

GOVT1202 Notes

Semester 1 2017

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L1: Introduction:

The nature of this introductory course

The main function: gain “access” to a field of study and it has three “legs”:
Induction/Deduction

- Basic or fundamental concepts and theories (the building blocks)
- A definition of the boundaries of the field
- Key (research) methods

The consequences of (justified) asymmetry in the knowledge relations (the problem of authority)

- Universal problem
Notable if rare authority failure (implosion of USSR, GFC, Arab “spring)
- The sources of scientific reputation
- The limited remedy: awareness and critical thinking

The inherent conflict between socialization (novices into established knowledge) and innovation

- Teaching students the building blocks and other established knowledge
- Emphasizing and engaging in scepticism, critical thinking, and innovation

Science

A systematic effort to put “nature” (be it natural, social or other) in a conceptual framework. The components of scientific objective:

- Understanding
 - Understanding in terms of causality (hence the divine twins of independent [cause] and dependent [effect] variables.
 - Understanding in terms of causality recurring phenomena (repetitions, patterns)
 - Understanding in terms of causality recurring phenomena to find/formulate “laws” (statements that describe generalized causal relationships between variables in the form of “if.... then...”).

The difference between understanding and intuitively “knowing” Empirical (inductive demonstration)

- Gravity
- Hereditary attributes

L2: WP/IR fields and levels of analysis

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| Definition | World Politics/International Relations is the field of study dealing with the relations among international actors/units and the influence of these relations on the units. The field is also primarily US dominated. International relations are the political relations among individuals, groups, and units across the borders of sovereign units. |
| External | External International relations are those <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Between/among sovereign units in our time<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. Australia and Indonesia• Between sovereign units/states and groups or organisation that are not under their sovereignty<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. UK and terror groups, foreign political parties, the Vatican etc.• Between/among organisation with political agenda/profile across sovereign borders<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. Greenpeace |
| Paradigms and levels of analysis | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Individual: Sees the root cause of international behaviour as originating from the attributes of individual human beings e.g. presidents<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. Obama warming up for the presidential race and concerned over his popularity due to gridlocked domestic initiatives, is in search of an opportunity to secure a second term and make his risk as an unforgettable first and great African American president.2. Sub-statist: sees the root cause of international behaviour in interest groups, organisations, bureaucracies etc. (i.e. above the individual and below the state such as CIA)<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. Why US policy is sanctions? The State department struggle against the CIA and Defence department to have things its way, for fear of possible irrelevance within the administration3. State: sees the state as a cohesive institution with independent will and 'personality', and as such the source of foreign behaviour.<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. Iran (the state, government and state organs) wishes to increase its status in the ME and the world by acquiring weapons of mass destruction. It is a story of state interest, national security and power. Nuclear capabilities will boost Iran's deterrence and menacing image and open for Iran new opportunities for alliance building and Middle East leadership.4. Sub-systemic: see the organisational structures above the state (but below the system) as the source of international behaviour<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. EU, ASEAN, NATO etc. Europe and the US fear for the future of western culture and domestic stability if Iran manages to lead significant parts of the Muslim world into radicalism.5. Systemic: sees the 'structure' of the whole international system as the source of phenomena we observe in international relations (alliance patterns, war) and of state behaviour.<ul style="list-style-type: none">◦ e.g. unipolarity, global changes. The collapsing hegemonic order and global changes in the distribution of world power (one superpower with no matching rival) - pushes rising actors to take advantage of US weakness: these include Iran in the middle east and China/Russia on a global scale |

L3: Competing World Political Paradigms

What is a Paradigm?

A paradigm can be explained as operating systems that allow us to make sense of variables/relationships in the world.

- Assumptions about a field (world politics)
- Variable and phenomena (which matter); Cause and effect relationship
- Foundations on which theories are built
- Serves as a way of defining and understanding problems
- People may share the same paradigm but reach different conclusions, or there may have the same conclusions from different paradigms
 - Easier to build policy from paradigm
 - e.g. Vietnam war and invasion of Iran
 - Rationality; state, power, mandate intervention
 - Leaders may have very blurred paradigms - blending ideas to support arguments

The most common paradigms are Realism, Marxism, Liberalism and Constructivism (Choice of variables)

Example: International issues - Drilling oil in Alaska

- Analysis from different points of view
- Cause and effect relationships
- Logical assumption and conclusion
- Global warming vs. global market
 - Variables of each paradigm

| | Capitalist | Environmentalist |
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| Concepts/factors | Profit, cost, production, margins, economic efficiency, return on investment, independence | Sustainability, biodiversity, global warming, renewable energy, social responsibility |
| Assumptions | The market should be left alone; affordable energy (oil) is vital for the economy | The environment needs protection from human activity |
| Causality | Cheap energy > Economic recovery | Fossil fuel > Environmental threat |
| Consequence of drilling in Alaska | Reduced cost of production Boost to the struggling economy Greater international independence Price stabilization | Loss of natural habitat Greater pollution Global warming Loss of biodiversity |
| Prescriptions | Drill and as much as possible | Don't drill; keep Alaska pristine In need be, tax fossil fuel high to |

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| | Reduce dependence on foreign oil Don't tax | control consumption and funnel the tax revenue into the development of alternative energy |
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Realism and Core Assumptions Realism is a fundamental unit of political analysis which emerged before the liberalist theory (in the early 1930's -40s period after the Great Debate) to find 'a remedy for its existence' because it is the first, it makes sense in a very simple form of understanding world politics and relations. This thus became the template against which other paradigms are formed

It emphasized 'the ubiquity of power and the competitive nature of politics among nations'. Realism also taught political officials to focus on state interests in a realistic manner rather than to seek peace through strength and to recognise the balance of foreign states if they agree on fundamental values and beliefs. Thus, it is noted that leader should foremost protect their state before acting to create a global balance i.e. a need for survival. There are also three core elements of realism, these include;

- Statism
 - 'the idea of the state as the legitimate representative to exercise authority within its domestic borders.' Yet outside these borders is a global state of anarchy
 - Emphasising the point that there is no global security to exercise control
 - Rise from anarchy instead of individual character (reverse of)
 - Theoretical repercussions
 - No regulation of security on a global basis
 - Existential struggles
 - Violent conflict
 - Hierarchical control of power on a global basis
- Survival
 - Under anarchy, national security is not guaranteed, therefore a state's best interest would be in the pursuit of national security
 - Relative power
 - Lack of security
 - Security dilemma
 - Nationalism
 - Protectionism
 - Defence system - army - threat to others
 - Protectionism
 - Morality v consideration of power
 - systems forces evolution to which the state is the base of; always trying to evolve - survival/economic development
 - Systematic v defensive
 - Security
 - Relative power - maximise security
 - Taking opportunities to create power
 - Foundation of the capacity to create power
 - Economy is the domain over power
- Self-help

- It is the responsibility of the state to use their own force to ensure security
 - Military capabilities
 - Balance of power/equilibrium
 - Relative gains - relative power - positional - absolute power - visibility e.g. Arms race
 - Economic conflict and power
 - Balance of power e.g. Arms race; In which they can survive
 - Don't try to outsmart the game, act accordingly to realism policy
 - i.e. alliance systems - Warsaw pact, NATO

Core assumptions:

1. Assumption of realist that conflict in international relations is imminent
 - a. Historical, there have always been violent conflict in the world (violence is engraved in human nature)
 - b. It is in the character of human beings - fear, greed and fame (motivational by the need for security and reputation)
2. The unit of analysis is state-centric; extension of the individual, motivated by the collective will of individuals
 - a. There is only one important figure of the state, nothing above or below is significant
 - b. Unitary and rationality, everything within the state operates as a unit according to the policy and national interest of the state.
 - c. Personal, political interests
 - d. States try to optimise their objective; calculates according to cost-benefit, it is selfish and self-interested
3. Power of the state
 - a. Power relations determine the outcome of war, economy etc.
 - b. Ultimate arbiter of international relations
 - c. Reflection of power relations between social/political actors
 - d. National protection; security, survival can never be guaranteed, territorial integrity and political autonomy may be compromised for security and foreign policy
 - e. Relative power states measure their power against other actors, and is also threatened by relative power
 - i. Balance of Power; If the survival of the state is threatened by a hegemonic state or a coalition of stronger states, they should join forced and seek to preserve their own independence by checking the power of the opposite side
4. Dual Moral Standard
 - a. One moral standard for individuals within a state, and a different standard for the state's external relations with other states
 - b. Be amoral: morality is not part of policy or how to best serve the state's national interest
 - c. Do not do anything to offend the national security of another state unless it is necessary - be moderate, non-intervention, do not try to change the system or fix the world

There are also varying types of realism that have been developed and modified throughout history. This includes;

- Classical Realism (400BC-1900)
 - The ideas driven by an endless struggle for power fostered by human nature
 - Policies and international laws are governed by human interests and nature
 - Offensive classical realism: individual motivated by greed more than fear, they covet and take opportunities rather than balance. Drive for power and will to dominate is a fundamental aspect of human nature
 - Defensive classical realism: states are motivated by fear, will defend national security, preserve what they have and maintain balance
- Systematic/Structural Realism (1750-1980)
 - It is not human nature but the anarchic system that foster fear, creating the need for security and self help
 - Power is bipolar
 - Outside the state, anarchy exists; International relations takes place where there is no authority above the sovereign state
 - States will be selfish > leads to an existential struggle > survival of the fittest
 - The relative distribution of power is the way to understand important international outcomes such as war, alliances and power balance
 - Have rank ordering of states, count the numbers of great powers
 - The balance of power will always reproduce, there will be no one leader
 - Economy is a national economy: serves to maintain or increasing national interest but under the state. Military then economy then other.
 - Zero-Sum Game: the increase in power will result in loss for another state
 - Security dilemma: one's state's quest for security is another states source of insecurity.
- Neoclassical Realism (1998-)
 - Structural realism is incomplete
 - We need to question how power is perceived and where leadership is exercised.

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| Liberalism and Core Assumptions | Liberalism is an alternate concept to realism that emerged in the 20th century after the first world war. Due to the turmoil of war and western 'new world order', Liberalism provided a theoretical justification for the inherent supremacy of their liberal ideas over all other competing ideologies. Furthermore, while liberalist ideas are primarily embedded in western values and ideology, the same concepts can be applied to institutions worldwide. |
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Early liberalists also believed that the natural order had been corrupted by undermining state actors and thus became an imbalance of power. Enlightenment liberals believed that a latent cosmopolitan morality could be achieved through the exercise of reason and through the creation of constitutional states

1. Individual Liberalism:
 - a. Conflicts are caused by interventions by governments domestically and internationally that disrupt the natural order
 - b. Determinant of peace (DOP) are: individual liberty and free trade
 - c. All individuals deserve the right to equal basic human right
 - i. Liberty of the individual
 - d. Individualism, tolerance, freedom, constitutionalism
 - e. Free trade will create a more peaceful world as it creates mutual benefits
2. State Liberalism:
 - a. Conflicts are caused by the undemocratic nature of international politics, especially foreign policy and the balance of power
 - b. DOP: national self-determination, collective security, government response to public
 - c. The most effective economic system is one that is based on a large market driven by subordinate bureaucratic regulation and control
 - d. There is a natural harmony of interests in which international politics and economic relations can under challenge in the early 20th century
 - e. There needs to be the creation of international organisations to regulate peace
 - f. To have security and balance of a state, individual needs must be catered to, but also these needs may be sacrificed to create a stable community
 - g. Anarchy is not the cause of war, it is instead a reaction of imperialism, imbalance of power, undemocratic regimes and a lack of collective security.
 - h. Self-determination of all nations
3. Systematic liberalism:
 - a. Conflicts are caused by a balance of power systems
 - b. DOP: a world government, with powers to mediate and enforce decisions
 - c. Belief in the possibility of progress as the identifier of a liberal approach to politics
 - d. A belief in the power of world public interests could satisfy domestic interests
 - e. A belief in the power of world public interests could satisfy domestic interests
4. Cleavage of liberalism
 - a. Positive conception: democratic political culture required for basic freedoms to be safeguarded, advocate interventionist foreign policy and stronger international institutional
 - b. Negative conceptions: freedom in the economic and social spheres means a minimalistic role for governing institutions, priority on toleration and non-intervention, leads to weaker states

Liberalism argues that;

- Power politics is the product of ideas, and that ideas may change
- Belief in the possibility of progress as the identifier of a liberal approach to politics
- The most effective economic system is one that is based on a large market driven by subordinate bureaucratic regulation and control

- Explicit connection between liberalism as a political and economic theory and liberalism as an international theory
- Identity of the state determines its outwards orientation
- Values of order, liberty, justice, and tolerance in international relations. All citizens are judicially equal and pose basic rights to education, free press, religious tolerance, to which the state cannot abuse
- Domestic and international organisations are needed to protect values. Using laws, norms, institutional restructuring and commerce to create interdependence and trust, transparency of foreign policy.
- Belief in the possibility of progress, rationality, and absolute gain (atomistic). Actions are benign but can be potentially forceful to create change.

Concepts in Context:

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| Core assumptions on humans | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Morally neutral • Rational • Absolute gain seekers • Malleable | |
| Core assumptions on the world | Elastic - can be changed to the point of achieving harmony | Effects of anarchy can be controlled, war can be controlled and even eliminated |
| Forces moving the world | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual consciousness • Interests • Norms, rules and laws | |
| Main actor/s | Many (pluralist approach) at various levels: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factions • Organisations • Classes • Elites • International institutions • Public opinion | Actors pursue their own and possibly the 'common' interest (the state is not a unitary actor but rather reflects the sum of interests from 'below') |
| Prime motivations of the actor | A mix of expedient and moral: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affluence • Improvement • Efficiency • More ethical life • Justice | Absolute gain |
| Order of objectives | Can be acquired | |

Challenges confronting liberalism;

- With the demise of the cold war system, liberalism was coming in under attack from competing political ideologies

- Confidence in liberal international order was embedded in western politics, however it was now in question on how to put this effectively into practice
 - There was a failure to replace the old balance of power order with the rule of law
 - Equality under threat
- The responsibility to protect (R2P) was a key test in whether liberalism could be put into practice effectively despite the disruptions to the distribution of material and normative power
- The pattern of conflict and insecurity that occurred at the beginning of the 21st century suggest that the liberalist dynamic is an incomplete project that cannot fully

Futurist views of liberalism;

- Achieving harmony control
 - The origin of war and violent conflict are found in human beings and institutions (totalitarian states), but they can be reprogrammed, malleably, war is not inevitable.
- Pluralist approach at all levels:
 - Represents the common interests of smaller groups, and of international organisations.
 - States reflects the sum of interests from below.
 - These actors are motivated by absolute values -
 - They don't measure against each other, they measure on a timeline.
 - Compare past and future so you can see progress.
 - Atomistic actors can be satisfied.
 - The gain of one state does not affect others.
- Collective security:
 - Increase interdependence of units, because if they try to break the interdependence it will affect both negatively
 - Build international institutions: forge cooperation's, resolve and prevent violent conflicts, establish perpetual peace, make the world a non-zero-sum-game world
- Globalisation:
 - Absolute material gain, cheaper products, free trade
 - Those who suffer momentarily will eventually find their place.
 - The most effective system of economic exchange is one that is largely market driven and not subordinate to bureaucratic regulations either domestically or internationally
- Weaken the state:
 - Transfer decisional power to society and international organisations so that the balance of interest of everyone else will decrease the power of the state, allow for international order.

Neo v. Neo

Neo-liberalism came to be known when the conceded core assumptions of neo-realism were in fact correct

- The anarchic international structure
- Centrality of the state
- Rational approach to scientific theory

