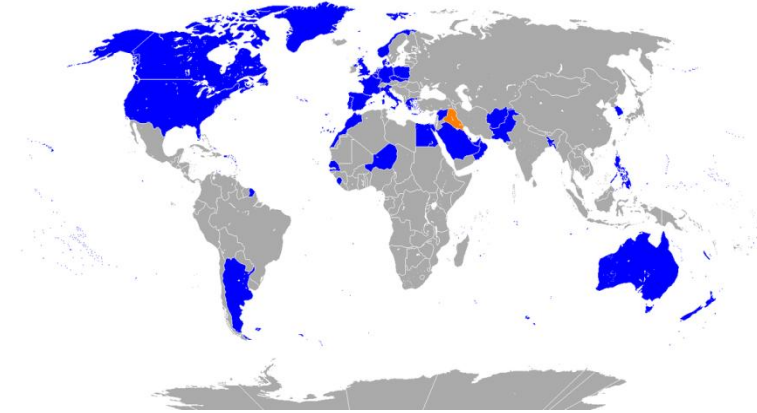
West's vital interest in an uninterrupted supply of Middle East oil

## 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 leaded by the US military troops.

Moral  
dilemma



# Case Study: EU's Response to the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

## • National Responsibility:

### ❑ *Divergent national interests:*

- ✓ Central and Eastern European countries adopt a tougher stance.
- ✓ Western European countries follow a more cautious approach.

### ❑ *Energy policy:*

- ✓ Different levels of dependence on Russian gas.
- ✓ Varied pace of implementing sanctions.

## • International Responsibility:

### ❑ *Sanctions and diplomacy:*

- ✓ Economic and financial restrictions.
- ✓ Upholding international legal norms

### ❑ *International cooperation:*

- ✓ Collaboration with NATO and the United States.
- ✓ Formation of a global coalition.



Protesters in Kyiv during the Orange Revolution, November 2004



Russian annexation of Crimea (2014)



Full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine (2022)

# Case Study: EU's Response to the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

## • Humanitarian Responsibility:

### ☐ **Refugee support:**

Activation of the Temporary Protection Directive  
(EU Council Decision 2022/382)

### ☐ **Aid and reconstruction:**

- ✓ Humanitarian assistance to Ukraine.
- ✓ Support for post-conflict rebuilding.

## • Assessment:

- ☐ National responsibility led to divergence among member states.
- ☐ International and humanitarian responsibilities strengthened EU unity.
- ☐ Tensions exist between state interests, international norms, and human rights.



Protesters in Kyiv during the Orange Revolution, November 2004



Russian annexation of Crimea (2014)



Full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine (2022)

# Neo-Marxism as critical view

## ◆ Neo-Marxism: why alternative?

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



Power is the best means to protect, to acquire, to get others to act

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

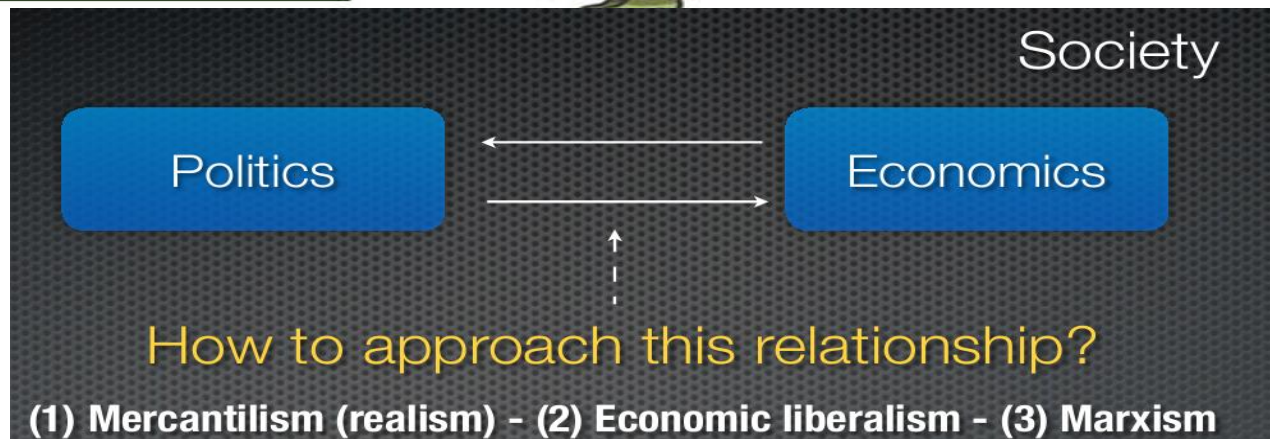


Interests can best be attained or protected by negotiation & trade

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



This is done via flows of capital, colonialism, and imperialist war



# Neo-Marxism as critical view

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“.



**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

✓ **Capitalism** is an economic system with high technological standard together with the dominance of private ownership

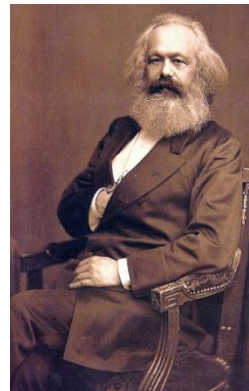
**At international Level:** Focus on welfare and the allocation of goods:

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



✓ These conditions (and therefore world politics) are themselves shaped by historical struggles between different social forces.

✓ Eventually capitalism would reach a major crisis and collapse.



**Karl Marx**  
(1818-1883)

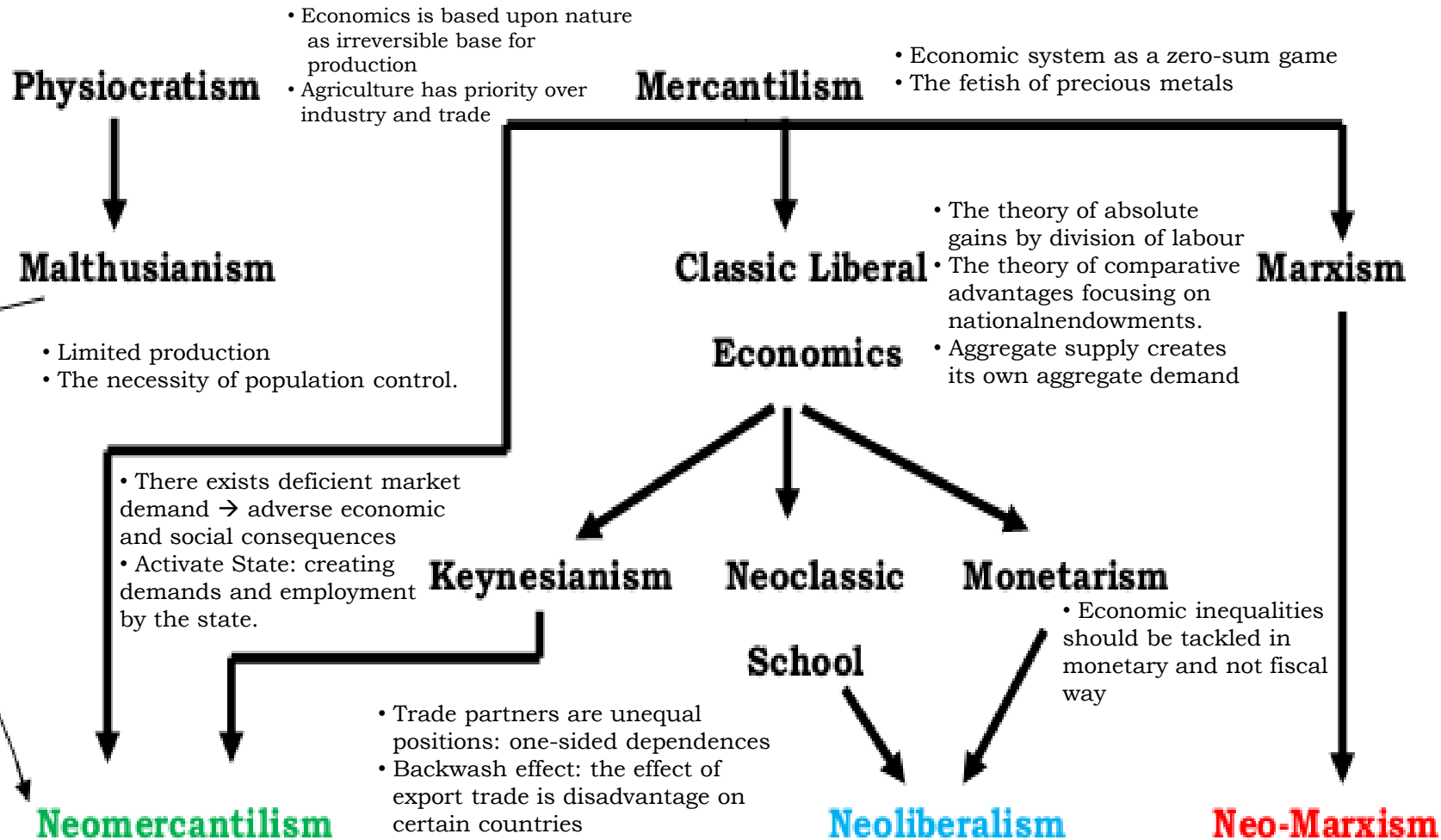
**Marxian Critics of Capitalism:** There is a supremacy of bourgeoisie, a small class of society, which is based on the exploitation of the rest called proletarians.

# 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>	

# Approaches to Global Political Economy

## ◆ What we have and where are they from?



Technological differences creates several economic and social problems: different wages, unemployment, perverse flow of capital

Stabilize-Privatize-Liberalize policy: fiscal discipline and tax reform; Privatization & "Laissez Faire"

# Gramscianism

◆ **Neo-Marxism in IP** goes back three traditions:

- 1) Karl Marx,
- 2) Antonio Gramsci,
- 3) Frankfurt School tradition.

◆ **Gramsci's Hegemony Theory:** In Gramsci's view, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie is based on two, equally important facts:

- Economic domination
- Intellectual and moral leadership.
- He describes two different modes of social control:
  - **Coercive control:** manifested through direct force or its threat (needed by a state when its degree of hegemonic leadership is low or fractured);
  - **Consensual control:** which arises when individuals voluntarily assimilate the worldview of the dominant group (=hegemonic leadership).
- Hegemony is readjusted and re-negotiated constantly. The key to 'revolutionary' social change in modern societies
  - does not therefore depend, the spontaneous awakening of critical class consciousness
  - but upon the prior formation of a new alliances of interests, an alternative hegemony or **"historical bloc"**

◆ **Frankfurt School (Critical Theory):** Frankfurt School scholars combined Marx's interest in capitalism with the processes of rationalisation characteristic of the modern world.

- Marx: modern societies are characterized by a complex division of labour and a high degree of social differentiation.
- Max Weber: they emphasise a sort of instrumental 'means-ends' rationality dominated more and more areas of life.



Karl Marx  
(1818-1883)



Antonio Gramsci  
(1891-1937)



The Frankfurt School  
(1923)

**Disillusion** with revolutionary potential of the working class: e.g. i) Stalinism: repression and tyranny rather than the emancipation of working people, ii) tend to populism (fascism in 1930s).

# Gramscianism and International Politics

## ◆ Robert Cox: Gramsci and Hegemony

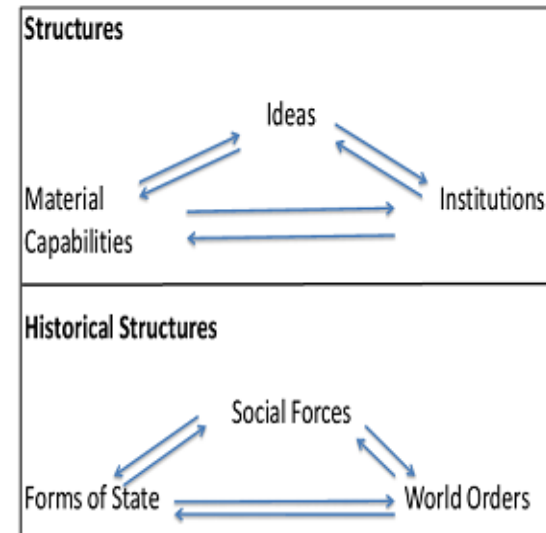
- Historical Materialism (HM) offers us a better insight into the dynamic relationship between inter- and intra-state relations,
  - ✓ We have to situate state/society activity in a particular historical, material, ideological and structural context.



Robert Cox

## ◆ Different interpretations of Hegemony Stability:

Neorealists	Neoliberals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Hegemonic Stability Theory:</b> There is always a proclivity towards instability in the international system, but this can be avoided if the dominant state assumes a leadership or hegemonic role.                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ This role involves creating and upholding a system of rules (Bretton Woods System, GATT, World Bank, IMF)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>HST might be partially valid, but it is not sufficient</b> for understanding the conditions under which cooperation take place; cooperation seems to depend on other important factors:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ expectations;</li> <li>✓ transaction costs;</li> <li>✓ conditions of uncertainty.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Neo-Marxism (Critical View)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Hegemony is a project of social forces</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ The highest layer of society possesses                                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- economic domination</li> <li>- intellectual and moral leadership</li> <li>- military power</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>	



Robert Cox: Social Forces, States and World Order (1981)

# Neo-Marxism and International Politics

◆ **Crux with Classic Marxism:** If capitalism should collapse, why does it survive and flourish? Or, why working people has failed to revolt against capitalism? Answers:

1. **Theory of Imperialism** (Vladimir I. Lenin): Monopol Capitalism led to imperialism – overcome domestic falling rate of profit but at a cost of Nationalism and War.
2. **Structural Marxism** (Louis Althusser, Immanuel Wallerstein): State serves interests of capitalists over the long term, however state works as a mechanism for regulating class conflict, the irreconcilable tension between classes.
3. **Gramscian Theory** (Antonio Gramsci, Robert Cox, Kees Van der Pijl): A 'historical bloc' acquires its authority through the tacit consent of the governed population gained through coercive techniques of intellectual and cultural persuasion, largely absent violence.

◆ **Success, and not failure, is the real threat to global capitalism** - this is the gist of the answer the crux of classic marxism.

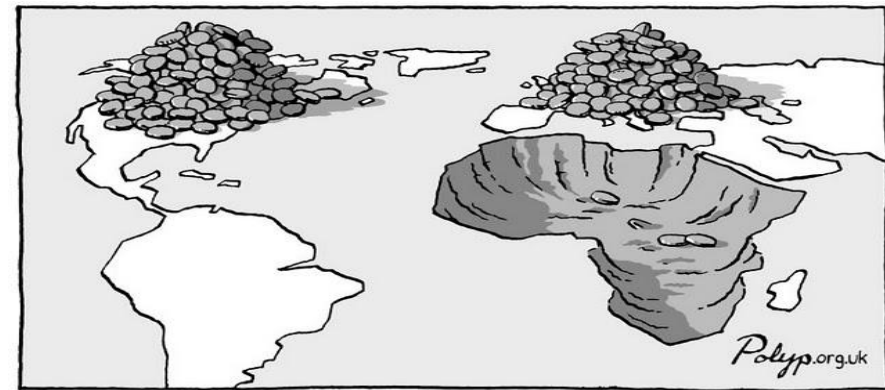
◆ **Wallerstein's theory** includes 1)...3) Neo-Marxian theories (though his theory is considered **as Structural Marxism**):

- **Neo-Gramscian Theory** : Capitalist world-economy is built on a hierarchy: capitalist world-economy is built on a hierarchy
- **Structural Marxism**: Basic mechanism is unequal exchange diversifying not only upon class but regions
- **New Theory of Imperialism**: When the possibilities for expansion are all used up, the never ending quest for more profit will lead to new crises (new Theory of Imperialism)

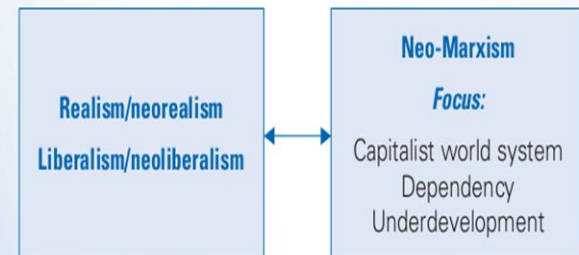


# Marxian Dependency Theory

- ◆ **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

World -Systems Analysis, 2004



## The world is as one large economy

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



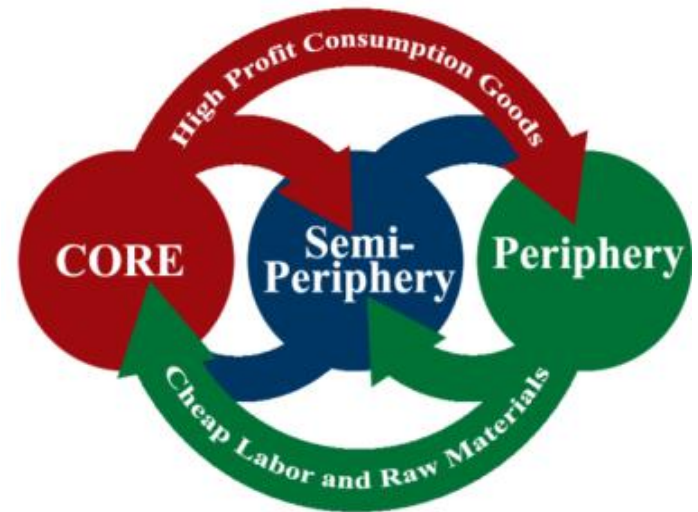
## The world can be divided into

■ **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

# Constructivism

## ◆ Why alternative?

➤ **Ontological turn:** social constructivists argue that the most important aspect of international relations is social, not material.

- ✓ Social reality is not objective (external) to the observer of international affairs.
- ✓ Social and political world, including the world is not a physical entity or material object that is outside human consciousness.
- ✓ the study of IP must focus on the ideas and beliefs that inform the actors in the international scene as well as the shared understandings between them.

➤ **”Ideas** are mental constructs held by individuals, sets of distinctive beliefs, principles and attitudes that provide broad orientations for behaviour and policy” (Tannenwald)

- ✓ Ideas, identities and “intersubjective” norms and values impact the behavior of actors in both domestic and world politics.

➤ All the traditional approaches of IP have an **ideational view** (Wendt), however it is manifested in a material fashion:

- ✓ Realism: multipolarity as an explanation for war (power and national interest);
- ✓ Liberalism: economic interdependence as explanation for peace (bargaining and trade);
- ✓ Marxism: capitalism as explanation for state forms (exploitation)



Nina  
Tannenwald



Alexander  
Wendt

# Theoretic Background

◆ **Theoretical developments** of Constructivism are influenced by philosophy and sociology

- ✓ **Giambattista Vico**: natural world is made by God, but the historical world is made by Man.
- ✓ **Immanuel Kant**: we can obtain knowledge about the world, but it is always subjective (Kant's Copernican Turn)
- ✓ **Max Weber**: human beings rely on 'understanding' each others actions and assigning 'meaning to them'
- ✓ **Anthony Giddens**: Structuration (1984) – the way of analysing the relationship between structures and actors

◆ **Two Faces of Constructivism:**

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

◆ **Systemic Account of Constructivism:**

- Alexander Wendt: Social Theory of International Politics
- Martha Finnemore: National Interests in International Society
- Samuel Barkin: Realist Constructivism (2003)



Giambattista Vico  
(1668-1744)



Immanuel Kant  
(1724-1804)



Max Weber  
(1864-1920)



Anthony Giddens



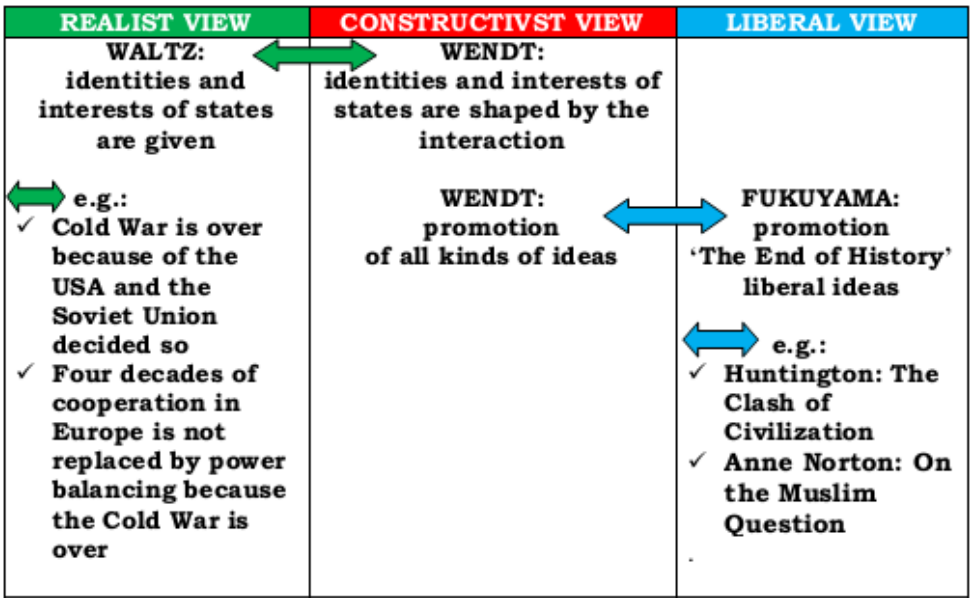
Alexander  
Wendt



Martha  
Finnemore

# Wendt's Conception

◆ **Wendt: Social Theory of International Politics (1999):** After the Cold War, setting cannot be explained in the neorealist/ neoliberal framework:



➤ **There are "three cultures of anarchy":**

- The Hobbesian culture is closest to the neo-realist image of anarchy, in which power and interests dominate;
- Lockean version states, although rivals, recognise each other's sovereignty, and therefore submit to a minimum standard of common norms;
- In a Kantian system, the scope of shared norms is much more extensive, and states no longer see themselves primarily as rivals.

➤ **Three degrees of 'cultural internalization':**

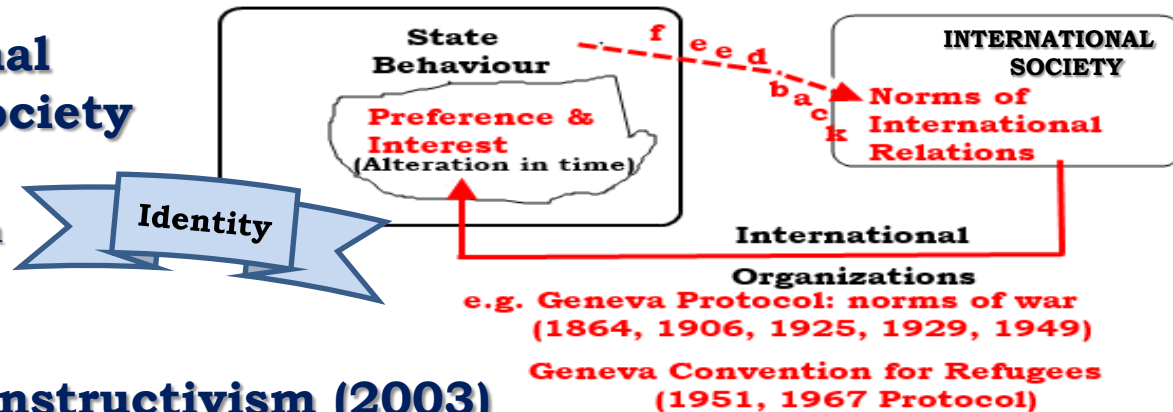
- The first degree is a relatively weak commitment to shared ideas; the third degree a strong commitment.
- We get a three-by-three table of 'degrees of cooperation' and 'degrees of internalization' respectively.

DEGREE OF INTERNATIONALIZATION	3rd			
	2nd			
	1st			
		Hobbesian	Lockean	Kantian
DEGREE OF COOPERATION				

# Constructivism Combined

## ◆ Martha Finnemore: National Interests in International Society (1996):

- ✓ Constructivism putting into English School Tradition



## ◆ Samuel Barkin: Realist Constructivism (2003)

- Constructivism not necessarily incompatible with classical realism, but practitioners have incorrect ideas about the traditions:
  - ✓ Constructivists equate realism with a narrow rationalism and strict materialism;
  - ✓ Realists associate constructivism with a naïve idealism and utopianism.
- Go back to Morgenthau – **the lifeblood of realism is power.**
- Carr's tradition: though till 1940 **states** were the locus of power in global politics, they **need not necessarily remain the central actor.**
- Realism and Constructivism are not stand-alone theoretical paradigms. We have to balance realism's concentration on power with a focus on norms and ideas.
  - ✓ E. Carr: "it is an unreal kind of realism which ignores the element of morality in any world order" (The Twenty Years' Crisis, p. 235)
  - ✓ Morgenthau: people are inherently moral as well as political animals; all political acts have ethical significance. (Scientific Man versus Power Politics, 1946, p 177)



J. Samuel Barkin

# Feminism in nutshell

◆ **Essential Feminism:** the idea that women are inherently different from men in ways that make their contributions to politics differ greatly.

◆ **"Gender relations" in practice:**

- "Patriarchy" creates separate gender roles in which women are often in a subservient position (e.g. the "breadwinner" myth, the "double burden").
- Contributes to a global "Gendered Division of Labour" in which women do not receive the same benefits and opportunities as men ("glass ceiling").
- The broader *comodification* of women in global capitalism.

◆ **"Gender relations" in the study of international politics:**

- IP has been seen as "non-gendered", though many of its ideas seem to sneak in gender constructions (e.g. Hobbes' state of nature in neorealism, security language is sexualized, etc. )
- Does IR glorify men's role in conflict and make women passive victims of insecurity?



# IR from Feminist Perspectives

## ◆ J. Ann Ticker: Gender 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?"*

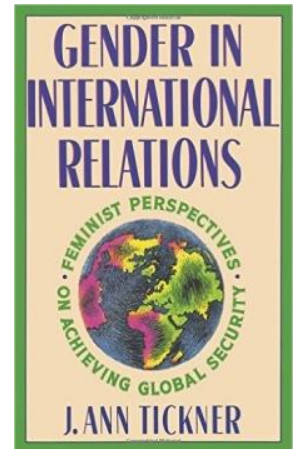


## ◆ The mainstream of IR is constructed as a theory of "political man"

- ✓ 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.
  - Morgenthau's principles such as
    - (1) *Politics is governed by objective laws; or*
    - (1)..(4) *Egoistic, self-interested human nature is in the heart of politics which determine the objective goals of politics.*have a presupposition that objectivity itself is linked with masculinity as being impermeable and absolute;
  - In contrast, subsequently, subjectivity is linked with femininity for being irrational and non-scientific. This is because women are socialized into a mode of thinking which is contextual and narrative rather than formal and abstract.

## ◆ The need for a new paradigm of Power

- ✓ 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."**

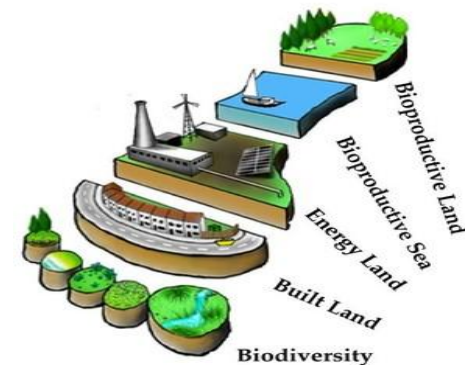
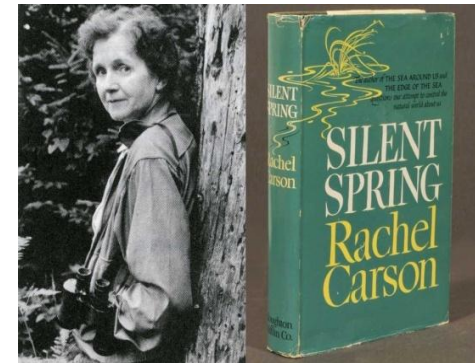
# The Green Perspectives

◆ **Why alternative?** The need of more widespread consciousness of the interconnections between human life and nature,

- ✓ epitomised by Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* (1962) which documented the dangers of pesticides accumulating and travelling in ecological systems;
- ✓ global warming as a consequence of the greenhouse effect;
- ✓ other humanity's devastating effect on the planet.

◆ **Green Theories:**

- **Animal Liberation** (Henry Salt 1892, Peter Singer 1975): rights for and protection of animals
- **Gaia Hypothesis** (James Lovelock 1979): proposes that the earth is best understood as a complex, self-regulating, living 'being'. → the prospects for humankind are closely linked to whether the species helps to sustain, or to threaten the planetary ecosystem.
- **Deep Ecology** (Arne Naess 1989): ecology should be concerned with every part of nature on an equal basis, because natural order has an intrinsic value.
- **Green Economy:** Against consumerism as a drive of modern capitalism, putting an emphasise 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.



# The Green Perspectives

## Climate Change The Root Cause

IPCC - Intergovernmental  
panel on climate change

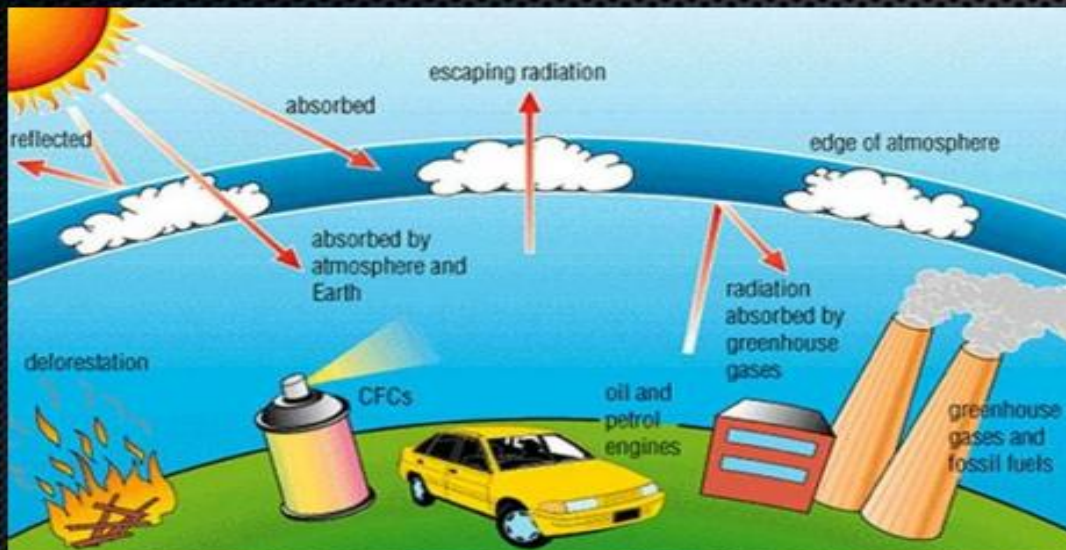
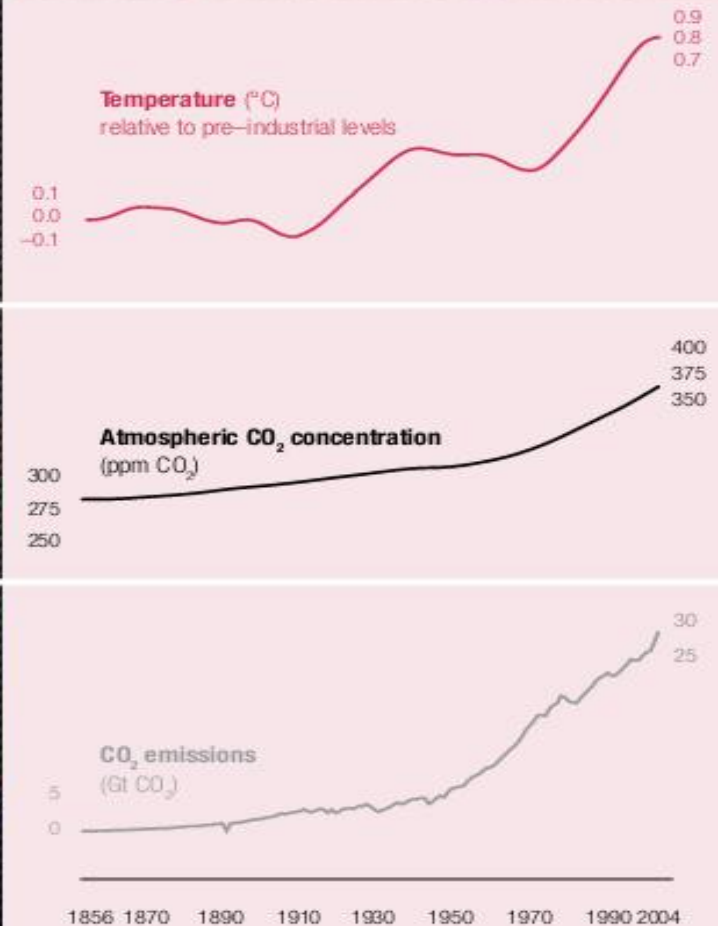


Figure 1

Rising CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are  
pushing up stocks and  
increasing temperature

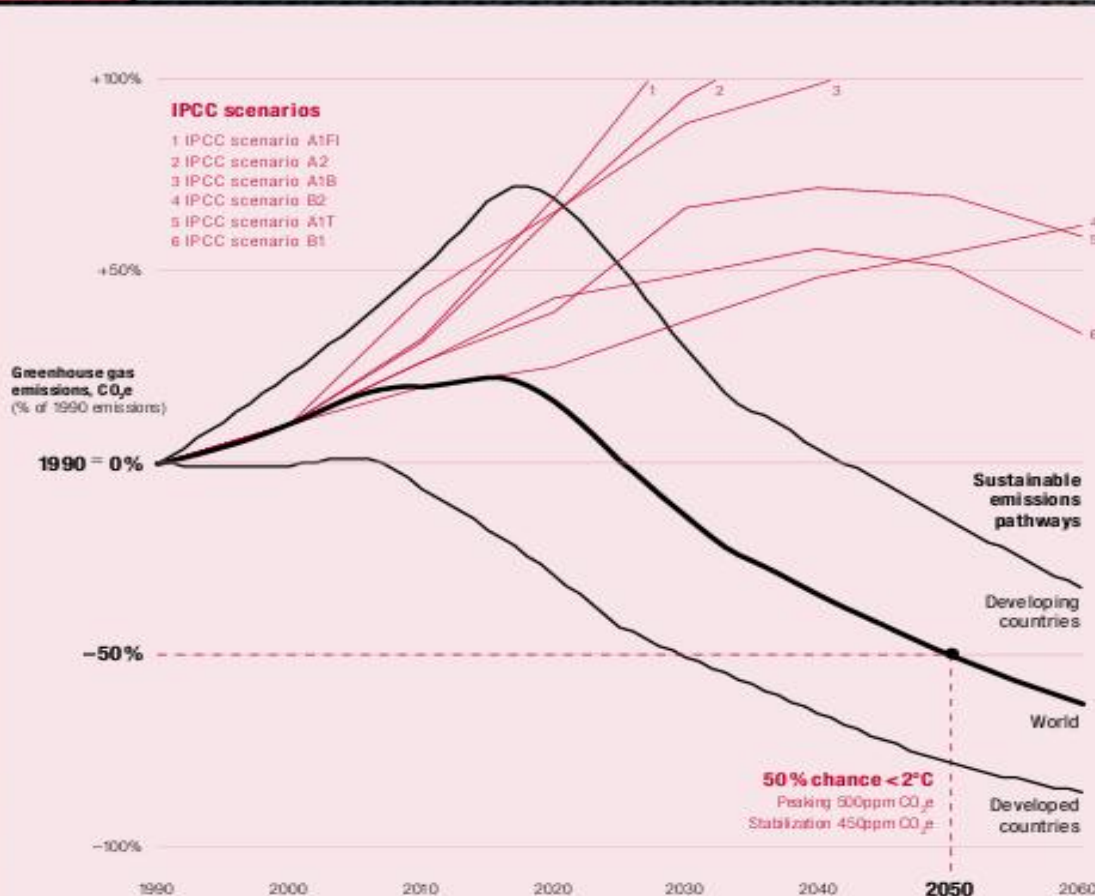


Source: CDIAC 2007; IPCC 2007a.

# The Green Perspectives

## Climate Change Scenarios

Figure 4 Halving emissions by 2050 could avoid dangerous climate change



- To have a 50:50 chance of limiting temperature increase to 2°C above preindustrial levels will require stabilization of greenhouse gases at concentrations of around 450ppm. (Emissions: -80% by developed, -20% by developing)
- Scenarios for the 21st Century point to potential stabilization points in excess of 750ppm CO<sub>2</sub>, with possible temperature changes in excess of 5°C. (On the basis of current trends and present policies, energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions could rise by more than 50 percent over 2005 levels by 2030.)
- Between now and 2030, the average annual cost would amount to 1.6 percent of GDP.
- Costs of inaction could reach 5-20% of world GDP (Stern Report)  
(Source: UN Human Development Report 2007/2008)

# The Green Perspectives

## Climate Change Consequences

### 1. Agricultural production and food security.

Rainfall, temperature and water availability. The additional number affected by malnutrition could rise to 600 million 2080

### 2. Water stress and water insecurity.

An additional 1.8 billion people could be living in a water scarce environment by 2080.

### 3. Rising sea levels and exposure to climate disasters.

Global Temperature increases of 3–4°C could result in 330 million people being permanently or temporarily displaced through flooding. With over 344 million people currently exposed to tropical cyclones, more intensive storms could have devastating consequences for a large group of countries. The 1 billion people currently living in urban slums on fragile hillsides or flood prone river banks face acute vulnerabilities.

### 4. Ecosystems and biodiversity.

With 3°C of warming 20–30% of land species could face extinction.

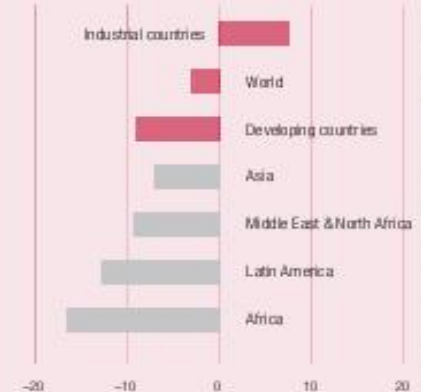
### 5. Human health.

Extreme weather conditions can cause more problems in developed countries as experienced recently. Major killer diseases could expand their coverage. For example, an additional 220–400 million people could be exposed to malaria—a disease that already claims around 1 million lives annually.

Figure 6

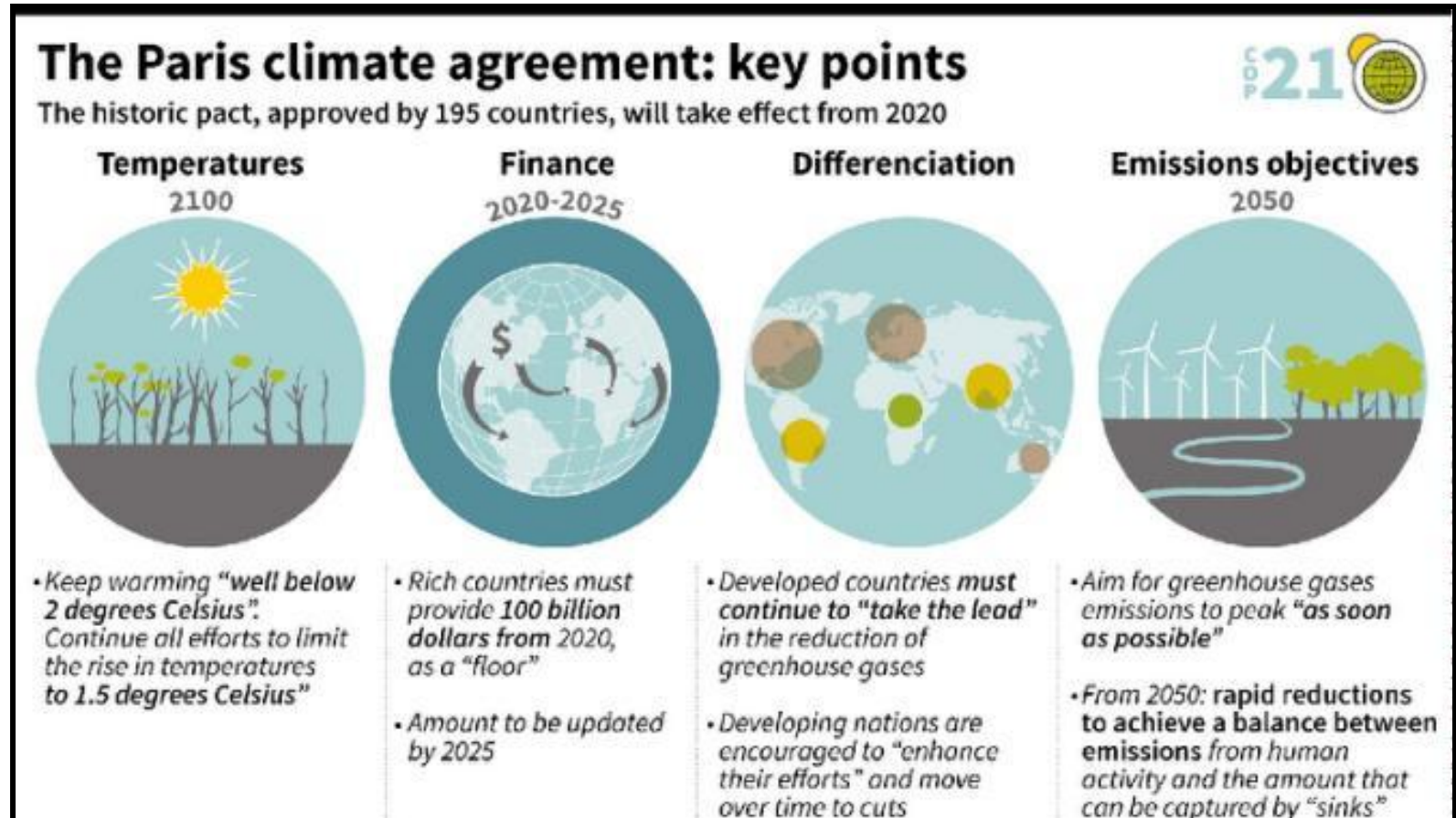
Climate change will hurt developing country agriculture

Change in agricultural output potential  
(2080s as % of 2000 potential)



Source: Cline 2007.

# Paris Agreement, 2016



# On Global Future

REALIST VIEW	LIBERAL VIEW	CRITICAL VIEWS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Having a pessimistic attitude in general, Realists more sceptic about the global future. There is always a next challenge, an enemy to confront.</li> <li>➤ <b>Huntington: The Clash of Civilization (1996)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ After the cold war, “Islam is the next enemy”.</li> <li>▪ Differences among civilizations are too fundamental in that civilizations are differentiated from one another by history, language, culture, tradition, and religion.</li> <li>▪ These fundamental differences are the product of centuries, so they will not soon disappear.</li> <li>▪ The world is becoming a smaller place as a result of the development of modern civilization. In this small multipolar world those countries will cooperate whose are close cultural relationships with one another. And this includes conflicts between cultures.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Believing in progress, and a positive vision of the future:           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Kant: Perpetual Peace (1795);</b></li> <li>▪ <b>Fukuyama: The End of History (1993)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ There is a determinate end-point of human history → the victorious of liberal democracy as political regime</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ The need for a “World Government” conception:           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Jaques Attali: Tomorrow, Who Will Govern the World? (2011)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To shape up a world forum as a global political network</li> <li>▪ Global regulations</li> <li>▪ A need for a World Government</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Chomsky (2015):</b>  <i>“In the global scene we are racing towards a precipice which we are determined to fall over which will sharply reduce the prospects for decent survival.”</i></li> <li>➤ The two precipices are:           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Environmental catastrophe;</li> <li>▪ The threat of nuclear war;</li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ <b>Slavoj Žižek (2014): Trouble in Paradise</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Capitalism as ideology bribe us by feeding the illusion of change (“development”) and consumerism, but it always produces the same, just in more and more quantity</li> <li>▪ Class struggle between “zombies” (the passive masses of the poor) and “vampires” (aristocratic privileged few)</li> <li>▪ Go ahead to achieve real equality: a vision of “Communism” rather than “nationalism” against globalism</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p><b>“Tinbergen Norm”:</b> if the ratio between the greatest and least income exceeds 5, it becomes disadvantageous for the societal unit involved.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Piketty: The Capital in the 21<sup>th</sup> Century (2014)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The increasing divergence in the distribution of wealth → Global conflicts</li> <li>▪ The need for a global taxation on capital and global regulations</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>A Report to the Club of Rome (1972):</b> <i>“If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years. The most probable result will be a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity”</i></li> </ul>		