

# POL 240: Introduction to International Politics

## Overview

- Introduction: Levels of Analysis, Paradigms
- Four Paradigms
  - Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism, Feminism
- Debates
  - Conditions for Cooperation
  - Balancing and Bandwagoning
  - Democratic Peace
  - Organizations

## Three Levels of Analysis: Singer 1960 [Waltz 1959]

- 1st Level: Individual
  - Nature of “Man” (“Man seeks Power,” “Men seek power”)
  - Individual Leaders (“George Bush seeks power”)
- 2nd Level: State
  - Country level
    - Nature of (some) States (“Democracies are less warlike”)
    - Individual States (“The US seeks power”)
  - Organization level
    - Nature of Organizations (“SOPs lead to errors”)
    - Individual Organizations (“The DOD seeks power”)
- 3rd Level: State System
  - Interaction
    - Interaction among Units (“Democracies don’t attack each other”)
    - Relational Arguments (“Allies don’t attack each other”)
  - Structure
    - Distribution of Power/Threat/Interests (“Bipolar is more stable than multipolar”)
    - Positional Arguments (“Hegemons seek power”)

## Paradigms

- Different Paradigms (realism, liberalism, constructivism, feminism) can be seen as:
  - Competing perspectives on the world
  - Explaining different phenomena
  - A division of labor between determining interests and outcomes
  - Empirical bets on the frequency of international phenomena

## Ologies

- Ontology: What is
  - varies by, within paradigms
- Epistemology: How we can know
  - (post)positivistic except for critical theory
- Methodology: How we go about doing it
  - varies by paradigm (game theory, statistics, process tracing, focused comparison)

## Realism: Origins

- Thucydides 1972 [400 BC]
  - Premise: Justice only exists between equals
  - Prescription:
    - Strong do what they will, weak suffer what they must.
- Hobbes 1909 [1651]
  - Premises:
    - Men are equal, which leads to diffidence (suspicion), which (along with competition and glory) leads to war
  - Prescription:
    - Submit to central authority
    - Without central authority, man is in a state of war (no peace)

## Classical Realism: Morgenthau 1948

- Premises
  - Objectivity: World is separate, can be observed, relatively constant
  - National interest is defined as power
- Analysis
  - 1st Level: Man desires power (control of man over man) as an end
  - 2nd Level: Some states better than others at balancing (not democracies)
  - 3rd Level: Consider the interests of others
- Prescriptions
  - Minimize risks, maximize benefits, balance power

## Structural Realism I (Neorealism): Waltz 1979

- Premises
  - Ordering principle: Anarchy (vs. Hierarchy)
  - Character of the Units: States treated as functionally identical, rational, seek survival
  - Distribution of capabilities: Material
- Analysis (3rd level)
  - States will balance against each other
  - States will be concerned with relative power gains
  - Bipolar systems more stable than multipolar ones
- Prescriptions
  - States try to maintain status-quo: Defensive Realism

## Structural Realism II (Neorealism): Mearsheimer 2001

- Premises
  - Anarchy
  - Effective Offense
  - Intentions are uncertain
  - Own Survival
  - Utilitarian Rationality
- Analysis (3rd Level)
  - Fear: Other states are deadly enemies
  - Self-Help: No subordination of interests
  - Power Maximization: Only way to be secure (Means, not End)
- Prescriptions
  - States are all revisionist except hegemon: Offensive Realism

## Liberalism: Origins

- Hobbes 1909 [1651]
  - Premises: State of Nature is War
  - Prescription:
    - Central Authority leads to commerce, internal peace
- Locke 1824 [1689]
  - Premises: State of Nature is Peace, Violations cause War
  - Prescription:
    - Central Authority stops retribution cycle
- Kant 1917 [1795]
  - Premises: State of Nature is War, Nations natural units
  - Prescription:
    - Republican (rule of law) Constitutions
    - Interstate Trade
    - International Organizations

## (Classical) Liberalism: Doyle 1983

- Premises
  - Treat others as ethical objects, with freedoms, representation, and participation
  - This can be applied to the international system as well
  - Four institutions: Juridical equality, representative government, private property rights, economy shaped by supply and demand
- Analysis
  - 1st Level: Regular rotation of office
  - 2nd Level: Individuals who rule the polity bear costs of wars; states act more rationally; commerce and trade pacifies.
  - 3rd Level: International law
- Prescriptions
  - Promote trade, democratization, organizations

## Liberal Institutionalism (Neoliberalism) Keohane 1998

- Premises
  - Cooperation is possible, but states need help
  - Depends on factors other than material power
- Analysis (3rd Level)
  - Institutions Reduce:
    - Uncertainty of intentions
    - Transaction Costs
  - Institutions Increase:
    - Shadow of the future (multiple plays, value of the future)
    - Transparency
- Prescriptions
  - More institutions!

## Constructivism:Origins

- Rousseau 1913 [1755] (A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality)
  - Premises
    - State of Nature is peaceful and lacks morality
    - War is created through civilization
  - Prescriptions
    - Social reform, collective state with “General Will”

## (Structural) Constructivism:Wendt 1992

- Premises
  - People act towards other actors on the basis of their understanding of those actors (collective meaning)
  - Actors acquire (relational) identities by participating in collective meanings
  - Identities are the basis of interests
  - An institution is a relatively stable set or structure of identities and interest
  - Self-help is such an institution
- Analysis (3rd Level)
  - Anarchy is what states make of it:
    - Competitive (Hobbesian)
    - Individualistic (Lockean)
    - Cooperative (Kantian)
- Prescriptions
  - States should act based on how their actions reinforce structures

## Feminism: Tickner 1991

- Premises
  - Dynamic Objectivity: World is not separate, is affected by our lenses.
  - Language and values contain gendered assumptions
- Analysis
  - 1st Level: Human nature doesn't lead to will to power; power can be defined as collective empowerment.
  - 3rd Level: States in weak positions build coalitions rather than balance, achieve cooperative solutions. Common moral elements can de-escalate international conflict
- Prescriptions
  - Band together to solve pressing collective world problems

## Conditions for Cooperation:

### Jervis 1978

- Premises
  - Security dilemma (SD increase in my security decreases your security) prevents cooperation
  - Offense/defense advantage and differentiation affect this
- Analysis (3rd Level)
  - Differentiation eliminates SD
  - Defensive advantage mitigates SD
- Prescriptions
  - Get defensive weapons where possible

### Oye 1985

- Premises
  - Structure of payoffs, shadow of the future, number of players determine cooperation
- Analysis (3rd Level)
  - Payoff structures can be changed through publicizing agreements, defensive weapons, hostages,...
  - Shadow of the future useful for PD, SH, not CH. Reciprocal strategies help. Regimes, linkage, decomposition over time.
  - Number of Players: Transaction costs, autonomous defection, etc. increase; sanctioning and monitoring abilities decrease.
- Prescriptions
  - Alter structures, increase shadow of the future, decrease players.

## Balancing and Bandwagoning:

### Walt 1987

- Premises
  - Balance versus threat, not power
- Analysis
  - Bandwagoning (3rd Level) if:
    - Relatively weak
    - Geography (Unavailable allies)
    - End stages of war
  - Balance otherwise
- Prescriptions
  - Better to balance than bandwagon in most circumstances

### Schweller 1994

- Premises
  - Balance versus interest
- Analysis
  - Bandwagoning (3rd Level)
    - End-of-war
    - Wave of future
    - Contagion
  - Types of States (2nd Level)
    - Wolves, Jackals: Revisionist, Bandwagon
    - Lions, Lambs: SQ, Balance
- Prescriptions
  - Bandwagon when profitable and your security isn't threatened

## Democratic Peace:

### Doyle 1983

- Premises
  - Treat others as ethical objects
  - This can be applied to the international system as well
  - Juridical equality, representative government, private property rights, economy shaped by supply and demand
- Analysis
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### Rosato 2003

- Premises
  - Democracies must externalize norms, be accountable to be peaceful.
- Analysis
  - Externalization hasn't happened: Imperial wars, Cold War Interventions, Great Power rivalries.
  - Lack of accountability: Democrats don't lose power, constraints don't operate domestically, democracies can mobilize quickly and conduct surprise attacks, and don't give off useful information.
- Prescriptions
  - The US shouldn't continue to promote democracy.

## Organizations: Allison 1969

- Model 1
  - Premises: Rational Unitary Actor
  - Analysis (<3rd Level): Optimal decisions are made for security.
- Model 2
  - Premises: Government is a group of organizations
  - Analysis (<2nd Level): Inputs and outputs are made based on SOPs that are good for the organization, which constrain decisions.
- Model 3
  - Premises: Government is a group of interested individuals in particular positions
  - Analysis (~1st Level): Decisions are made based on bargaining games between individuals with different levels of power in different positions with different psychologies.