

POL 240: Introduction to International Politics

Theoretical Review

2012–03–05

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”)

Three Levels of Analysis: Singer 1960 [Waltz 1959]

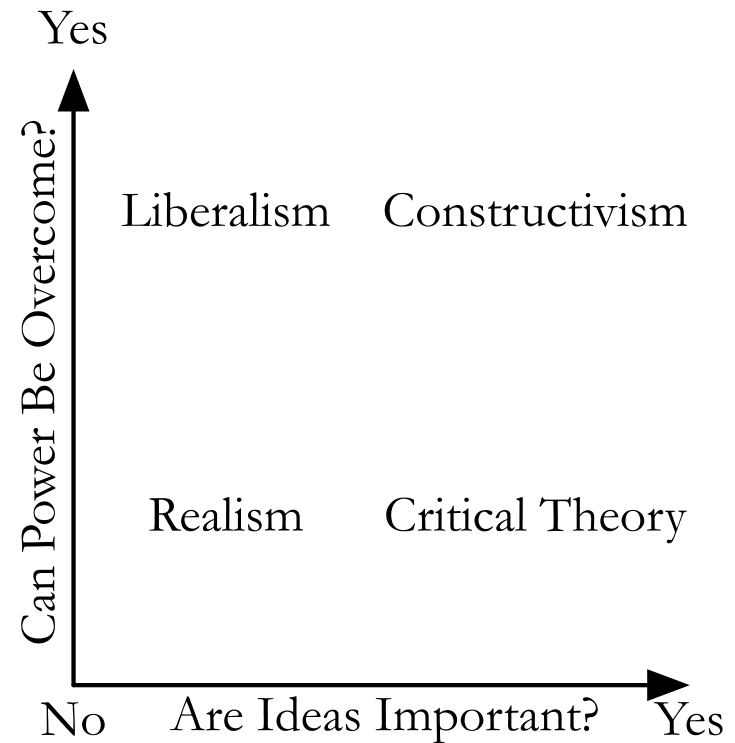


- 3rd Level: State System
 - Interaction
 - Interaction among Units (“Democracies don’t attack each other”)
 - Relational Arguments (“Allies don’t attack each other”)
 - Structure
 - Distribution of Power/Threat/Interests (“Bipolar is more stable than multipolar”)
 - Positional Arguments (“Hegemons seek 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)

**OCCAM'S
RAZOR**

*A Parsimonious
Shave Every
Time!*



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

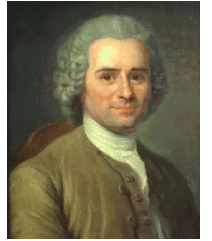
Liberal Institutionalism (Neoliberalism)

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



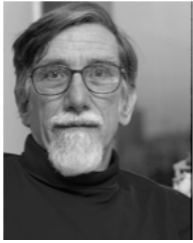
- Premises
 - People act towards other actors on the basis of their understanding of those actors (collective meaning)
 - Actors acquire (relational) identities by participating in collective meanings
 - Identities are the basis of interests
 - An institution is a relatively stable set or structure of 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 v. Oye 1985



- 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

TABLE 1 ■

	Offense has the advantage	Defense has the advantage
Offensive posture not distinguishable from defensive one	1 Doubly dangerous	2 Security dilemma, but security requirements may be compatible
Offensive posture distinguishable from defensive one	3 No security dilemma, but aggression possible Status-quo states can follow different policy than aggressors Warning given	4 Doubly stable

- 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 v. Schweller 1994



- 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
- 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 v. Rosato 2003



- Premises
 - Treat others as ethical objects
 - This can be applied to the international system as well
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 - Analysis
 - 1st Level: Regular rotation of office
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 - Prescriptions
 - Promote trade, democratization, organizations
- 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.