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McCandless, Raymond James

**A COLLEGE CLASSROOM HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(1930-1978)**

Lehigh University

D.A. 1982

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300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

**A COLLEGE CLASSROOM HISTORY
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(1930-1978)**

**by
Raymond J. McCandless III**

**A Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate Committee
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Arts
in
Government**

**Lehigh University
1981**

Approved and recommended for acceptance as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Arts.

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Accepted 21 January 1982
(date)

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

A COLLEGE CLASSROOM
HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(1930-1978)

Raymond J. McCandless

Textbooks in themselves are valuable sources of information. They reflect the dominant values and attitudes within the academic profession. It is the purpose of this paper to uncover the trends and values which have been communicated to American college students through international relations textbooks from 1930 to 1978.

The study presents an analysis of thirty-four introductory international relations textbooks used in American colleges. The major finding was the distinguishing of four approaches to the writing of the texts: prescriptive, power politics, policy-process, and systems-oriented.

The prescriptive texts served as a platform for those writers who desired the eventual unity of the nation-state system. The power politics approach furnished the student with an understanding of the contemporary international system through an analysis of the forces which influenced international politics. The policy-process authors accepted the

struggle for power as the fundamental rule of the international environment. However, the primary interest was in the presentation of a policymaker's view of international relations. The systems-oriented approach sought to provide the reader with a framework for the analysis of relationships among nation-states. The use of a systems approach afforded the student with an understanding of the interdependent nature of the international system.

Each approach to textbook writing may have an impact upon how a student perceives international relations at the time the text is being read and in his or her future analysis of international affairs. When the prescriptive approach is employed, it is conjectured that a student will become a harsh critic of the contemporary nation-state system. The prescriptive approach indoctrinates the student to an awareness of the anarchical nature of nation-state political interactions and stresses the need for a more viable, alternative future. The power politics approach trains

students to evaluate international events in terms of their immediate impact upon the nation-state system and how the events influence the balance of power. A rational political actor is defined as one who acts to promote his interests by preserving and seeking power. A student introduced to international relations with a policy-process text develops a state-centric view. He or she becomes familiar with the factors which are necessary to make a nation politically powerful in world affairs. For the student, international relations becomes the interaction of the diverse national policies of the nation-states. The systems authors provide the reader with a framework for the analysis of relationships among nation-states. The student trained in the systems approach becomes primarily concerned with ordering the international environment. The scope and boundaries of the discipline are outlined for the student better than in any of the other previous approaches. A student may become aware of the forces, institutions, and processes which characterize the contemporary international setting through the use of a systems text, but may not be knowledgeable of the historical origins of these various elements.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

PAST STUDIES OF TEXTBOOKS

AND

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Introduction

The textbook is the primary written source of information on an interpretation of fundamental social and political issues for the overwhelming majority of college students.¹ Many students are never exposed to the various viewpoints which are expressed in the journal articles, specialized literature, and advanced courses. With the basic text as the primary agent of information, dispersion, and attitudinal formation, it becomes a major responsibility of concerned academics to pay attention to the interpretations found in the textbooks which are assigned. "We must be cognizant of any systematic biases that may be in these texts and be aware of the process by which textbook authors arrive at their interpretations of issues. In so doing, we may become aware of our own biases as well, and conscious of the processes by which we have arrived at our own judgments."²

The analysis of textbooks is not an entirely new concern of academics. As far back as 1889, the International Peace Conference urged "that textbooks be purged of false

¹Barbara Green and Leon Hurwitz, "Bias in College Textbooks," Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 51, No. 2 (1980), p. 184.

²Ibid., p. 184.

ideas about the nature and causes of war."³ However, according to McDiarmond and Pratt in their book Teaching Prejudice,⁴ it was not until after World War I that steps were taken to analyze and revise textbooks to eliminate such expressions of bias. The first such effort was established in 1921 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "The first part of the study to be published analyzed German geography, history, and literature texts and concluded that they showed an undesirable amount of nationalistic bias."⁵ This study influenced the type of European research on textbooks which was done in the 1920's; the investigators concentrated on German texts and on the treatment of Germany in the textbooks of other countries.

McDairmond and Pratt discuss a few of these studies: In 1927 the German association of History Teachers reported a study of the treatment of Germany in French, Belgian, English, and American textbooks and declared that these texts were distinctly anti-German. The following year the president of the Association, in a study sponsored by the Universal Christian Conference on Life Work and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, analyzed textbooks from seventeen European

³Garnet McDiarmond and David Pratt, Teaching Prejudice, (Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971).

⁴McDiarmond and Pratt's book provides an especially complete introduction to the analysis of textbooks.

⁵Ibid., p. 7.

countries. He concluded that the German books do not foster a warlike tendency and a desire for revenge as the French schools did after 1870. 'The hands of Germany are clean, and no history book can state otherwise.'⁶

This opinion was not confirmed by researchers from other countries. For example, one researcher, D. R. Taft quoted a passage from a German text on Versailles in support of his opinion, "This peace must not be lasting, mark that well, German youth."⁷

The German texts were not alone in their bias. Among the examples of bias in the French texts, D. R. Taft cites a passage:

Germany has never been for France other than a cheat who deceives us, a brute who pillages us, and the savages on the other side of the Rhine have always menaced us.⁸

Another researcher, Harbourt, noted that, "English and American texts spoke of unmentionable atrocities" which typified the "German mentality" and of "frightfulness" which "seared the conscience of the world."⁹ The main unilateral revision in the interwar period was undertaken by the French, which, in between 1928 and 1929, teachers

⁶Ibid., p. 7.

⁷Ibid., p. 8.

⁸Ibid., p. 8.

⁹Ibid., p. 9.

succeeded in enforcing revision of French textbooks to eliminate expressions of anti-German sentiments.¹⁰

During this interwar period, the United States had developed its own independent tradition of textbook criticism. Most of the textbook analysis was concerned with the uncovering of biases in history texts. The First World War provided a stimulus for this evaluation of history textbooks. The increasing pro-British feeling of this period led to a criticism of the treatment accorded the British in American history texts. In December 1915, in his presidential address to the American Historical Association, H. Morse Stephens declared that "Americans are taught from childhood to hate Britishers by the study of American history."¹¹

McDiarmond and Pratt discuss an influential book which centered upon anti-American attitudes toward the British:

Charles Altschul, whose study of the treatment of the American Revolution in school texts was published in 1917. Altschul examined 93 textbooks in use across the country, offering a hundred pages of extracts from the texts as his proof. His conclusion was that while texts had improved in the preceding 20 years, the improvement is by no means sufficiently marked to prevent continued growth of uninformed prejudice against England.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹Ibid., p. 11.

¹²Ibid., p. 12.

According to McDiarmond and Pratt, a number of writers followed Altschul's research with rhetoric of their own. For instance, Clyde Eagleton asserted that anti-British attitudes were "due almost entirely to the training given to our children from our history textbook."¹³ "The most widely publicized of these was Owen Wister, whose A Straight Deal or the Ancient Grudge was published in 1921."¹⁴ Wister declared that, "school textbooks drop into the American mind during its early springtime, the seed of antagonism An anti-English complex is established in the soft young minds of our schoolchildren by a series of reiterated statements about the tyranny and hostility of England."¹⁵

Post-World War II research in the United States was not only conducted by individuals, but also by major organizations. Of major importance was a study the American Council on Education published in 1949, in which over three hundred school and college texts in social studies, reading, literature, and biology were examined for their treatment of minorities. The researchers reported:

¹³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴ Garnet McDiarmond and David Pratt, Teaching Prejudice, (Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971), p. 12.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

While there seemed to be few instances of intentional bias, there were frequent value judgments and implications, unconsciously or carelessly expressed which tend to perpetuate antagonisms now current in American life. Immigrants, Spanish Americans, and Asiatics tended to receive the least favorable treatment, and stereotypes were frequent, particularly in the case of the black. They also found numerous omissions, oversimplifications, over-generalizations, and instances of loosely used objective terms such as 'race' and emotive terms such as 'halfbreed.'¹⁶

During the 1950's there were numbers of interesting studies of the treatment of foreign countries in American textbooks, many of them conducted by foreign students doing graduate work in the United States. Among studies of this nature are those of India, Japan, Africa, and Mexico, by Deodhar, Takaki, Nivokoue, and Gray respectively.¹⁷

These researchers all used both quantitative and qualitative techniques. The quantitative techniques generally consisted of calculating the total amount of space devoted to the country and people in question, the qualitative techniques of subjective historical criticism. Deodhar and Takaki, who examined texts published over several decades, noted that most had improved in coverage and adequacy, but Nivokoue and Gray, who dealt only with texts in current use, were more critical of the way their areas were dealt with.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 15.

An American study during the 1950's by R. W. Burckhardt focused upon the treatment of the Soviet Union. "Burckhardt found that a sample of American social studies texts gave the Soviet Union little space, tended to reiterate stereotypes such as 'scratch a Russian and find a Tartar,' and contained a number of inaccuracies, for example, there was practically no manufacturing in Tsarist Russia and there was no important difference from an economic view between Communism and Fascism."¹⁹

The growing political importance of blacks in American life has been reflected in the attention individuals and government organizations have given to the treatment of minorities in the textbooks. For example:

In 1966, the United States Congress Subcommittee on De Facto School Segregation held hearings on books for schools and the treatment of minorities. It emerged that while the production and use of 'integrated or multi-ethnic' textbooks had greatly increased in most parts of the U.S., some states were clearly making less effort than others in this direction, and there was evidence of continued regional pressure on publishers to produce special editions of texts omitting 'integrated' material. At its 1967 conference, the National Education Association declared that 'massive distortions continue in many textbooks' and urged that more research be done in this area. At least two state departments of education have appointed committees of professional historians to examine history textbooks.²⁰

¹⁹Ibid., p. 15.

²⁰Ibid., p. 17.

In a study done in Michigan, six historians from universities in both northern and southern states found that in the American history texts they reviewed there was "little or no discussion of the black in colonial society and after Reconstruction, of the harshness of slavery, of the Klan, of the northern black, or of the civil rights movement."²¹ They commented, "Through errors of both omission and commission, through their avoidance of nearly everything of a controversial nature, through their reliance on outdated and even antediluvian historical research, and through their inadequate treatment of the current civil rights scene--and the background to it--these books are historically inaccurate, misleading, and distorted."²² Two years previously, a study done by the American Federation of Teachers reported similar findings.²³

During the 1970's, two books were published which offered interesting evaluations of American history as presented in the textbooks. The first, American Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century, by Frances FitzGerald began as an investigation of how Americans

²¹Ibid., p. 17.

²²Ibid., p. 18.

²³Ibid., p. 18.

perceive themselves, now and in the recent past.²⁴ Using textbooks as others have "used the lyrics of rock songs or movies," she found, somewhat to her astonishment, that:

1) Textbooks change over time, revising history to reflect current values that, in turn, inform efforts to mold the values of future generations; 2) Textbook reformers, whether Progressive or Fundamentalist, are essentially a historical. They see history as a tool for social change or behavior modification; 3) Textbook publishers write history--on demand, tailoring their products to reflect the current thinking of an organized education establishment. Various school committees, especially in the larger states, virtually dictate what is proper material for their educational wards. Since fortunes are made or lost in the textbook adoption process, the publisher is, at best, a hapless middleman; 4) Written by committee and designed to offend no one, today's textbooks are incredibly dull--passionless, impersonal tones that acknowledge neither conflict nor motivation. In a natural disaster theory of history, they discuss "problems"--from the Missouri Compromise to the Vietnam War--in ways that imply simplistic solutions, as though reasonable people might have come to some mutual understanding if only they had been able to find the right shape for the negotiating table.²⁵

A review of FitzGerald's book in the journal, Humanities, notes that one indictment of the textbooks by FitzGerald is the most damning. The article states:

True, scholars do help develop texts, and occasionally they are permitted to have a significant

²⁴Frances FitzGerald, America Revised, (Boston: An Atlantic Monthly Press Book, 1979).

²⁵"Revising America: Symposium at NEH," Humanities, Nat'l Endowment for the Humanities: Vol. 1, No. 2 (March/April, 1980), p. 4.

role in determining their content, but most scholars do not take secondary school (or even college) texts seriously--not even when they have a hand in writing them. They do not make a practice of reading textbooks in their field, and no academic journal reviews textbooks on a regular basis.²⁶

That article states that a consequence of this situation is the slow trickling down of new scholarship into school texts. It usually is integrated into the college texts first and then at the secondary level. It may take a period of fifteen years for an idea or any approach to reach the huge audience of elementary level and high school level students. "Another consequence is that there is no real check on the intellectual quality--or even factual accuracy--of school textbooks. The result is that on a scale of publishing priorities the pursuit of truth is somewhere near the bottom."²⁷

A second major work, Teaching the Vietnam War: A Critical Examination of School Texts and an Interpretive Comparative History Utilizing the Pentagon Papers and Other Documents²⁸ by Griffen and Marciano was a less

²⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁸ William L. Griffen and John Marciano, Teaching the Vietnam War: A Critical Examination of School Texts and an Interpretive Comparative History Utilizing the Pentagon Papers and Other Documents, (NJ: Allenfeld, Osmun, and Co., 1980).

general analysis of textbooks than FitzGerald's. The book examines twenty-eight school texts' treatment of the Vietnamese War, particularly with regard to their interpretation of American motives and the precise facts of American participation before and after initial military actions involving Americans. The authors summarize the texts' treatment of the War and compare it with a historical treatment of the war that draws upon the American intelligence material compiled in the Pentagon Papers and other alleged nonprejudiced sources and provides an analysis of American involvement in Vietnam. This examination finds that the texts are inaccurate historically, but for the most part play back government-established statements of policy and events. The texts largely fail to speak to the issues raised by the opponents and seem to have been written with an ignorance of the actual events that have transpired. Griffen and Marciano in evaluating the school text, believe that school children in our country are being taught that the country was united, opposition limited, and the issues clear-cut in the Vietnam War years.

This brief review of a few of the noted studies of textbooks which have been conducted in the 20th century, reveals that most researchers have concentrated on history texts used at the secondary and high school level. The intent of the majority of these authors was to uncover the

prejudices which may be presented in an overt or subtle manner in the texts. Whether it be the treatment of an event, a people, or a country, textbook researchers have tended to arrive at surprisingly uniform conclusions.

The texts are regarded as repositories of evaluative references to the fore-mentioned subjects. For example, in the case of the minorities, "the main sins of omission are the failure to note the positive contributions and qualities, the contemporary condition, and the persecution of, or discrimination against, these peoples. The main sins of commission identified are an excessively political approach, resulting in emphasis on war and conflict, the unscholarly reproduction of stereotypes, and the casual use of emotive or pejorative terms to describe members of specific groups."²⁹ The authors of these textbook studies believe that a constant watch on the texts is necessary if teachers are to present a nonbiased, accurate view of history in their courses.

Analyses of college international relations textbooks used in the United States have been conducted by international relations scholars. These studies have appeared in the form of journal articles, but a comprehensive review of the texts has not appeared in a book.

²⁹McDiarmond and Pratt, Prejudice, p. 25.

A recent study³⁰ of international relations textbooks was done by Pearson in Teaching Political Science in 1974, which analyzed twenty-six books from the standpoint of four educational objectives.³¹ The article proposes that four educational objectives should be sought in international relations textbooks, and the main body of the article is a survey of twenty-six texts in terms of their degree of conformity with the four objectives. The objectives are to: "1) equip students to think critically; 2) equip students to conceptualize; 3) equip students to test generalizations empirically; and 4) equip students to theorize,"³² Pearson's conclusion was that the texts surveyed fall short in meeting all four of the criteria.

³⁰Some other essays in which IR texts are assessed: Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Content of International Studies in College: A Review," Journal of Conflict Resolution, VIII (March, 1964), 65-71; Charles B. Neff, "The Study of International Relations: New Approaches to a Familiar Subject," World Politics, XV (January, 1963), 339-53; Richard C. Snyder, "Toward Greater Order in the Study of International Politics," World Politics, VII (April, 1955), 461-78; Fred A. Sondermann, "The Study of IR: 1956 Version," World Politics, X (October, 1957), 102-11; and Dina A. Zinnes, "An Introduction to the Behavioral Approach: A Review," Journal of Conflict Resolution, XII (June, 1968), 258-67.

³¹F. S. Pearson, "The Educational Objectives of International Relations Texts," Teaching Political Science, 1:169-201 (1974).

³²H. Stanley Thames, "Recent IR Textbooks," Teaching Political Science, 6:131-49 (1979), p. 132.

In the January 1977 issue of World Politics,³³ Rosenau and associates covered twenty-six textbooks as to twenty-four variables drawn from an educational philosophy stated in the article. Following is a summary of the authors' intent in carrying out their research:

We conducted a content analysis in two stages. In one, we employed knowledgeable undergraduates to make simple counts of countries mentioned, maps, charts, footnotes, and other structural dimensions of the texts; in the other we took on the task of tracing 49 thematic variables through a content analysis of one-tenth of the paragraphs in each chapter of each text. We are satisfied that in both instances we adhered to the appropriate methodological canons and that our findings are reasonably reliable. Taken together, the two sets of data allowed us to organize our inquiry under three broad headings: texts as facilitators of learning, texts as stimuli to learning, and texts as expressive of knowledge.³⁴

Rosenau and associates ranked twenty-six texts according to these three variables. As facilitators of learning, the authors expected the texts "to provide the student with a capacity to do more advanced work in the field and to understand world affairs long after graduating from college."³⁵ According to the authors, practically all twenty-six texts received high scores on this indicator. The

³³James N. Rosenau, et al., "Of Syllabi, Texts, Students, and Scholarship in IR Textbooks," World Politics, 29:263-341 (1977).

³⁴Ibid., p. 282-83.

³⁵Ibid., p. 336.

second variable stimuli to learning, measured the text's ability to reinforce and enlarge the motivation for learning. Rosenau and associates found that the texts scored relatively low on the learning-stimuli indicators. As for the third component, scores for the expression of knowledge were noticeably higher than those for stimuli to learning but slightly lower than those for tools. The authors note that this is not surprising, since the provision of substantive materials would be a primary objective of many international relations texturters.

Rosenau and associates conclude their content analysis with the following suggestion:

We recognize that there is no single best way to teach international relations or to write a text about it. Our inquiry discloses that all is not well in the teaching of the discipline, but improvement can be achieved in a variety of ways, and thus we are not so presumptuous as to conclude with pronouncements as to which texts ought to be favored. Rather, we derive satisfaction from having raised more questions than we have answered.³⁶

H. Stanley Thames continued this research of international relations texts with an article entitled, "Recent International Relations Textbooks"³⁷ which was published in 1979. Thames' article presents an analysis of texts

³⁶Ibid., p. 340.

³⁷Thames, "IR Textbooks," p. 132.

published between 1974 and 1977, none of which appeared in the Pearson or Rosenau studies. Thames' objective in this analysis is to assess the extent to which these 13 new international relations texts meet the criteria proposed by Pearson. Thames states, "The present article is thus primarily related to the Pearson work, though it has been influenced by the Rosenau, et al. piece in many ways."³⁸

Following are the conclusions of Thames' study:

It seems warranted to say that the Pearson objectives have not been much more in evidence than in the previous generation of textbooks which he studied. Some of the texts are likely to stimulate critical thought, and a few give serious attention to theory, but the report is generally negative. The dominant impression drawn from an overview of the 13 texts is that of variety. This frequently-noted characteristic of the field is much in evidence. The most obvious instance of this is in length, which varies from 186 to 754 pages. This may not be of major intellectual significance, but it is not unimportant for pedagogy.³⁹

Thames also notes the new emphasis placed upon transnational politics and the related matter of world political economy in the new texts. "Finally, whereas the theme of war is not a new emphasis by any means, war as a problem, or its avoidance, was a major theme in four texts."⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 132.

³⁹Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 148.

The three articles by Pearson, Rosenau and associates, and Thames represent the latest inquiries into the subject of international relations texts. These studies differ from the traditional analyses of history schoolbooks. Pearson, Rosenau, and Thames are interested in evaluating the international relations texts in terms of their pedagogical worth. The studies of the history texts (i.e. FitzGerald) were directed toward uncovering the biases within the textbooks. This means that in the case of the history texts, the authors were interested in what information the texts contained and how it was presented; in the case of the international relations texts--the researchers were engaged in a study of whether or not this information was effectively communicated to the students. Although the articles by Pearson, Rosenau and associates, and Thames have served to inspire the present study; the following analysis of international relations texts is more comparable in its objectives to the studies done of history schoolbooks.

Objectives of the Present Study

International Relations as an academic field was established about fifty years ago in the United States. "A social science after a prolonged period of concern with substantive matters develops a self-consciousness of

purpose, and questions the road traveled to date and the direction which enquiry should follow in the future."⁴¹ This self-analysis began in the subject of International Relations in the early 1960's, a period often described as the "late adolescence"⁴² of the discipline. This concern has continued through the last two decades, and has become an integral part of the social science. Its purpose is to clarify and consolidate much of the information which has been accumulated over the years.

Histories of the discipline are an outgrowth of academic self-analysis. The increasing number of books and articles devoted to the evolution of International Relations attests to this observation. The present research is to be considered as a contribution to this type of enquiry. The intent of the study is to present a history of the discipline of International Relations as revealed through introductory World Politics textbooks used in the United States. This is a different approach from those typically used in examining a discipline. The hope is that it will enhance the understanding of how the academic study of International Relations has developed.

⁴¹James N. Rosenau, ed. International Politics and Foreign Policy, (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 1.

⁴²Ibid., p. 1.

Using textbooks as the sole source of information separates this study from other histories of International Relations. The data gained will provide a history of World Politics as it has developed in the American college classroom. The major objective will be to look for shifting patterns and priorities in International Relations which have surfaced in the textbooks from 1930-1978.

To what extent do textbooks affect the student's understanding and outlook? This is a very difficult question to answer. As a transmitter of knowledge, the college textbook is certainly an important element in the teaching process. Many of the views and perspectives presented by an author are retained by the college student. However, one cannot underscore the value of the teacher or the importance of supplementary materials (e.g. paperbacks and films). Each plays a significant role in the instruction of a subject.

A fully comprehensive study of the history of International Relations in the college classroom would require a knowledge of all three elements. Given the impossibility of gaining access to the syllabi and the minds of the instructors of International Relations for the last fifty years, the study will rely upon textbook analysis. This is not only the most accessible source of information, but it is also the element in the teaching process which has

reached the greatest number of students. A well-known text has entered more classrooms than even the most noted teacher or important supplementary materials.

Textbooks in themselves are valuable sources of information. They usually reflect the dominant values and attitudes within the academic profession. Critics believe that this is the result of economic and professional pressures. Whatever the cause, textbooks do seem to contain the "conventional wisdom" of the field. Hopefully this factor will help in gaining a greater understanding of how the discipline of International Relations has developed in the United States.

The History of International Relations,
According to Introductory World Politics Textbooks
Used in the United States, 1930-1978

The first chapter of the study will be devoted to summarizing the history of International Relations as a subject of study in the United States. This will serve to familiarize the reader with the pre-1930 beginnings of the discipline, a subject not covered in the actual analysis of the texts. Also, the introduction will outline the "great debates" and alternating patterns of thought which have characterized the development of International Relations from 1930 to 1978. This will aid the reader in understanding the textbook analysis, since there are

references to the utopian school of thought, realist, behavioralist, etc.

The second chapter is entitled, "The Categorization of International Relations Textbooks (1930-1978)." After reading and analyzing the texts treated in this study, it was found that there are four basic approaches employed in the writing of international relations textbooks: prescriptive, power politics, policy-process, and systems. One of these four designated approaches is chosen by an author of a text for both pedagogical and academic reasons. An author believes that the specific approach employed will aid in an orderly presentation of the material, and in helping the student to understand how the international system actually operates. For example, the policy-process approach offers a state-centric view of international relations. Authors of these texts believe that the policy-makers view of world politics helps in the organization of the vast amount of information which forms the substance of the discipline. Policy-process authors also believe that their approach will help emphasize the central principle of international relations--the pursuit of national interests. Thus, in the case of the policy-process texts, the authors are achieving both a pedagogical and academic goal in their presentation. Each text is placed in one of the four categories depending upon how the book is organized

as well as what the authors' primary message is to his audience.

Chapters three, four, five, and six are qualitative analyses of the textbooks. The prescriptive texts are discussed in Chapter Three; power politics in Chapter Four; policy-process in Chapter Five; and the systems texts in Chapter Six. In each chapter, every book is analyzed in terms of the author's intent, the structure of the text, and the author's general perception of world politics. There has also been an attempt to relate changes in the discipline and events in world affairs with the views expressed by the authors in their texts. While it is possible to group together a number of texts under one approach, this does not mean that they are all exactly the same. For example, two books may employ a prescriptive approach, but if one is published in 1930 and the other in 1970, it can be expected that there will be significant differences between the two texts.

Thus, in order to be comprehensive, the study has:

- 1) compared the texts within each approach; 2) compared the approaches utilized by the texts; and 3) compared the texts among the four decades (1930-1978). First and foremost, the review of the texts informs the reader of the points of commonality and difference among texts categorized under one approach. Secondly, the study compares how

the texts differ based upon approach. And finally, this research also reveals transformations or changes brought by the element of time.

Conclusion

The conclusion will consist of two parts. First, there will be a restatement of the results of the study and an attempt to relate their significance. The second part will be an outgrowth of this section. Hopefully, the data gained through the analyses will help in commenting on the future of the discipline. The information gathered in the 1970's will be especially helpful in this undertaking.

The Selection of the Textbooks

The objective of this study is to construct a history of international relations and international organizations, as it has developed in the American college classroom. In order to fulfill this objective an analysis of international relations texts used in the United States was conducted. It is important to note that the word "used" is employed in the previous sentence, rather than published or written. In the 1930's, many of the most popular texts used by American teachers were written in Great Britain. Since the present study is concerned with the history of international relations and organizations

in the college classroom, it is necessary to include all the texts which have introduced international relations to the American college student.

The first decision made concerning this research was how many books to analyze, and which ones qualify for examination. Concerning the number of textbooks, the decision was made based upon the proliferation of the number of books in the last fifty years. The discipline has become an accepted subject of study in American colleges and universities from 1930-1978, which explains the rise in the number of books. In order to ensure an adequate sample, the number of books has increased as the years have advanced.

The books which will be analyzed are those which have reached a large proportion of students who have taken an introductory course in international relations. These texts have been used extensively in the college classroom and have achieved notoriety within the profession. The wide use of these texts was a necessary element in the selection of the texts, since the intent of the study is to construct a history of international relations and international organizations as presented in the majority of the college classrooms. Reliance on the texts will enable the reader of this study to gain a fairly accurate view of the type of information which many college students

have been presented with in an introductory World Politics course.

In order to ensure that this qualification was fulfilled, each text was judged with a certain set of criteria in mind. First, the conception of the introductory text has been confined to works that purport to offer a comprehensive overview of the "basics" of the field.⁴³ If not for this restriction the number of texts considered would have increased tremendously. In a few cases, international relations teachers have used works in American foreign policy, international theory, international organizations, and international law as an introduction to international relations. Since this is the atypical case (and it would more than triple the sample), these texts were not reviewed in the present study. The sample would have been enlarged even further if paperbacks employed by college instructors would have been included. Usually these paperbacks are used to explicitly examine a specific subject in international relations, for example--the hunger problem, nuclear arms, and US-USSR relations. Since the paperbacks are only used for a small portion of the course, their impact cannot be paralleled to that of the basic text. Also, the paperbacks vary depending upon the teacher's preference; it is impossible to know what books have

⁴³Rosenau, "IR Textbooks," p. 263.

been used in this capacity over the last fifty years. The texts which offer a comprehensive overview of the basics of the field, in many cases determine the setup of the syllabus, the lectures presented by the instructor, classroom exercises, and the subjects covered in the course. Therefore, these texts are the best indicators of how international relations and the organizations have been presented in the college classroom over the last fifty years.

Secondly, a priority was given to those texts which have been revised or reprinted over the years. This is not only a good indicator of the text's ability to enter the college classroom, but it will also be interesting to note how one author's attitude has changed from one edition to the next. For example, there are seven editions of Schuman's International Politics which will be analyzed in the study.

The use of articles in political science journals and books devoted to the teaching of international relations are also valuable in determining the texts to be analyzed in this study. Frequently, these sources have included surveys which list texts used by the majority of college teachers. For instance, the following books and articles were found helpful in this endeavor: 1) Contending Theories of International Relations by Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff,

Phila.: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1971; 2) Methodology in the Study of International Relations by Mathisen, New York: Macmillan Co. 1959; 3) The Teaching of International Relations by Vernon Van Dyke, Seminar for the Improvement of Teaching in International Relations, 1955; 4) "The Educational Objectives of International Relations Texts," by Pearson, Teaching Political Science, 1:169-201; "Of Syllabi, Texts, Students, and Scholarship in International Relations," by Rosenau, World Politics, 29:263-341; "Recent International Relations Textbooks" by Thames, Teaching Political Science, 6:131-149. Textbooks mentioned in these books and articles were given consideration in this study.

Finally, after exhausting the forementioned sets of criteria, the list of texts was extended by including books which were published in years not covered by the texts which had fulfilled the preceding sets of criteria. This final factor has helped to diversify the study and has also added a degree of flexibility in choosing the texts. However, only two texts have been chosen with this method: The Dynamics of International Relations by Fred Greene (1966) and Introduction to International Relations by Coulombis and Wolfe (1978). Both of these texts were necessary for the study in order to adequately cover the mid-1960's and late 1970's time span, respectively.

Following is a list of texts included in the study, according to the set of criteria they have fulfilled. After each text it is noted whether they have been revised or reprinted, in what books or articles they have been discussed, and whether they have been chosen to adequately cover a certain time span.

1. International Relations by R. B. Mowat, 1931. (Discussed by Van Dyke and Dougherty)
2. The Background of International Relations by Hodges, 1931. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty)
3. International Politics by Schuman, 1933, 1937, 1941, 1948, 1953, 1958, 1969. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty, Mathisen; and seven editions written)
4. The Great Powers in World Politics by Simonds and Emeny, 1939. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty; and three editions written)
5. Modern World Politics by Kalijarvi, et al., 1945. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty, Mathisen; and three editions written)
6. Power Politics by Schwarzenberger, 1951. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty, Mathisen; and three editions written)
7. Politics Among Nations by Morgenthau, 1954, 1973. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty, Mathisen, Rosenau, Pearson; and five editions written)
8. International Relations by Strausz-Hupe and Possony, 1954. (Discussed by Van Dyke, Dougherty; and two editions written)
9. International Relations by Palmer and Perkins, 1957. (Discussed by Dougherty, Pearson; two editions written)
10. World Politics by Organski, 1958. (Discussed by Rosenau, Pearson, Dougherty; and two editions written)

11. The Might of Nations by Stoessinger, 1961, 1973. (Discussed by Pearson, Rosenau; four editions written)
12. The Dynamics of International Relations by Padelford and Lincoln, 1962, 1967. (Discussed by Pearson, Dougherty; two editions written)
13. The Relation of Nations by Hartmann, 1962. (Discussed by Dougherty, Pearson; and two editions written)
14. The Dynamics of International Relations by Fred Greene, 1964. (Included in order to adequately cover the 1960's)
15. International Politics by Van Dyke, 1966. (Discussed by Dougherty; two editions written)
16. International Politics by Holsti, 1967. (Discussed by Pearson, Rosenau; two editions written)
17. World Politics in Our Time by Jordan, 1970. (Discussed by Pearson)
18. Macropolitics by Sterling, 1974. (Discussed by Thames)
19. Games Nations Play by Spanier, 1972, 1975. (Discussed by Rosenau, Pearson; four editions written.)
20. Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth by Sprouts, 1975. (Discussed by Rosenau, Dougherty, Pearson)
21. 7034: International Relations on the Planet Earth by Finlay and Hovet, 1975. (Discussed by Thames)
22. The Logic of International Relations by Rosen and Jones, 1977. (Discussed by Thames; three editions written)
23. International Relations: A Policy Maker Focus by Wendzel. (Discussed by Thames; two editions written)
24. Introduction to International Relations by Couloumbis and Wolfe, 1978. (Included in order to adequately cover the 1970's)

THE STUDY

THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, ACCORDING TO THE TEXTBOOKS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION -

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE

INTRODUCTION

The study of international relations had its inauspicious beginnings in the United States in the early 1900's. The impetus for the development of the new social science was grounded in the resolve to find a permanent solution to the problem of war. Organizations such as the World Peace Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace were established in the pre-World War I era with such virtuous intentions. Specifically this noble goal was to be reached through the development of international law and arbitration.

"Actually up to 1914, one can see international relations as merely reflecting the golden age of diplomacy, which dated back to European history beginning in 1648."¹ According to international relations theorists there existed only two alternative orientations towards the discipline at this time. The first focused upon the sovereign nation-state. "Discussion centered on the origins, functions, and limitations of governmental powers, the rights of individuals within the state, the requirements of order, the imperatives of national self-determination and independence."²

¹James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1971), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 3.

The other popular approach at this time was the explanation offered by the socialists. Borrowing largely from Hobson's theory of imperialism, these scholars attempted to present an economic interpretation of the international environment. However, due to the fragmented attempts at theory building and the critical nature of this approach, the socialists failed to affect the mainstream view of the discipline at this time.

This had serious implications concerning how certain subjects were approached by international relations specialists. Since the study of international relations in the United States reflected only the traditions of the golden age of diplomacy, up to 1914 the discipline centered only upon the principles of this school of thought. "Until 1914, international relations scholars almost uniformly assumed that the structure of international society was unalterable and that the division of the world into sovereign state was necessary and natural. The study of international relations consisted almost entirely of diplomatic history and international law, rather terms of investigation into the processes of the international system."³

The concentration placed upon diplomatic history and international law reflected the underlying concern of the

³Ibid., p. 3.

times--peacekeeping. The first effort of this nature was in the increasing emphasis on international law largely because of the central place which arbitration then occupied in the plans for eliminating war.

During this period (19th century - 1914) war was interpreted as "disgraceful to civilized man."⁴ The men most influential in giving shape to college, university, and research organization work in the field of international relations grew up under this ideology. The answer proposed by the pre-World War I internationalists to the problem of war lay in the belief that the trend of history was toward free government and that a free constitutional democratic people would never permit its government to embark on wars of aggression.⁵ The recipe for peace was therefore simple: democracy, international understanding, and arbitration.⁶

William T. R. Fox, an expert in the study of the development of the discipline, presents a critical analysis of these assumptions:

The triumphant spread of constitutional democracy was apparently taken for granted. No endowments or foundations of comparable size were set up to promote the spread of democratic institutions. The firmly established tradition of

⁴William T. R. Fox, The American Study of International Relations, (University of South Carolina: Institute of International Studies, 1967), p. 3.

⁵Ibid., p. 3.

⁶Ibid., p. 3.

non-intervention would in any case have inhibited the growth of a popular movement to abolish the evil of absolutism. It seemed a contradiction in terms to think of imposing democratic institutions and countries not yet able to produce from within themselves a revolutionary democratic leadership.⁷

To the assumption of the inevitable spread of free institutions was often added the assumption of a basic harmony of interests. Fox addresses the question - Why could this underlying harmony of interests not lead to a final elimination of war?

The answer, it was thought, was twofold, lack of understanding and lack of procedures. The peace foundations set themselves the two tasks of promoting international intercourse and of discovering new ways of achieving the pacific settlement of international disputes. To promote international intercourse was to hasten the development of the international mind which would find war as irrational and anachronistic as trial by ordeal. With the development of the international mind it was expected that peace would then only be a matter of having available proper procedures for pacific settlement.⁸

The four years of world conflict, 1914-18, proved that there was no sure way to eliminate war. Four years of war disillusioned those who thought peace was simply a matter of having available the right procedures. Fox states, "To the prewar trinity of democracy, international understanding, and arbitration, was added national self-determination, disarmament, and collective security. But the pre-World

⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁸Ibid., p. 4.

War I interest in form rather than function remained."⁹ According to Fox, "the tremendous research effort on war guilt seemed only to document the badness of the diplomats and their system and to contribute little to understanding the causes of war and conducive of peace."¹⁰

Edward Hallett Carr in his celebrated work, The Twenty-Years' Crisis, 1919-39: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations,¹¹ analyzed the philosophical differences which characterized the post World War I era. Carr recognized that there was a growing gap between two schools of thought which had developed in the discipline. After World War I, the academic climate made it conducive for "utopians" and "realists" to concern themselves with the means of preventing another war.¹² According to Carr this task spurred the serious study of international relations.

The utopians were interpreted by Carr as the intellectual descendants of the eighteenth century Enlightenment optimism, nineteenth century liberalism, and twentieth century Wilsonian idealism.¹³ This approach to assessing world politics had marked Anglo-Saxon overtones:

⁹Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹¹Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1971, p. 43.

¹²James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, 2nd ed. (NY: Harper and Row Publishers, 1981), p. 5.

¹³Ibid., p. 5.

Utopianism is closely associated with a distinctly Anglo-American tendency to assume that statesmen enjoy broad freedom of choice in the making of foreign policy. Marred by a certain self-righteousness, the utopians cling to the belief that the U.S. had entered World War I as a disinterested, even reluctant, champion of international morality. Emphasizing how people ought to behave in their international relationships rather than how they actually behave, the American Utopians disdained balance of power politics, national armaments, the use of force in international affairs, and the secret treaties of alliance that preceded World War I.¹⁴

The utopians believed that the international peace could best be preserved through international legal rights and obligations. "This meant that a heavy reliance was placed upon human reason in human affairs, and confidence in the peace-building function of the world court of public opinion."¹⁵

Opposing this approach was that of the realists, which stressed power and interest, rather than ideals in international relations. Following is an analysis of the realist approach:

Realism is basically conservative, empirical, prudent, suspicious of idealistic principle, and respectful of the lessons of history. It is more likely to produce a pessimistic rather than an optimistic view of international politics. Realists regarded power as the fundamental concept in the social sciences, although they admitted that power relationships are often cloaked in moral and legal terms. They criticized the utopian for preferring visionary goals to scientific analysis.¹⁶

¹⁴Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 5.

The utopian-realist controversy as presented by Carr is still of great significance to the student desiring an understanding of the origins of the discipline. In his view, "the international morality of the interwar years merely justified the interests of the satisfied versus the unsatisfied, of the haves versus the have-nots."¹⁷ He saw that whereas the utopians ignore the lessons of history, the realists often read history too pessimistically:

Whereas the idealist exaggerates freedom of choice, the realist exaggerates fixed causality and slips into determinism. While the idealist may confuse national self-interest with universal moral principles, the realist runs the risk of cynicism and fails to provide any ground for purposeful and meaningful action--that is, the realist denies that human thought modifies human action.¹⁸

Carr's conclusion stresses the need for international political theories which contain elements of utopianism and realism.

During the truce between the two world wars there grew an overriding concern to discover a means for studying the immediate present. In place of the detached highly specialized techniques of diplomatic history, an approach that has been labeled the current events approach emerged. Kenneth W. Thompson states:

The "bible" for the study of international relations became The New York Times, and the

¹⁷Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 6.

function of the teacher became that of interpreting and explaining the immediate significance of current events. As a result the areas that might have been exploited from the earlier study of diplomatic history were left largely untouched and the study of the present was pursued without any of the ordering principles that might have been drawn from past experiences. Each scholar became a spokesman for his own brand of international legislation or reform. Some discussed, off the cuff, free trade versus protectionism; others, international monetary reform; and still others new ways and means of transforming international organization. But no one attempted to relate post-war political problems with issues of an earlier day. To have done this would have been antiquarian and would have proved that the scholar was at odds with his times.¹⁹

This teaching approach dominated the discipline during the interwar period, at the same time the utopian-realist controversy was being waged.

Following the Second World War, there was a shift in American thinking on international relations further away from the idealism of the early League of Nations period toward an older and resurgent realism, from law and organization to the elements of power.²⁰ Even during the course of World War II, it became increasingly clear that the U.S. would be in a new position at the end of the war. Nicholas Spykman²¹ contends that power politics writing

¹⁹ George A. Lanyi and Wilson McWilliams, eds., Crisis and Continuity in World Politics, (NY: Random House, 1966), p. 22.

²⁰ Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1981, p. 7.

²¹ Trevor Taylor, ed., Approaches and Theory in International Relations, (NY: Longman, 1978), p. 140.

favoring a substantial U.S. world role, emerged as part of the debate on what U.S. policy should be. Power politics sought to explain and justify, for instance, in presenting a view of the state system in which the balance of power, a much-criticized concept in the U.S., played a permanent and stabilizing role; it made U.S. participation in world politics more acceptable.²² Power politics became an inevitable feature of international politics, not necessarily an evil feature.

Carr in The Twenty Years' Crisis also sought to explain the new dominance of power politics approach:

He contended that power politics constituted a natural development of international relations as a new discipline. He argued that all disciplines go through an initial stage of wishful thinking, of concentrating on how things ought to be, before attention is focused on how things actually are. Arguing that new disciplines arise because new problems require solutions, Carr observed that when the human mind begins to exercise itself in some fresh field, an initial stage occurs in which the element of wish or purpose is overwhelmingly strong and the inclination to analyze facts weak or nonexistent.²³

In this view, power politics marked the end of the wishful thinking stage in international relations, of utopian thinking. Power politics analyzed the world in being and was thus realist in nature.²⁴

²²Ibid., p. 140.

²³Ibid., p. 123.

²⁴Ibid., p. 123.

The post World War II period to the mid-1950's emphasized the power approach to the study of international relations. Academic scholars in Britain and the United States produced analyses suitable to what they perceived as the postwar reality:

Britain's early major thinkers and the dates of their important publications were Carr (1939), Schwarzenberger (1941), while the U.S.'s most prominent names were Schuman (1933), Niebrur (1936 and 1959), Spykman (1942) and Morgenthau (1948). Although the standing of these authors reached a peak in the early 1950's, after which they were increasingly attacked on intellectual grounds, because of the weaknesses of their concepts and methodology.²⁵

In the classroom, the teaching of international relations also was influenced by the dominance of power politics. An approach was made to recurrent world problems not with a view to praise or condemn them In place of examining the structure and organization of international society, scholars were turning to the underlying forces and trends that mold and shape the behavior of States:

The aim was to study international politics in the same way that domestic politics had been studied for almost a generation. Much as studies of American government and politics had moved from an examination of the Constitution and basic statutes to practical politics and pressure groups, so international studies became concerned with the underlying tendencies in the foreign policies of separate States and the forms and techniques through which the various national policies of States could

²⁵Ibid., p. 123.

be compromised and adjusted on the international plane. International politics may be shortly defined as the study of rivalry among States and the conditions and institutions which ameliorate or exacerbate these relationships.²⁶

During the 1950's some students of power politics found the dictums of the approach too imprecise and intuitive to be an effective guide for either analysis or action.²⁷ There surfaced a new approach, one of a scientific character and suited to the needs of a post-industrial power with global commitments and capabilities.

The possibility of applying systems thinking to international relations began to be discussed in the mid 1950's. At that time the most striking consequence of this development was the emergence of the international system as a key concept in discussions of international relations. The concept is now frequently used as the focal point for introduction to the subject, providing a reference point for works which are otherwise highly divergent in terms of style and approach (compare, e.g. Reynolds 1971 and Hopkins and Mansback 1973).²⁸

The concern with systems theory was a reflection of the onset of behaviorism. Behaviorism emerged after the Second World War encouraging the application of scientific method to the study of human behavior. "For the first time there were widespread and concerted efforts to use scientific

²⁶Lanyi and McWilliams, Crisis and Continuity, p. 23.

²⁷Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe, Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice, (NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 4.

²⁸Taylor, Approaches, p. 183.

method of study for political activity."²⁹ The introduction of a systems approach represented an attempt to refocus attention on the complex interactions between states, while retaining the scientific orientation propounded by behaviorism. "From this perspective, it can be seen why one of the early advocates made the otherwise supporting assertion that a systems approach provides the only possible method which can ensure the development of scientific politics."³⁰

Thus, systems have become the most widely used term today in political science and international relations literature. System describes:

1) a theoretical framework for the coding of data about political phenomena; 2) an integrated set of relationships based on a hypothetical set of political variables--for example, an international system involving world government; 3) a set of relationships among political variables in an international system alleged to have existed--for example, the international system of the 1950's; and 4) any set of variables in interaction.³¹

The contemporary student is introduced to the discipline of international relations with the concepts of "interdependence" and "interaction" as the focal points:

Interdependence is used to characterize the relationships in a global international system. In such a conception, the emergence for the first

²⁹ Ibid., p. 183.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 183.

³¹ Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1981, p. 134.

time in history of a truly global system calls forth the need for a geocentric, rather than an ethnocentric approach to the study of international relations. Also, widely used in international relations study is the term interaction. The greater the level of interdependence, the greater amount of interaction. Systems are hypothesized patterns of interaction. Interdependence and interaction in turn--like systems theory itself--are indications of a more scientific approach in the discipline.³²

The advantages of this approach over the power politics is "the awareness of the relationships among the independent and dependent variables within the international system and a knowledge of how a change in one of these variables affects the other variables or a combination of variables."³³

David Singer's work does much to demonstrate how systems theory is operationalized. For instance, when Singer tackles the problem of war, he defines the social system as:

. . . any aggregation of individuals or groups who manifest a modest degree of interdependence, similarity, or common destiny, and whose treatment as a single unit is scientifically useful to the researcher. He postulates a global system (all mankind and any of the worldwide groups which men have formed), the international system (all national political units; all of the people in these nations, and any sub-national and extra-national groups of interest), the interstate system (all those natural entities that satisfy certain criteria of statehood emergence for the first time in history as well as the individuals sub-natural and extra-natural within these states).

³²Ibid., p. 136.

³³Ibid., p. 135.

Within the interstate system are two subsystems-- the central system and the major power system.³⁴

Singer then proceeds to specify exact criteria for deciding on memberships in these various systems as well as a typology of work which discriminates between interstate, central system, and imperial and colonial wars. "The end result is a prime example of research which provides an accurate data base on which theories on the causes of war can be advanced and, hopefully, subjected to empirical test. The next step, therefore, will be to discover which variables or clusters of variables show the strongest and most consistent association with fluctuations in the incidence of war over the century and a half under study."³⁵

The adherents of the new approach were quick to declare the "traditionalists'" view of world politics, whether it be based upon law or power, to be of interest only as a foundation upon which to build a genuine science of international relations.³⁶

The debate between the proponents of the behavioral or scientific approach and the adherents of traditional historical and legal studies has characterized the field of international relations ever since. Indeed, much of the traditionalist-behavioralist dialogue concerning the relevance

³⁴Carey B. Joynt and Percy E. Corbett, Theory and Reality in World Politics, (Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978), p. 76.

³⁵Ibid., p. 76.

³⁶Couloumbis and Wolfe, Power and Justice, p. 4.

of international relations theory to the policy maker centers on the relative merits of the two approaches.³⁷

Traditionalists generally differ from behavioralist scholars in their approach to the study of international relations. Following are a few of the differences:

1) The traditionalist often criticizes the behavioralist for allegedly being too confident of the ability to generalize, to convert problematic statements into causal propositions and to use these propositions to predict behavior in an area in which things are not predictable; 2) the scientific analyst regards the traditionalist's distrust of precise method quantification, and verification through statistical testing as irresponsible and arrogant; 3) the traditionalist wishes to examine all the variables which could conceivably have a bearing on the case; 4) the behavioralist prefers to isolate a few variables and analyze a large number of cases.³⁸

The 1970's have introduced a useful attitude of eclecticism among the different approaches discussed. For example, a number of scientifically oriented scholars have abandoned their self-neutralizing role of purely unobtrusive and value-free observation.³⁹ So many scientists, wishing to become normative and "relevant" have become "engineers."⁴⁰ They have attempted to go beyond observation and explanation and have begun to desire to be the source of change in world

³⁷Ibid., p. 4.

³⁸Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1981, pp. 36-37.

³⁹Coulombis and Wolfe, Power and Justice, p. 23.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 23.

politics. This example reveals the overlapping of approaches which characterizes the orientation of many international relations scholars at the present time. How this new trend will affect the student, the discipline, and the nation-state system should be the subject of investigation within international relations during the 1980's.

CHAPTER II

THE CATEGORIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TEXTBOOKS

THE CATEGORIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TEXTBOOKS (1930-1978)

Maintaining peace in the international environment has been the major concern of all textbook writers past and present. Despite changing titles, lengths, and approach, the centrality of this topic has remained relatively intact.

An analysis of international relations texts from 1930 1978 reveals four basic types of publications: prescriptive textbooks, power politics textbooks, policy process textbooks, and systems oriented textbooks. In each case, the author has felt that the student could best be introduced to the complexities of international relations through the adaptation of one of the forementioned approaches. However, pedagogical considerations cannot sufficiently explain an author's decision in this matter. It is clear that the changing national and international scene, plus new directions in the discipline have had a great influence on a writer's preference for a specific orientation.

The problem of war and peace has attracted principal attention in each of the textbooks. The similarity among the four approaches ends with this commonality of interest. Views of the international environment; methods of peace-keeping; and plans for studying the vast subject matter of international relations are different with each of the four

approaches. Marked differences in perspective among the four types of textbooks become even clearer with a comparison of the treatment of international organizations.

I. Prescriptive Textbooks

The authors of the prescriptive texts express a view which emphasizes the need for unity in the world of nation-states. The texts written with this normative orientation are designed to deal primarily with the question of what ought to be done, and secondarily with a description of what actually exists. Richard Sterling in his text Macropolitics¹ states this objective, "Meaningful analysis must not deny the link between what is and what ought to be; it must seek to illuminate it."² The writers do not necessarily believe that world-wide integration will inevitably take place; rather, they offer suggestions on how such an end may plausibly be achieved.

The present and past international systems are analyzed in order to demonstrate the inadequacies of these arrangements. The authors see the possibility of a more egalitarian and unified association of men if certain adjustments are made in the international system. These methods of integration range from international institution-building to a

¹Richard W. Sterling, Macropolitics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

²Ibid., p. 21.

complete redistribution of the world's wealth and resources. In the end, most authors temper their suggestions for the future with an acknowledgment that human events may unfold in total opposition to their formulas for human unity.

II. Power Politics Textbooks

The proponents of the power approach in international relations define the purpose of their texts as, "an attempt to describe the state system realistically and objectively."³ In order to achieve this end, the writers have made "power" the centralizing concept in their books. "In international politics, the absence of institutions and procedures for resolving conflict comparable to those in most domestic political systems makes the so-called power element more obvious than at the domestic level."⁴

The power politics approach leaves little room for normative judgments. "Those who defined international politics as power politics wished to underline the prevalence of war, conquest, and empire in interstate relations."⁵ This does not necessarily mean that the textbooks are written as guides for the prospective conqueror. The authors hope that

³Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1937), p. XIII.

⁴James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1971), p. 66.

⁵Sterling, Macropolitics, p. 34.

the student will be better able to interpret international phenomena realistically after reading their text. When international relations is defined as a struggle for power, a pessimistic outlook and a concern with conflict attend such an interpretation.

The best-known exponent of this approach is Hans J. Morgenthau, who contends that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power and that historical data prove this contention.⁶ The ability to influence people (power) is the most obvious fact in the real world of politics for writers such as Morgenthau. Current events, international organizations, diplomacy, and all subjects of concern in international relations are included by these authors in the theoretical framework of power. Many academics believe that the emphasis on power is the distinction which separates the discipline of international relations apart from the other social sciences.

III. Policy-Process Textbooks

The next type of international relations text is one bearing a policymaking focus. The outstanding feature of these books is the state-centric approach taken by the authors. Rather than viewing the international system as an interacting system of forces and counterforces, the reader's

⁶Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. 52.

perspective is oriented toward a view of the nation-state as the central and basic element in world politics. An "ideal" type of text in this category begins with the description of the nation-state system; a synopsis of policy-making techniques; an inventory of the elements which affect policy formulation (e.g., geography, population); an analysis of how policy is implemented; and usually a section dealing with the foreign policies of specific countries or geographic regions. Frequently a normative element is added by the author in his attempt to provide guidelines on how foreign policy should be made.

The policy-process text can be regarded as an outgrowth of the power politics approach. Their specialized interest in the attainment of national interests is cast along realist lines as in the case of power politics texts. Simonds and Emeny in The Great Powers in World Politics state, "This departure from the conventional type of treatment is, moreover demanded not merely because of its pedagogical advantages but also by reason of its practical merits at a moment (1939) when so many aspects of the subject itself have hitherto been slighted or still remain uninterpreted."⁷ This emphasis on pragmatism and realism is reiterated by the authors of more recent policy-process texts.

⁷Frank H. Simonds and Brooks Emeny, The Great Powers in World Politics (NY: American Book Co., 1939), p. V.

IV. Systems-Oriented Textbooks

Systems theory has become one of the most widely used approaches in contemporary international relations literature. A system consists of interdependent parts that function together as a whole. It is the task of the systems analyst to discover how a system functions and what has caused changes in a system to occur. "The human nervous system, a car motor, the Hilton Hotel chain, an Apollo spacecraft, the Federal Reserve System, and the 'balance of power' system--all of these are systems."⁸

Every system has both subsystems and boundaries. For example, the interactions of the members of the Soviet bloc can be considered a subsystem of the entire international system. These countries also have boundaries which distinguish it from other subsystems. Every subsystem has inputs from the inside and outside and corresponding outputs. Because of these interactions, all subsystems are apt to change and may also evoke changes in the total system.

Specifically, when applied to the discipline of international relations, a system theory is concerned with the interaction within the total international environment and its many subsystems. The subsystem is comprised of mainly states and international organizations. "It provides for the examination of recurrent sequences of behavior of these

⁸Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, pp. 102-03.

entities, as well as of behavior originating in one system and reacted to in another."⁹ If such sequences can be isolated and categorized, it may be possible to gain theoretical insights into the nature of the interdependence among global and regional international systems and national systems as well."¹⁰

Studies by Morton A. Kaplan,¹¹ Charles A. McClelland,¹² and George Modelski,¹³ to mention a few, have utilized systems theory "not only to develop more clearly delineated levels of analysis, but to set forth a framework broadly enough based to encompass most, if not all, international behavior."¹⁴ In each case, materials and insights were gathered from many other disciplines, including geography, political science, history and in comparative politics, and ordered a framework of analysis which utilized the information from these disciplines. The use of data from different

⁹Werner J. Feld, International Relations: A Transactional Approach (California: Alfred Publishing Company, 1979), p. 9.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, p. 19.

¹²Ibid., p. 19.

¹³Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁴Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, ed., Politics and the International System (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1972), p. 73.

disciplines resembles the power politics approach used by preceding international relations scholars. "But the power politics and systems theory differ in that the former seeks to achieve great explanatory and predictive capacity from power as a variable, while systems theory provides a framework for the analysis of relationships among variables and seeks to develop explanatory and predictive constructs."¹⁵

The authors of the systems-oriented texts carry this impetus into their books. The writers view the international parts that function together as a whole. Systems texts identify, examine, and measure interaction within the major international system and its many subsystems. In order to do this, the texts are divided into two sections: the international system and the actors in the system. After this framework of analysis is set up, the reader is presented with a discussion of inputs into the international system which may either cause increased cooperation or conflict. The concentration on the interaction of these alternate situations and their effect on the maintenance of the international equilibrium characterizes the systems texts' presentation of international processes.

Finally, it must be understood that the systems-oriented texts do not fully reject the position presented in the power

¹⁵Ibid., p. 74.

politics books. The systems texts attempt to "deepen the understanding of international relations beyond the power perspective."¹⁶ According to David Jordan, "Despite the undoubted role of power in world affairs, there are choices and problems involved in whether or not to seek it, how to get it, and how, when, and where to employ it."¹⁷ In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding, Jordan suggests that actor and system analysis be applied in exploring the complexities of the contemporary international system. Regularities in the use and effects of power may then be discerned and persistent patterns realized. According to systems theorists, this should minimize the unwieldy aspects of power and enhance the accuracy in the attempts to predict the future.

Conclusion

The preceding description of the four textbook categories presents each approach in an ideal sense. None of the textbooks conform exclusively to just one of the forementioned approaches. While a major orientation is discernible, many of the books incorporate elements from the other categories. Bearing in mind the pressures placed upon textbook writers, such a development seems quite natural.

¹⁶David C. Jordan, World Politics in Our Time (Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1970), p. 3.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 3.

The author is expected to satisfy the demands of a fairly wide audience plus a competitive market. Obviously, a committed academic will not forsake views which have become a trademark or an integral part of his or her interpretation of the subject matter. However, these idiosyncratic preferences may become a bit diluted in the attempt to appeal to a large number of students and in making the text saleable.

In many cases, the result is the "balanced" text. The author attempts to present the student with a consensus of what the field entails. This usually means that the text integrates many characteristics from all four approaches. Upon careful examination, the student can uncover which of the four orientations the author favors. However, it is a view which can be described as neither pure nor ideal. The major orientation of the writer is compromised in providing a text which evokes little criticism from fellow scholars and which seeks to define the entire scope and boundaries of the field.

As will be seen in this study, the textbook authors within each category differ in their attitudes toward the writing of a balanced text. Some authors have seen this as their ultimate goal, while others have attempted to maintain the pureness of their approach. The result is that in each category there are a number of texts which more truly

represent the "ideal" than others; and a few which have been less committed to this intent.

Categorization of Textbooks

I. Prescriptive Textbooks

1. International Relations by R. B. Mowat--1931.
2. The Background of International Relations by Hodges--1931.
3. Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth by Sprout and Sprout--1971.
4. Macropolitics by Sterling--1974.
5. 7034: International Relations on the Planet Earth by Finlay and Hovet--1975.
6. Introduction to International Relations by Coulombis and Wolfe--1978

II. Power Politics Textbooks

1. International Politics by Schuman--1st through 7th eds., 1933, 1937, 1941, 1948, 1953, 1958, 1969.
2. Power Politics by Schwarzenberger--2nd ed., 1951.
3. Politics Among Nations 2nd and 5th eds. by Morgenthau--1954, 1973.
4. International Relations 2nd ed. by Palmer and Perkins--1957.
5. The Relations of Nations 2nd ed. by Hartmann--1962.
6. The Dynamics of International Relations by Greene--1964.
7. International Politics by Van Dyke--1966.
8. The Might of Nations 1st and 4th eds. by Stoessinger--1961, 1973.

III. Policy Process Textbooks

1. The Great Powers in World Politics 3rd ed. by Simonds and Emeny--1939.
2. Modern World Politics 2nd ed. by Kalijarvi--1945.
3. International Relations 2nd ed. by Strausz-Hupe and Possony--1954.
4. The Dynamics of International Relations 1st and 2nd eds. by Padelford and Lincoln--1962, 1967.
5. International Politics by Holsti--1967.
6. International Relations: A Policymaker Focus by Wendzel--1977.
7. The Logic of International Relations by Rosen and Jones--1977.

IV. Systems-Oriented Textbooks

1. World Politics by Organski--1958.
2. World Politics in Our Time--1970.
3. Games Nations Play--1972, 1975.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESCRIPTIVE TEXTBOOKS

THE PRESCRIPTIVE TEXTBOOKS

The texts categorized as prescriptive books were either published in the early 1930's or the 1970's. This great discontinuity in time between the first two works and the final three is due to the changing nature of the discipline of international relations and international events of the last fifty years. The Mowat and Hodges texts were written when the utopian school of thought still had an impact upon scholars in the profession. The Mowat text exemplifies the optimistic views of academics and statesmen who maintained this concept of international development. Even though it was published in 1931, this was late enough to consider it a "dinosaur" among international relations textbooks.

The utopian school of thought was naturally prescriptive in its orientation. The utopian scholars were primarily interested in finding a permanent solution to the problem of war. Textbook writers responded to such an emphasis by presenting in their books a vision of a new world system of cooperation. The utopians saw such a world just around the corner. The League of Nations and the leadership of Woodrow Wilson brought such hopes into a reality. The texts reaffirmed these utopian beliefs through lengthy descriptions of the League and international organizations. For the majority of utopian textbook writers, their major concern became the

popularization of international institution-building as the means of achieving the unity of mankind.

In the case of the Mowat text, such incentives still had an effect on the author. Modern industrialization and the post World War I peace initiatives were interpreted as indicators of a world moving toward unity. Mowat's loyalty to the utopian school of thought is understandable. The conversion of numerous international relations scholars to the new philosophy of realism was no easy task. The League of Nations, despite waning popularity, still was held in great esteem by both academics and statesmen. Also, the Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed as recently as August 1928. Its sixty-two signatories, which included the United States, promised to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. This "outlawing of war" presented the culmination of the utopian efforts. Here was an actual statement which promised to deliver mankind from the threat of war forever. Undoubtedly, it was difficult to remain untouched and removed from such internationally "real" events.

Mowat's International Relations text was written in 1931. The significance of the great advance in technology and industry was not lost upon this author. He begins the text with the contention that "the improvement in communication has brought the people of the world closer together."¹

¹James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1971), p. 158.

In fact, he believes that "if the responsible ministers of the Great Powers had conversed with each other directly by telephone on July 31, 1914, the World War perhaps would not have broken out."² Mowat assumes that increased interaction among nations necessitates cooperation.

Clearly, Mowat was greatly influenced by Sir Norman Angell, an English publicist who achieved prominence in the 1920's and 1930's. Angell in his book The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage (1910), argues that warfare in the industrial age has become an anachronism. Economic gain is the main impetus for a nation's willingness to wage war. According to Angell, recent history has demonstrated that, "the factors which really do constitute prosperity have not the remotest connection with military or naval power, all our political jargon notwithstanding."³ When nations realize that war has lost its meaning, Angell believes that disarmament and peace would become possible.

Mowat, like Angell, remains confident that men will rationally arrive at this conclusion through the application of human reason to international affairs. The author is assured that we have reached the point in the history of man

²Ibid., p. 158.

³R. B. Mowat, International Relations (NY: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1931), p. 175.

when this awareness has taken place. This new period is characterized by the development of a "community of communities."⁴ According to Mowat, the growth of technology, the sophistication of communication systems, and the population growth have all caused the world to shrink in the last one-hundred years. Mowat states, "Every person who endeavours to see life steadily and see it as a whole must realize that he or she is both a citizen of a state and a citizen of the world."⁵ Such a dual allegiance does not seem to trouble Mowat. In fact, he states that, "loyalty to the state and to the world are one and the same principle."⁶ The move to a greater world allegiance will take place peacefully because of the "cosmopolitan thinking" which is accompanying the great advance in international institution-building.⁷

The structure of the book is divided into three sections. Mowat begins with a discussion of nationalism and its role in the international system. Mowat states, "Nationalism is just the claim of self-expression or self-realization on the part of a distinct religious group, thus it seems to be the product of religious intolerance on the one hand and of the demand of a whole group of people for religious freedom on the

⁴Ibid., p. 175.

⁵Ibid., p. 175.

⁶Ibid., p. 169.

⁷Ibid., p. 11.

other."⁸ The reference to religion indicates Mowat's belief that the rise of nationalism came as a product of the Reformation and events following the Middle Ages. What is of real interest in Mowat's description of nationalism is his belief that this element does not threaten the prospects for peace or the development of a feeling of internationalism. Men will eventually realize the advantages of a world-wide unity and simply transfer their allegiances to a world state.

The second section of the book concentrates on: diplomacy, international organizations, and disarmament. Mowat sees these subjects as instruments which will help bring about the eventual unity of mankind. In other words, such devices may accelerate the integration of the world of nation-states. Along with the technological devices which have brought the peoples of the world closer, the organizations and diplomacy help foster a new cosmopolitan way of thinking.

The final section restates Mowat's thesis concerning the transition of the international system. According to Mowat:

In the last hundred years the world has shrunk enormously. Speed of communication, growth of the world's populations, and increase in the activity of these populations, have made it impossible for itself. The medieval philosophers and lawyers had a phrase 'communitas communitatum,' community of

⁸Ibid., pp. 174-75.

communities. Towards this the world is developing today.⁹

The citizen of the state, if one accepts Mowat's contentions, will automatically accept the new allegiances which express a loyalty toward the world-community."

Mowat's interpretation of international trends and realities was no longer uncontested within the profession when the text was published in 1931. Scholars became conscious in the late 1920's and early thirties of the potentially volatile situation which was taking shape in the international environment. The "lasting peace" established at Versailles was beginning to be called into question.

Probably the event which had the greatest single effect on the thinking of international relations scholars at this time occurred in the fall of 1931; Japan broke the tenuous peace by invading Manchuria. Since her victory over Russia in 1905, she had dominated the economy of southern Manchuria, the northeastern section of China. Now she was determined to reinforce southern Manchuria. In September, 1931, Japanese troops occupied Mukden and other Manchurian cities and established control of the province. This was a direct violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which had outlawed the possibility of aggressive behavior by nation-states. China then turned to the League of Nations for help, but the West refused to act.

⁹John M. Blum, et. al., The National Experience, 3rd ed. (NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), p. 658.

The Background of International Relations by Charles

Hodges demonstrates the impact which such events had caused in the thinking of international relations academics. The Hodges' text can be thought of as a transitional work. Like Mowat, his main emphasis is on the need for unity in the international system. Hodges believes the best method for achieving this unified world is through the advancement of the discipline of international relations and a general public education in internationalism. Hodges states, "Perhaps the most significant result of the Great War, so far as the future is concerned, lies in the rising tide of public interest the world over in what we call international relations."¹⁰ The development of the discipline will assist members of the international community in achieving the cosmopolitan state of mind necessary for the solidarity of human interests.¹¹

Hodges reiterates Mowat's belief that the world is entering a new era in the history of mankind. Hodges states, "There has been an actual physical shrinkage of the earth due to the construction of railroads, transoceanic steamship lines, and recently developed air services."¹² Added to this unifying element is, "the growth of popular government, a

¹⁰Charles Hodges, The Background of International Relations (NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1931), p. VII.

¹¹Ibid., p. 676.

¹²Ibid., p. 6.

powerful trend, making for a common destiny in world affairs."¹³ Rather than whole-heartedly supporting international institution-building as a catalyst for this assured integration, Hodges believes that the growth of international politics may assist the increase of a cosmopolitan way of thinking.¹⁴ Loyalties will then become world oriented rather than state-centric since man will recognize the benefits which may be accrued from world unity.

The use of the prescriptive orientation is the major similarity with the Mowat text. Hodges also perceives the need for a "realistic" appraisal of the international scene. Hodges states:

This endeavor has been cast along realistic lines. This point of view has been to describe what prevails in the world of nations today in actual fact; and to understand the background of this existence.¹⁵

Though the study of past and current events, Hodges hopes to: "1) relate the flood of international events to the reader; 2) challenge the formulation of first-hand observations; 3) stimulate inquiry as to what lies behind the headlines in world life."¹⁶

¹³Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 644.

¹⁵Ibid., p. VIII.

¹⁶Ibid., p. VIII.

Texts written in a prescriptive fashion were common during the dominance of the utopian school of thought. Hodges claims to be a realist, but retains the style of presentation which characterized texts such as Mowat's. A student using the Hodges' text in an introductory international relations course would be confronted with much more historical and current information than if the Mowat text was used.¹⁷ However, the concern with moving the world toward complete integration still forms the fundamental basis of the text. The Hodges' book tries to incorporate the method of textbook writing from the past with the new "realistic approach" which was to dominate the field of international relations in the future.

The structure of The Background of International Relations reveals this attempt at synthesis by Hodges. The first major section is entitled "Realities," and is quite unique for such an early text. Hodges relates the development of the discipline of international relations up to this time (1931). He believes that there are four salient tendencies which underlie current thought in international relations at present.

The first he defines as "biologic parallelism."¹⁸ Followers of this approach are "intrigued" by the unfolding of

¹⁷This can be observed just by comparing the number of pages in the two texts - Hodges (678) and Mowat (175).

¹⁸Hodges, International Relations, p. 32.

the panorama of world life; and they are persuaded of the overwhelming importance of the natural history of world institutions as living organisms.¹⁹ This school of thought concentrates on the problems of origin and evolution in world politics. Modern-day systems theory bears a strong resemblance to this school of thought because of the emphasis on discerning recurrent sequences of behavior of these entities. Hodges then proceeds to list three other approaches, "those seeking the explanation of world politics: 1) in group behavior (on an international scale); 2) the seamy aspects of foreign affairs (imperialism and militarism); 3) and by subjecting the discipline to the technical treatment of diplomacy and jurisprudence."²⁰ Hodges states that all three will prove valueless, until an almost "inhuman, cold impartiality is applied to the study."²¹

In the following six sections of the text, Hodges attempts to synthesize all four approaches into this objective treatment of international relations. The second section is entitled, "Foundations"--a historical account of the Western State system. This is followed by "Structures"--an attempt to relate how nations of the past and present carry on intercourse in various areas (business, politics); "Working Forces"--a review of the forces of nationalism,

¹⁹Ibid., p. 32.

²⁰Ibid., p. 32.

²¹Ibid., p. 33.

imperialism, and internationalism (with an emphasis on the effects these forces have had on the international systems of the past); "World Horizons"--a discussion of international communication, world news, and public opinion in world affairs; "Consequences"--a section dealing with war and the use of force; and finally, "World Power"--an attempt to predict the future of the nation-state system.

In every section of the book, Hodges sets up the dichotomy of conflict versus cooperation. After a presentation laden with historical data, he often reiterates his major theme--the inevitability of a "community of nations,"²² and the necessity for the development of "cosmopolitan thinking."²³ An example of this is in Chapter 26, entitled the "Future of Force in International Society." After an extensive survey of past conflicts and attempts at limiting future conflict, Hodges offers the "eternal" solution: "The passing of force as a supreme factor in relations between states depends upon a world-wide public understanding of international organization for peace."²⁴ According to Hodges, changing attitudes through education and knowledge are the real way out of future international crises. Only with a

²²Ibid., p. 27.

²³Ibid., pp. 56-59.

²⁴Ibid., p. 58.

public understanding will devices for peace, such as international organizations, work effectively.

The final chapter recapitulates the plea for international unity:

In short, the world of tomorrow is being built out of an extension of men's present allegiances, not the creation of new obligations running counter to the course of human development. In this charge, the international community is as important to the world as a whole, as the national community was in the past. For peoples move inevitably in the direction of the largest common political interest in the organization of existence in order to continue their growth.²⁵

"Greater cooperation," according to Hodges, "the world over, already has begun to manifest itself, when mobilized through an institution such as the League of Nations, as a nascent world public opinion that transcends national attitudes."²⁶ He concludes stating that, "Doubtless a time will come when we will be civilized enough to understand that peace is a state of mind--not a political institution."²⁷ In order for such an end to be achieved, "It is our responsibility as citizens of the world, to make international relations everybody's business."²⁸

Obviously, both Mowat and Hodges believe that a world unity can result through the positive efforts of men working

²⁵Ibid., p. 675.

²⁶Ibid., p. 676.

²⁷Ibid., p. 676.

²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

with devices already in existence in the international system. They are also convinced of the inevitability of this transition. Even Hodges' commitment to "realism" did not hinder him from applying moral principles and goals to political actions. With the rapidly shrinking size of the world, both authors believe that men will become much more aware of their common humanity and naturally integrate. Apparently, Hodges' realism extended only to the objective of supplying the student of international relations with up-to-date information. His ultimate concern lay in presenting a plan for transcending the world of nation-states.

This normative orientation was to disappear in the textbooks with the approaching dominance of the power politics approach, and not to reappear again until the 1970's.

In order to understand the reemergence of the prescriptive textbooks in the 1970's, two questions must be considered. First, why has there been such a complete disregard of this type of text from the mid-1930's to the mid-1970's? Also, what is responsible for their reappearance in the 1970's? Both of these questions are linked together and can be answered by taking a brief look at what academics in the field of international relations were concerned with during the interval and what type of political events spurred such a revival.

The Hodges' text was described as a transitional book because of its overall utopian orientation combined with its

flirtation with realism. After the publication of this text, most international relations textbooks (100% in this survey) reflected international relations scholars' involvement with the development of an overall theory of international relations. As will be discussed at a later time in this study, international events had pushed academics toward the almost unanimous acceptance of a realist orientation. The centerpiece of this "theory" became the discussion of "high politics" concentrating on the subjects of security, power, and prestige. The fragmentation and unpredictable nature of the international environment had forced academics to focus on the present rather than the future.

The preoccupation with this type of functional investigation severely limited the development of prescriptive texts. The prescriptive orientation goes hand-in-hand with the hope of building a better world. The new emphasis on the investigation of how the nation-state system operates naturally limited the need for texts devoted to how the world ought to be functioning. This reaction was not confined only to the world of academics. Many world leaders and concerned citizens placed the blame for World War I and World War II on the shoulders of those who proffered the normative approach to world politics.

Were conditions in the late 1960's and early 1970's similar to those which gave rise to the prescriptive texts

in the 1930's? In the 1930's the prescriptive textbook writers were impressed by the growing interdependence of the world. They believed that inevitable world unity could be hurried along through the development of devices such as international organizations and the propagation of a cosmopolitan way of thinking. Prescribing a moral, united world of the future was more important than describing the actual operation of the international system.

The 1970's did not have a Woodrow Wilson or League of Nations to inspire such an optimistic view of the future. The United Nations was interpreted by many critics as an organization which merely helped the present nation-state system function more easily; it was unrealistic to believe that the U.N. was the means through which a world unity could result. Not only were the men and devices which could inspire such an optimistic attitude missing; but the hope for a better future which characterized the post-World War I world was not to be found during the late sixties and early 1970's.

Like the 1930's, many social scientists believed that civilization had entered a wholly new era. However, in place of the dreams of unity, terms like the Age of Anxiety, Age of Anarchy, or Age of Uncertainty reflected the sense of bewilderment in the face of ceaseless change.²⁹

²⁹Strazer, et al., The Mainstream of Civilization (NY: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc. 1969), p. 830.

Problems which had a long history seemed to be reaching a point of crisis in the 1960's. The population explosion, the nuclear revolution, and the revolution of rising expectations were three major developments which had been allowed to mature into challenges which actually threatened the future of our entire world.

The population explosion, the nuclear threat, and the revolution of rising expectations may have been realized as potentially worldwide threats, but political and ideological rivalries prevented cooperation between the various nations for the good of mankind. As in the case of the Great Depression, solutions were once again national in their formulation. The problems had their roots in the nation-state system, and it seemed that only an alteration in the existing power configuration would provide an answer to these crises. It is difficult to imagine such a change taking place peacefully in the near future.

The prescriptive textbook writers of the 1970's were quite aware of the worldwide implications such problems held for mankind. The threat of the ecological damage which was being wreaked upon the earth added to their apprehensive view of the future. The new age of man was seen by these writers as one laden with such all-encompassing dangers, that the whole existence of mankind and the earth was not to be taken for granted. The unity of man was one

which would be borne out of a fear and threat to the future, according to these authors.

The main theme of the prescriptive texts of the seventies is that--"the thrust of changing conditions and forces will make a politics of the planet earth a necessity."³⁰ This was quite a different perspective than that taken by prescriptive writers in the thirties. World unity for the earlier authors was to be a result of the technological and communication advances of man. Political and national barriers were not considered strong enough to stop this tide of cosmopolitanism. Cooperation would predictably result with the shrinking of the world's geography and the building of international institutions.

In the 1970's, the revolutionary developments of our time were seen as only aggravating existing tension and fears. Cooperation could not result from merely increased interaction among the nation-states. The prescriptive writers of the 1970's saw this closeness of the world as only precipitating further conflict. International institution-building was regarded as providing short-term cures for the world crises confronting mankind.

The prescriptive writers in the 1970's believed that the problems of the world held the solutions to world

³⁰The Sprouts, Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth (NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1971), p. VI.

disunity. This approach can be described as a more geocentric nature than that of the earlier prescriptive writers. In the 1970's, the problems of mankind were believed to offer for the first time a perspective from which to view the whole of the physical world. "It is a situation tellingly summed up by Adlai Stevenson in his last speech as ambassador to the United Nations: 'We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship . . . preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give our fragile craft.'"³¹ According to these textbook writers, the means for overcoming parochialism exists today in the realization that the contemporary world is bound together by a "common community of life or death."³²

One of the earliest books of this type was the text, Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth by Margaret and Harold Sprout which was published in 1971. The Sprouts begin the book with a plea to end the preoccupation with the present by international relations scholars, "In no sector of human affairs is it more imperative to be future-oriented; to break through the tyranny of the present over the imagination."³³ The high politics of security, power, and prestige

³¹Richard W. Sterling, Macropolitics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), p. 331.

³²Ibid., p. 8.

³³Sprouts, Planet Earth, p. V.

have blocked the awareness of "a more insidious threat to the human future--the threat of a world-wide catastrophe through the progressive decay and destruction of the ecology of the earth."³⁴

The Sprouts parallel the consequences of their grim reality with a war fought with all of the nuclear weapons in existence. The source of the impending ecological disaster is the process of economic development or what has been called modernization. Industrialization is not a new phenomena; the Sprouts trace the ecological crisis as having its origins two centuries ago in England. During the 1970's, the industrial revolution has finally culminated in what the Sprouts regard as the major threat to the human race.

The book is divided into four sections. Part I delineates the book's ecological perspective, providing a historical background of the nation-state system. Part II focuses on the present international order and its elements (e.g. state system, international actors, and strategies). The heart of the book is Part III. The Sprouts in this section, "Explore salient sectors of our changing environment, social as well as physical, for the purpose of identifying and assessing both their short-term and longer-range

³⁴Ibid., p. V.

implications for public order and survival upon the planet."³⁵ Such factors as the population explosion, the finite resources of the earth, the role of technology, and transnational norms and institutions are considered in light of the Sprouts' ecological perspective. Finally, Part IV presents a speculative look at the future of the "politics of the planet earth" and the effects many of these new realities may have on the political sphere.

The prescriptive writers of the 1930's saw the new technology developed by man as a point of entry for the study of present and future politics among nations. The Sprouts follow the same pattern, but with a changed emphasis. Before, the earlier authors interpreted technology as a positive force uniting the world. The Sprouts believe that the negative byproducts of technology, the destruction of the ecological environment, will force the world to unite. The Sprouts state, "Such a massive environmental change cannot be confined within the geographic space of one country; yet, we are encumbered with an archaic, fragmented international system of jurisdiction and authority that survives from an era when the human population of the earth was not one but many."³⁶ According to the Sprouts, the ecological crisis has become the central problem of international politics.

³⁵Ibid., p. VI.

³⁶Ibid., p. 31.

The Sprouts temper their thesis concerning world unity with the awareness that it is difficult to believe that the nation-state will be replaced. In the past, the study of international politics has given greater attention to the power relations and influence among the greater powers. They believe it is now time to take note of opposite working forces. The problems of today are of such high priority that it is difficult for any one government to deal with them. The Sprouts state, "We find it reasonable to anticipate that outdated sovereignty and narrow national interests will continue to give ground in practice if not in principle, before the pressures toward a more integrated politics of the planet earth."³⁷ It is possible according to the Sprouts to see incremental erosion of state sovereignty perhaps before the end of this century. "We may already be far advanced along the road toward a politics of the planet."³⁸

This same theme dominates Richard Sterling's text, Macropolitics International Relations in a Global Society. Written in 1974, the book's major concern is with the future and how a more unified international system can become an assured part of this future. Sterling is quite imaginative in his explanation of the need for a more normative

³⁷Ibid., p. 463.

³⁸Ibid., p. 487.

interpretation of international relations. He makes use of a method usually identified with economics to make the subject matter more understandable. He divides the study of international relations into macro and micropolitics. According to Sterling, when international relations is considered in this manner, the student can begin to think about the future as well as the present political environment.

The micropolitical world is featured in the first part of Sterling's book. "Microanalysis, in any context, can be understood as assigning greater value to the parts than to the whole within which the parts function."³⁹ In the international context, Sterling believes that these micropolitical valuations find their most significant expression in the still-dominant assumptions concerning the supremacy of the sovereign state. Therefore, in this section of the book he reviews the traditional elements which have characterized international relations: power, force and war, ideology, nationalism, imperialism, international law, and international organization. Sterling concludes Part I by raising a question which becomes the major theme of his book--"Can an international system of political thought and action based on micropolitical values cope successfully with a world in radical transformation, a transformation whose

³⁹Sterling, Macropolitics, p. XI.

chief effect is to compress time and space and thus to fuse whole and part, sector and environment?"⁴⁰

Obviously, Sterling does not believe that this is possible. Like the Sprouts, he reviews many of the significant problems which have "cast the human race in a predicament without historical parallel."⁴¹ According to Sterling, "The obstacles to developing creative policies were never more formidable, but man's resources have never been more abundant."⁴² In order to cope with problems such as the population explosion, world poverty, and the ecological crisis an interdependency among nations must develop.

Sterling's method for bringing about the unity of nation-states differs slightly from the Sprouts' solution. He believes, like the Sprouts, that the problems of the world have reached such drastic proportions that only a transnational solution will have any effect. However, he also believes that a macropolitical perspective will help in altering the present parochial-minded thinking in world politics. This reminds one of the earlier plea for a "cosmopolitan perspective" by Charles Hodges in his 1931 edition of The Background of International Relations.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. XI.

⁴¹Ibid., p. IX.

⁴²Ibid., p. XI.

Part II of Sterling's book is entitled the "Macro-political World," and is similar to the Hodges' text. Each author places an emphasis on the importance of a truly international perspective in world politics. This implies that both Sterling and Hodges believe that the discipline may actually be the catalyst for effecting change in world politics. The major difference in their theses is that Hodges sees the advancement of technology as automatically bringing men closer together, while Sterling sees the more destructive byproducts of industrialization as necessitating a greater unity of mankind.

Because of these worldwide problems, Sterling indicts the discipline of international relations for backing a wide-angled, geocentric perspective. However, unlike Hodges, he does not stop with just this one prescription for change. The industrial revolution has not only marred the earth's ecological system, but also has limited the growth of political egalitarianism. Sterling believes it is time to "reaffirm the political commitment to human equality, but this time on a transnational basis."⁴³ He is quite aware that the building of a world society requires much more than just the transformation of the discipline of international relations. Sterling states, "There must occur a far-reaching global redistribution of power, wealth,

⁴³Ibid., p. 20.

education, and status if a viable world society is to become a reality."⁴⁴ If such a monumental change takes place, Sterling believes parochialism will cease to exist.

Violence is not the means by which to achieve a world community according to Sterling. At the conclusion of his book he states that a variety of methods and institutions must be employed to reach this end. The Sprouts relied primarily on the dangers of an ecological disaster, forcing an integration of mankind. Sterling believes such macro-political problems will foster an awareness of the need for a human community, but "the approaches to world community must necessarily be many in order to accommodate the diverse needs and urgencies of the individual states whose commitment to membership must sooner or later be obtained."⁴⁵ Besides concrete methods such as international institution-building, intergovernmental cooperation, and the reorientation of international relations, a new state of mind must exist. Sterling states, "Transformation from the micro-political to the macropolitical can't be consummated until all men and all societies are valued as ends in themselves and therefore as equals."⁴⁶

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 571.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 576.

David Finlay and Thomas Hovet's 7304: International Relations on the Planet Earth, published in 1975 is another text in this study which can be defined as a prescriptive book. Once again the authors are primarily concerned with the future of the international environment and have a preference for a united world of the future. They are involved with questions such as, "What might be the state of international relations twenty years (7304 days) from now."⁴⁷ In reference to such questions, the authors state, "We should become clear about the futures which we do not want (e.g. extinction as a species through nuclear radiation or starvation) and begin to design those which are preferable."⁴⁸

The authors' impetus for the writing of this text is not different from the authors' of the other two books classified as prescriptive texts in the 1970's. Finlay and Hovet state that, "the study of international relations should be concerned with the multiplicity of choices that governments and individuals make in their separate but inclusive international relations."⁴⁹ These choices have become even more important because of the dangerous realities which confront mankind. Failure to deal effectively with

⁴⁷David J. Finlay and Thomas Hovet, 7304: International Relations on the Planet Earth (NY: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), p. IX.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. IX.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. IX.

such problems could mean the total annihilation of the human race.

Finlay and Hovet share the normative perspective or approach presented by the Sprouts. The authors state, "Our analytical orientation follows Harold and Margaret Sprout's ecological perspective, the ecological way of seeing and comprehending envisages international relations as a system of relationships among interdependencies, earth-related communities that share with one another an increasingly crowded planet."⁵⁰ This means a move from the centrality of power as an organizing concept in international relations to a more future-oriented emphasis.

In the chapters which follow, Finlay and Hovet "highlight a few of the world's most pressing problems."⁵¹ Finlay and Hovet distinguish between qualitative and quantitative realities which confront all nation-states. Environmental pollution, nuclear warhead tonnage, and starvation are all considered quantitative problems by the authors and are dealt with in separate chapters. The qualitative realities relate to the nation-state system--nationalism, chauvinism, ethnocentrism, racism and above all national self-interest. Finlay and Hovet state, "At best self-interest may bring security and prosperity to a nation; at worst, it

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 33.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 11.

represents a psychotic attachment to views that have no relations to the world situation."⁵² A new global strategy is needed to deal with problems such as these.

In order to foster a new "international accountability and consciousness," the authors offer a multi-pronged attack. They begin with the thesis which was first offered by the Sprouts; the world problems are of such magnitude that all of human existence has become precarious. However, this alone will not directly bring about a new world unity. According to Finlay and Hovet, "It is extremely difficult to develop a sense of long-range purpose in any capitalistic economy or modern bureaucratic state."⁵³

Finlay and Hovet confine their various solutions to methods which must begin within each nation-state. Sterling's text was less pragmatic, in that he never got very specific on how a redistribution of the world's resources would be initiated. The first suggestion offered by Finlay and Hovet is the "creation of counter-organizations that monitor actions of established institutions--national, international, governmental, and private."⁵⁴ These organizations should be cast in the mold of various consumer advocate groups like Nader's Raiders. This will create a dialogue

⁵²Ibid., p. 5.

⁵³Ibid., p. 350.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 351.

between the citizens of various nations and promote the exchange of ideas and information.

Finlay and Hovet also believe that it is the responsibility of the United States to "bring the world closer to the revolution in conscience and consciousness upon which survival and peace depend."⁵⁵ The U.S., according to the authors, should redefine her self-interests, so that our military and economic policies do not contradict our idealism and rhetoric. The primary goal of the United States should be the fostering of a national and international attitude which would aid in the transition to a world community. Finlay and Hovet admit that this is quite difficult, since it contradicts all of the values and priorities which any nation would regard as essential.

Finally, the authors ask the individual to alter his or her own personal attitudes toward international relations. Finlay and Hovet state, "Without citizen participation and support, administrators and lawmakers will continue to serve special interests and fail to sense the enormity of their responsibility to the general welfare."⁵⁶ All people are urged by the authors not to cling to old ways and become "internationalists." These are much more specific suggestions than those offered by the authors of the latter two 1970's prescriptive texts.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 354-55.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 362.

The final prescriptive text to be considered was written by Theodore Couloumbis and James Wolfe--Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice. This 1978 text breaks sharply from the format presented by Finlay and Hovet. Couloumbis and Wolfe offer a more comprehensive treatment of international relations than that presented by Finlay and Hovet.

Before the authors discuss their approach, they state the impetus behind their decision to write the text:

The most descriptive word that comes to mind in qualifying this text is "balance." Our book has been consciously designed to bridge gaps that have divided the study of international relations at both the teaching and the research levels. Methodologically, our text seeks to synthesize the very best from the behavioralist and the traditionalist orientations of our discipline. As such it presents itself as an eclectic approach to the Traditionalist-versus-Scientific debate.⁵⁷

This introductory note suggests that the text would be difficult to classify because of its commitment to synthesis. However, as one reads further it is easy to detect the prescriptive orientation of the authors.

"The unifying theme of this book is the humanistic concept of politics,"⁵⁸ according to Couloumbis and Wolfe. The role of politics is to blend the affairs of people acting as individuals, groups, nations, alliances, empires, and

⁵⁷Theodore Couloumbis and James Wolfe, Introduction to International Relations (NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978, p. 367.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 10.

transnational and international organizations, and seeking to maximize their individual and collective well-being. The authors believe that the basic challenge of all politics is to arrive at a fair and workable harmonization of conflicting individual groups and aggregate human needs. In well-functioning societies, organized, sensitive, and legitimate institutions offer the necessary regulatory mechanisms for effective and equitable distribution of opportunities, incomes, and responsibilities. For Couloumbis and Wolfe, the main problem with the international system has been the absence of effective and legitimate political institutions. In an atmosphere of relative international anarchy, diplomacy and war have sought to fill the globe's institutional gap. The central purpose of the book is to discuss the inadequate international system. Along with this analysis Couloumbis and Wolfe offer many recommendations for a more stable and secure future.⁵⁹

The authors expand upon this "humanistic" approach to international relations by viewing politics from two perspectives. The first perspective considers the nation-state to be the ultimate political entity. "Politics from this perspective is the struggle for national power and the maximization of interest."⁶⁰ The second perspective looks

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 376.

beyond the nation-state and emphasizes global rather than national interest. Couloumbis and Wolfe seek to convert the reader to the second perspective. They see this alternative as "the quest for the good life for all mankind."⁶¹

The authors state:

More and more, the distinction between these two perspectives is losing its relevance. With growing interdependence at the global level, the suffering or happiness of some can no longer be insulated from the quality of life of others on our planet. Hunger, disease, pollution, and alienation can no longer be confined to certain areas of our earth. Unless they are treated as problems that can affect the well-being of all mankind, they will not be cured. But if they are not cured, they will aggravate human relationships and degenerate into wars at the expense of us all.⁶²

Couloumbis and Wolfe's recommendation is that coming generations of societal leaders will face, rather than evade, these issues and that public and private institutions will be designed to regulate and eliminate these problems.

What the authors are promoting is increased governmental interventionism. The development of new institutions, if not watched carefully, could become oppressive. Couloumbis and Wolfe believe that the new institutions should be generated and regulated through systems of government that are democratic on a global scale. The authors state:

Perhaps the days of the open frontier of inexhaustible resources opportunities, of rugged

⁶¹Ibid., p. 376.

⁶²Ibid., p. 376.

individualism are gone forever. Whether we are the inhabitants of democracies, of communist, or socialist countries, or of traditional, or managerial authoritarian states, the future will probably bring increased institutional intervention in our daily lives.⁶³

In order to preserve our freedom and have these institutions reflect our needs and interests, Couloumbis and Wolfe call for active participation. "Participatory interventionism will have much more of a human face than authoritarian, dictatorial, scientific, and generally elitist interventionism."⁶⁴

At this point it appears that the Couloumbis and Wolfe book represents the prescriptive approach as well as many of the preceding texts. However, when one becomes familiar with the structure of the text, it is obvious that the book has more to offer than recommendations for the future.

Couloumbis and Wolfe present the student with a good summary of how the discipline of international relations has developed up to the present time. In many of the prescriptive texts the singular emphasis is placed upon emphasizing the need for change and then describing how such a change can transpire. Couloumbis and Wolfe go beyond this in their presentation. Rather than leaving the reader with only a feeling of urgency concerning the need to alter the international system, the student also comes away with a

⁶³Ibid., p. 377.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 377.

knowledge of different theories, orientation, modes of behavior in international relations. In other words, the Couloumbis and Wolfe text has the advantage of communicating a great amount of data and information which forms the substance of the discipline.

The ability to summarize research which has taken place in the field over the last fifty years leaves the student with the feeling that he or she is not only familiar with the international environment but also with the discipline itself. For example, in Part I of the text, "International Relations in a Political Setting," the reader is presented with a chronicling of the major approaches to international relations, alternative styles of politics, and conflicting theories of international relations.

The section on the alternative styles of politics is particularly useful in demonstrating how the authors combine the prescriptive approach with the concern for a "balanced" text. Couloumbis and Wolfe discuss three approaches to the study of politics:

The first is the realist approach. This approach argues that politics should be played in a realistic fashion. Power for the realist is the essence of politics. The second approach is the idealist. The idealist approach argues that people should abandon ineffective modes of behavior and instead act with reason, knowledge, and compassion. The third approach is the empirical-scientific. The strict proponents of this approach argue that

politics should merely be observed and reported for what it is or has been rather than what it should be.⁶⁵

Couloumbis and Wolfe's opinion concerning these three approaches is to recommend that the political scientist become a social engineer. The authors feel that scientifically oriented scholars have realized that by serving only as human cameras and tape recorders they have been fulfilling useful functions, but in no way positively affecting or changing their environment.⁶⁶ The authors suggest that it is time for the international relations scholar to move beyond description and explanation and into the realm of action.⁶⁷ However, they caution social scientists to be extremely careful in differentiating between "engineering projects that are socially desirable and permissible and those that may prove harmful."⁶⁸

Throughout the text, the reader regularly finds this link between a description of what exists and what ought to be done. Couloumbis and Wolfe are not as specific in presenting their plan for world unity as many of the other prescriptive writers, but their wish to discontinue the

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 23.

present pattern of international relations is easily discernible. The analysis of international organizations presented at a later time in this study further illuminates Couloumbis and Wolfe's prescription for the future conduct of international relations. Their recommendations are directly tied to the future of international organizations.

The eclectic approach of the authors is an element which is missing from many of the prescriptive texts. Rather than using the text as only a platform for pointing out deficiencies in the international system and offering solutions, the authors also supply the students with a summation of the history of views within the discipline. This extends beyond the Traditionalist-Scientific debate. In considering each topic, conflicting interpretations and debates which have formed the history of the subject matter are discussed. (For example, the Naturalist-Positivist debate introduces the subject of international law.) A student introduced to a subject in this manner receives a good grounding in the origins and the conflict which surrounds the topic.

The fact that international relations has reached a level of maturity explains the dual characteristics of the Couloumbis and Wolfe text. A reliance on current events or philosophizing about the future can no longer form the substance of an introductory text. The field's boundaries and scope have become more well-defined. Writers of the texts

are beginning to feel a responsibility to relate the debates which have become an integral part of the discipline. After about fifty years of academic research, the field of international relations has taken on a history of its own. Since this history of research and debates forms the substance of the discipline, Couloumbis and Wolfe feel that an introductory student must become familiar with this subject matter as well as with an understanding of how the international system operates.

Conclusion

In all of the six prescriptive texts reviewed, the common theme has been the desire by the authors to see the existing nation-state system transformed into a world order which is devoid of war, disunity, and conflicting interests. This normative approach compels the reader to think beyond the scope of the present international system and to become future-oriented. These authors feel that the presentation of ideals and goals should be a very significant part of the discipline of international relations.

The Mowat text, International Relations (1931), reflects the prescriptive orientation most clearly. In other words, in a ranking of the six textbooks, the Mowat text is the closest to the "ideal" prescriptive textbook. Mowat believed that the new international system of unity was almost upon us. The great advances in technology and also

communications allowed an increasing interaction among the nations of the world. Coupled with the new diplomacy which was embodied in the League of Nations, a new cosmopolitan attitude was believed to be taking root among the citizens of nation-states. Both the present and the future were described by Mowat in terms of this over-all trend toward world integration.

The Background of International Relations, published in 1931 can be ranked second to the Mowat text based upon his commitment to the prescriptive approach. Hodges maintained the same general outlook as Mowat. He believed that industrialization had opened the doors to a new era of mankind. The increased international interaction of both individuals and nation-states would assure further cooperation and integration among the peoples of the world. Like Mowat's book, describing this process and suggesting methods for accelerating this movement were the main features of the Hodges' text.

There was another important theme contained in The Background of International Relations, Hodges stated that it was equally important to view the international environment from a realistic perspective. He proceeded to supply the reader with extensive factual and current event information concerning the contemporary nation-state system. This was a hallmark of the power politics approach. However, Hodges'

commitment to realism stopped short of the basic requirements needed to classify his text in this category. His book did not use the concept of power as the central theme, nor did his "realism" affect his future-oriented perspective. Hodges' realistic approach was confined to an attempt to merely inform the reader of the multitude of events which were helping shape the world of the future. This somewhat diluted the prescriptive approach which was much more clearly delineated by Mowat.

The Sprout, Sterling, Finlay-Hovet texts can all be grouped together in this ranking of textbooks. The Mowat text most closely approximates the ideal prescriptive text; the Hodges book faintly exhibits characteristics common to the power politics approach; and all three of these 1970's texts have displayed an even greater mixture of the power politics approach, combined with their basic prescriptive orientation. This is to be expected since the power politics texts had dominated the profession for almost forty years prior to the publication of these new prescriptive texts.

Sprout, Sterling, and Finlay and Hovet all begin their texts with the same awareness as Mowat and Hodges. They see a new era beginning for mankind due to the advance in science and technology. Only this time, it is the ecological damage and social inequalities which are a byproduct of the

advancements in technology which make the unification of nation-states a necessity. The earlier prescriptive writers did not realize the kind of destruction industrialization could cause, nor were they conscious of the extreme difficulty inherent in the attempt to transcend nationalism, sovereignty, and the national interests of the nation-state.

These new prescriptive writers owe a debt to the authors of the power politics books. They begin with the concept of power in their texts, but do not believe that this must be the enduring principle of politics; rather, it is at present applicable to the contemporary decentralized nature of the international system. However, the threats to mankind are of such magnitude that concepts such as state sovereignty must be recognized as obsolete and replaced by a politics of unity. Sterling states, "In today's world there is a desperate need for greater unity. In these circumstances a rational foreign policy might read: Hold in defensive reserve the techniques of balance of power; assume the offensive with the techniques of unity."⁶⁹ All three texts state the proposition that an international interest would more clearly benefit men and nations, one which redefines security on a global scale

⁶⁹ Sterling, Macropolitics, p. 72.

in order to include the ecological and economic threats to the world.

In the end, it becomes obvious that the prescriptive texts of the 1970's have been tempered by experience and scholarly dispute of past decades. The Couloumbis and Wolfe text, which can be classified as the least pure of the prescriptive texts, reveals a new interest of many textbook writers of the 1970's. This interest can be considered cross-sectional, since many texts outside the prescriptive approach have registered a similar concern. By the latter part of the 1970's the discipline itself was attracting a great deal of attention from textbook authors. Couloumbis and Wolfe retain a prescriptive approach, but pay special attention to the debates which have typified the discipline since its beginnings. This suggests that the discipline has reached a certain degree of maturity, since there are now subjects and concepts which directly relate to the field. The boundaries of the discipline have become more well defined. The Couloumbis and Wolfe text is a harbinger of the future. It may be that authors will see their task as a dual one--explain how the international system operates and relate the history of the discipline.

CHAPTER IV

THE POWER POLITICS TEXTBOOKS

POWER POLITICS TEXTBOOKS

"The realist school of thought dominated the study of international relations in the United States from 1940 to 1960."¹ Much of realist theory is a critique of utopianism; it stresses the nation-state as the principal unit of analysis and downplays the importance of the development of norms of international behavior. Unlike the utopians, the realists do not believe that the driving force of history is toward world integration. Because man is considered evil and power-seeking, the main policies of nation-states often result in conflicting national objectives, some of which lead to war.

The realists regarded utopian thinking as dangerous in attempting to preserve both national and international stability. International law and organization, long considered the harbingers of world unity, were considered ineffective tools in the maintenance of peace. "Most realists agree that the balance of power is a much more efficient device in attaining such an end. When power is balanced among several nations, no one nation can achieve international hegemony."²

¹James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, (NY: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1971), p. 65.

²Ibid., p. 66.

Power becomes the centralizing concept for these theorists and also the dominant theme of the textbooks espousing a realist orientation. In the texts, the authors emphasize the importance of national security and the struggle for power in the foreign policy of the major states. "They give historical illustrations of practices of imperialism and of the operation of power equilibrium with some attention to military strategy, and maintain a certain skepticism as to the possibility of a law-governed world of extensive international cooperation or of effective international organization."³

Describing the conflictual nature of international relations became the intent of power politics authors. The prescriptive writers structured their texts with an emphasis on the features of the international system which would give rise to unity. The dominance of this normative orientation during the early decades of the twentieth century became for the power politics writers a major cause of World War II. Especially after the war, this indictment became almost universal among scholars.

The years from 1919 to 1939 were marked by a succession of political and economic crises. During this period the feeling of optimism which had characterized utopianism was

³Quincy Wright, The Study of International Relations, (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), p. 71.

slowly dying out. Although there were a few strongholds of idealism remaining in the profession, many scholars had labeled such notions as self-deluding by the time of the mid-1930's. As mentioned earlier, the great depression, the unrest in Germany, and Japan's aggression into Manchuria in 1931 assisted many political scientists in reaching such a conclusion.

Prior to the onset of World War II, Frederick Schuman had two editions of his International Politics (1933, 1937) published. These texts were the forebearers of the power politics books which were to dominate international relations from 1945 to the mid-1960's. Schuman believed that a text of this nature was needed at an even earlier date.

Schuman begins his text in the classic style of the power politics author. He expresses a dissatisfaction with the utopian school of thought, accepts the orientation of a realist, and is quite apprehensive concerning the future. He states:

The analysis of international politics attempted in the following pages does not postulate the inevitability of sweetness and light or support the illusion that the law of the jungle in the international anarchy has by some late magic been superseded by the morality of the millennium. The approach is rather that of Realpolitik characterized by Machiavellian detachment and an earnest effort to delve beneath phraseology to underlying realities.⁴

⁴Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics, 1st ed., (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), p. VIII.

Schuman adds that one must also deal with the social and economic configurations of human relations in order to reach this realistic understanding.

Schuman believes it is time to deal with the subject of international relations from the point of view of the "new Political Science."⁵ He describes this new approach as, "a concern with the description and analysis of power in society--i.e. with the patterns of social contacts which are suggested by such words as rulers and ruled, common and obedience, domination and subordination, authority and allegiance."⁶ Power became the central concept in this pioneering text on international relations.

A review of Schuman's book in the Political Science Quarterly⁷ in September of 1934 reveals the mixed response which his text received by academics. According to Thomas Peardon, the reviewer:

Nor is the reviewer satisfied that the realities of international relations can be pictured without a larger share of attention to the League and similar institutions than the author gives. Even if one concludes, as indeed the logic of events seem to indicate one must, that we have now passed from a post-war to a pre-war era, it

⁵Ibid., p. XI-XIII.

⁶Ibid., p. XII.

⁷Review of Schuman's International Politics, (NY: Political Science Quarterly, Sept., 1934).

may still be argued that the central fact of international politics since 1918, that which gives shape and distinction to this period as did the Confederation of Europe to the decade immediately after Vienna, has been the attempt to establish the collective security system.⁸

Peardon concludes that Schuman's text is the best single volume available since it not only presents the facts, but also a philosophy of international relations.

After reading Schuman's text, there can be no doubt that he presents the facts. This first edition of his work was approximately nine hundred pages long (a length for which he apologizes in later editions). Schuman must have realized that his text was to receive a vast amount of criticism. In order to make sure the text sold on the market, it would be prudent to include a vague likeness to the preceding texts. Schuman does this by incorporating a voluminous amount of historical data. Even those critical of Schuman's emphasis on power would have to be impressed with the completeness and factual detail which characterized his study.

Schuman assumes that the key to dealing with contemporary international problems is based upon an understanding of the Western State System. Schuman states, "This orientation assumes that the phenomena of international politics can be dealt with most fruitfully if they

⁸Political Science Quarterly, Sept., 1934.

are envisaged as aspects of the whole pattern of political behavior and power relations which has developed in western civilization."⁹ Thus, the structure revolves around the cultural origins, the institutionalized forms, and the apparent prospects of the Western State System.

The four major divisions of Schuman's book are devoted to the forementioned tasks. These divisions are basically the same from the first edition (1933) through to the final seventh edition published in 1969. "Book One--Origins" presents a history of the Western State System. Schuman begins this analysis from the time of the Greek city-states and extends it to the twentieth century. The second section is entitled, "Book Two--Forms." Schuman examines, "the legal and institutional foundations of the System, the established principles of law observed by its members, the agencies of diplomacy, and the mechanisms of international intercourse and cooperation."¹⁰ These forms are described by Schuman as the "anatomy of international politics."¹¹ The third part of the text is "Book Three-Forces;" "a study of the purposes, motives, and objectives which move the players to action."¹² In this section,

⁹Schuman, International Politics, 1st ed., p. XIII.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 121.

¹¹Ibid., p. 121.

¹²Ibid., p. 121.

Schuman considers nationalism, the politics of power, and the foreign policies of the great powers. In later editions of power politics texts, an elaborated version of just this one section by Schuman would make up the entirety of many textbooks. Schuman concludes with "Book Four--Prospects," a section which is basically prescriptive in nature. Here, Schuman attempts to predict the future of the nation-state system through the analysis of current trends in the international environment. The addition of this chapter may have also helped to ease the acceptance of this new approach, since it was reminiscent of the prescriptive texts of utopian authors.

In the year of 1933, Schuman foresees inevitable destruction. The rearmament of the revisionist States and Japan's aggression into China will lead to "a devastation of Central Europe on a scale unknown since the Thirty Years' War."¹³ This bleak forecast by Schuman does not prevent him from expressing a hope for world unity. Schuman states, "A new internationalism must be brought into being to furnish the necessary emotional bases for world citizenship and world federation. Only in this fashion can a true 'international government' be solidly

¹³Ibid., p. 851.

established and rendered capable of dealing with contemporary problems."¹⁴

Schuman is not willing to come out in support of a method for achieving this goal. He states, "From the point of view of the Western State System, the most significant cleavage of views and values throughout the world is between those who are striving, in one way or another to promote the political unification of the world society and those who are opposed to such efforts and are content with the present political configuration of Western Civilization."¹⁵ He then reviews various methods of unification suggested by different groups and individuals (i.e. Marxists, Fascists, humanitarians), but does not come out in full support of any one plan.

Schuman indicts the Marxists for the violent nature of their revolution. He believes that a world revolution would be so destructive that there would be little chance for reconstruction. Liberal ideals as they are embodied in the League of Nations are also treated with a certain reserve by Schuman. He states, "The common interests, values, attitudes and ideologies which are the prerequisites of a successful union are non-institutional,

¹⁴Ibid., p. 853.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 853.

or are existent in insufficient degree to move men to effective action."¹⁶ He does not supply the reader with a method by which "individualistic societies can renounce uncontrolled acquisitions, the diplomacy of power, profits, and prestige,"¹⁷ so that unity may be achieved.

Concluding with a hope for unity does not necessarily push Schuman's text into the prescriptive category. Schuman seems to be experiencing what can be labeled "cognitive-dissonance." Throughout the major portion of his volume, Schuman relates a view of the international environment which is characterized by conflict. This is not the way he desires the world to be; but the determining concept of power precludes the prospects for unity in the immediate future. Thus, Schuman does not include a method by which world integration can be attained nor does he see the advances in technology or international organizations building as particularly strong forces in the promotion of world cooperation.

In his second edition (1937), Schuman becomes more sophisticated in stating his theory of the new "Realpolitik." He relates three assumptions which reflect his unfaltering belief in a realist approach, but also his hope for unity: "1) living conditions are jeopardized by the political

¹⁶Ibid., p. 836.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 836.

fragmentation of Western Civilization; 2) the necessary integration and unification of the world society into a stable community offering to its members the benefits of orderly cooperation and justice under law is rendered impossible for the present by the stubbornly irreducible division of the world into jealous tribes; 3) international issues of the immediate future revolve about the offensives of the Fascist powers and the indisposition of the democratic states to offer effective opposition to this drive toward hegemony."¹⁸ Because of the ineffectiveness of the diplomacy of the past, Schuman believes that war will almost surely break out before the time arrives for a third edition of his work.

This second edition follows the same format as Schuman's first book. Most of the changes are a matter of updating events of the past four years. For example, the March 17, 1937, announcement that Tokyo would not accept a fourteen-inch limitation on battleship guns provided for in the London Treaty on Disarmament indicated that a new arms race had definitely begun. Devices which were to limit the probability of conflict such as the League of Nations were seen by Schuman as impotent, antiquated diplomatic techniques which had little chance of limiting the possibility of impending world war.

¹⁸Schuman, International Politics, 2nd ed., p. VIII.

In the final chapter of Schuman's second edition (1937), a new paragraph is added to the text. Although the chapter bears the same name ("Future of the Western State System") as in the first edition, the section dealing with unification has a changed title; from "Left and Right from Chaos" to "The Road to Armageddon." This signifies the pessimistic attitude towards the possibility of unification which Schuman has assumed. The new paragraph deals with the causes of conflict. So near to World War II, Schuman sees economics as the root cause of the impending world crisis:

Poverty, in an enormously productive world economy resting upon private property and profits flows not from scarcity of goods but from the maldistribution of productivity and purchasing power within and between nations. These maladjustments are in turn a consequence of the progressive disappearance of the free market. These forces begin by closing markets through price-fixing and other barriers to commerce and end with suicidal combats between competing national monopolies for access to the vanishing markets of a world in which the free exchange of goods has been destroyed.¹⁹

In Schuman's estimation, poverty causes war and vice versa.

This is the historical context which has given rise to the presently accelerating crisis. Fascism is defined by Schuman as a mass movement which has responded to the insecurities and frightened members of the lower middle class. Schuman points to these people as the real sufferers

¹⁹Ibid., p. 732.

of the Great Depression--"A lost generation surrendered itself in fevered frenzy to military romance."²⁰ Under these circumstances, Schuman believes that, "world unity has become a fantasy in a planet hopelessly divided among warring faction."²¹ It seems that it is an impossible task to create a "mass movement" which is true to such a name, and universal in its membership and purpose.

A new sense of urgency is found in the 1941 edition of Schuman's work. A pessimistic and unsure attitude concerning the future is first evidenced in the subtitle of the book. Rather than International Politics--An Introduction to the Western State System, it has become International Politics--The Western State System in Transition. Other obvious changes are the alterations of the titles of the various major sections of his book. For example, Book Two changes from "Forms" to "World Order," and Book Three becomes "World Anarchy" instead of entitled "Forces." Schuman's approach in this third edition is the same as in the first two, but once again he updates the volume in terms of current events.

Schuman makes a strong plea for the involvement of the United States in the present international crisis. At the time of the printing of this third edition, Pearl Harbor had

²⁰Ibid., p. 733.

²¹Ibid., p. 733.

not yet automatically determined U.S. participation. Therefore, Schuman makes a strong case in the name of world responsibility for the United States to respond to Britain's situation and disregard policies of isolationism. He states :

With the American defense industries going into high gear and steel production approaching an annual output of 90,000,000 tons, the U.S. could still assume its own security by averting British defeat--if Britain survived the attacks of her enemies during 1941. But many Americans still shrank from war and hoped wishfully for Soviet intervention against the Axis. However, an answer by both will be forced by the autumn.²²

Schuman was asking not only students of international relations, but also the United States, to affirm the validity of a realist approach to politics.

It is interesting that Schuman still combines this plea for realism with the hope for a unified world. He does not believe that a revival of the League of Nations is likely to prove workable as a basis for world unity, but hopes that conditions may exist some day for the establishment of an "international federation with common currency, a common commercial regime, and common forces."²³

Conceiving of the immediate future, Schuman states, "To speculate upon the world of tomorrow during the year of disaster--1941, is to make guesses about events as yet

²²Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics, 3rd ed., (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), p. XI.

²³Ibid., p. 704.

undelivered from the womb of time."²⁴ However, he cannot resist making a rather general prognostication, "Most probably Western civilization has not yet run its course."²⁵ Schuman hopes that somehow the foundation for complete world order will be laid by the West, but does not get specific concerning how such a reconstruction could take place.

In these first three editions of his text (1933, 1937, 1941) Schuman's main impetus is the concern with winning students, statesmen, and academics over to the new "Realpolitik." Schuman becomes even more desperate in this urge as the world becomes further emmeshed in the chaos of World War II. By the third edition's publication in 1941, Schuman feels that the new approach has been vindicated. The Nazi Spring campaign of 1941 and the invasions of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania are all the result of a world which closed its eyes to the realities of power politics. Schuman states, "To what degree the experiences and experiments of the wasted years between 1919 and 1939 are still worthy of close attention is a matter on which opinions will differ; however, for the benefit of those in the future, they must be re-examined."²⁶

²⁴Ibid., p. 704.

²⁵Ibid., p. 704.

²⁶Ibid., p. VIII.

According to Schuman, this historical analysis must be carried out with a realist perspective.

The fourth and fifth editions (1948 and 1953) of Schuman's text are not substantially different from one another and therefore will be treated as one. With the publication of the fourth edition, Schuman changes the name of his approach from "Realpolitik" to "Power Politics." This has not produced any noticeable changes in his overall orientation. However, in both of these editions he makes himself a bit clearer concerning his problem of cognitive-dissonance. He begins each text by stating two assumptions: "1) all men are brothers by virtue of common ancestry, divine guidance, and shared aspirations toward the good life in the good society; 2) all sovereign States are enemies by virtue of the imperatives of power politics in a world of anarchy."²⁷ He comes to the conclusion that the world is a paradox; it is characterized by both cooperation and conflict. This interpretation of the international environment was to become much more prevalent with the systems-oriented texts.

In both the fourth and fifth editions (1948 and 1953), Schuman reiterates his argument concerning how the power politics approach has been vindicated. Schuman states:

²⁷Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics, 4th ed., (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), pp. VII-VIII.

The experience of two decades offers some basis for an evaluation of the type of analysis of world affairs attempted in these pages. Content and style have changed over the years in successive editions. Yet structure and interpretation have remained remarkably constant--not because the author is conservative or obstinate, but because the 'frame of reference' employed in the first edition as a basis for comprehending the origins, forms, forces, and prospects of the Western State System has, I believe, been vindicated by the test of events.²⁸

Schuman believes that his approach has furnished a method not only for ordering the confusing data of international relations, but also in providing tools of analysis and prediction.

The fourth and fifth editions (1948, 1953) of Schuman's text do not exhibit important changes until the last Book which is entitled "Prospects." In the fourth edition, a chapter called "The Problem of the 20th Century" deals with the onset of the nuclear age. Hiroshima and Nagasaki have not caused a major change in Schuman's orientation, only an added problem which must be dealt with in the frame-work of power politics.

In a section of this chapter, entitled the "Politics of Plutonium," Schuman chronicles the attempt to evolve an international program for coping with the menace of the bomb. The Baruch Plan, which sought to develop a global Atomic Development Authority had already reached an impasse by the

²⁸Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics, 5th ed. (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953), p. VII.

time of this fourth edition (1948). According to Schuman, "A solution required unity among the Super-Powers in the service of purposes transcending completely any conception of 'national interests' or 'manifest destiny' derived from the tribalism of olden times."²⁹ The inability of the USSR and the United States to agree to a limitation on the building of atomic weapons demonstrated the overriding prevalence of such tendencies in the post-World War II era.

The fifth edition (1953) also adds a new chapter in Book Four--"Prospects." Entitled "The Menace of Communism," Schuman reflects upon the Cold War which had developed on the international scene by this time. Unlike the 1948 edition, there was little question concerning the possibility of the Great Powers acting in unity. Events of the past ten years had demonstrated the priority of national interest considerations. A brief chronology of these events will aid in the understanding of how power politics authors interpreted the world emerging in the post-World War II era.

Post-World War II Europe became a symbol of the still dominant nationalistic tendencies. The first disagreements between the United States and the USSR arose over the division of Germany. The nations of the West were anxious for the economic unification of the country, while the

²⁹Schuman, International Politics, 4th ed., p. 935.

Russians believed that political unity should come first. The result was that the West integrated two-thirds of Germany into the economy of western Europe and the Russians began the thoroughgoing "sovietization" of their eastern zone. This led finally by 1950 to the political division of the country. In East Germany a communist-dominated "German Democratic Republic" was founded and in the West, a constitution was developed for the Federal Republic of Germany with Konrad Adenauer as its first Chancellor.

This marked the beginning of what has been termed the Cold War. Academics and statesmen viewed the world as divided into two camps, the Communist and "free world." The bipolar nature of this international division of power was further exemplified by the issuance of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan by the U.S. government.

Schuman in his fifth edition (1953) reflects upon these developments in his chapter entitled, "The Menace of Communism." He states:

The Communist world conspiracy is a fact not a myth. All men have been duly warned, ever since 1848. But this conspiracy cannot be comprehended in the scope of its triumphs to date, and therefore cannot be effectively opposed, on any single assumption that scoundrels have won knaves to their cause and bewitched fools to their own enslavement. Great mass movements never become 'mass' or 'great' unless they cause millions of unhappy men and women, perhaps perversely twisted by despair, to feel that here somehow is a road to salvation.³⁰

³⁰Schuman, International Politics, 5th ed., p. 451.

The appeal of Communism, according to Schuman, cannot be battled with military might, but with "effective propaganda, far-sighted calculations, and judicious diplomacy in winning and keeping allies, while undermining the enemy coalition."³¹ Only in this manner can the Western peoples "hope to face the threatening challenge posed by the most formidable would-be conquerors of the world since the Mongols."³²

Schuman concludes the fifth edition with a discussion dealing with the effects the U.N. may have as a unifying power in the world. He does not feel that the present world condition would be conducive to the success of such an organization. In the tradition of the realist, he points out a number of factors which prohibit the construction of a viable World Federal Republic. First on the list is the struggle between the USSR and the United States. An organization such as the U.N. is based upon the ability to agree among the Security Council members. Unfortunately, diverging interests and opinions characterize the "elite members" more than does consensus. Thus, Schuman's skeptical attitude concerning the U.N., which he expressed in the 1948 edition, has become a confirmed belief in the 1953 text. Surely, crises such as the Korean War and the

³¹Ibid., p. 454.

³²Ibid., p. 455.

division of Berlin have played a part in the strengthening of this negative attitude.

Power Politics, a 1951 text by Georg Schwarzenberger, reflects many of the same attitudes toward international relations which were expressed by Frederick Schuman. The post-war authors are committed to the avoidance of fostering a situation similar to that which followed World War I. In order to ensure against such a possibility, it is necessary to maintain a vigilant posture concerning international organizations and recognize every nation's ultimate dedication to the pursuit of national interests. A power politics author applying these principles to the real world would not place high hopes in the potential influence of the United Nations and would be very suspicious concerning the "expansionistic" desires of the Communist powers. According to power politics authors, the recognition of the quest for power which dominates nation-states should prevent a repeat occurrence of the mistakes which led to the Second World War.

Schwarzenberger begins his text contemplating its title--Power Politics. He states, "During the Appeasement Period and in the years which Mr. Churchill has called the Twilight War, it was still one of the minor heresies to interpret international relations in terms of power politics and the League of Nations as a typical example

of a system of power politics in disguise."³³ Because of this in the first edition of his book in 1941, he presented every step of his argument with an elaborate apparatus of footnotes. Schwarzenberger believes that this is no longer necessary, since the validity of power politics has been assumed within the academic profession and proven by international events.

In this general introduction, Schwarzenberger also admits that the power politics orientation can be carried to an unwarranted extreme. Schuman's fifth edition was published two years after (1953) the printing of the Schwarzenberger text (1951), but he does not display this somewhat wary attitude of Schwarzenberger. Schwarzenberger states, "Before, it was necessary to be on guard against naive daydreaming on international relations; it is now imperative to be so against the other pernicious extreme: unrestrained cynicism."³⁴

This statement does not mean that Schwarzenberger finds the power politics approach lacking. He is merely making the plea to his fellow academics that it is time to refrain from self-vindications and to proceed with the task at hand. This task entails the application of the power politics orientation to the Cold War scenario.

³³G. Schwarzenberger, Power Politics, (NY: Praeger, 1951), p. XV.

³⁴Ibid., p. XV.

Schwarzenberger's book is divided into four sections: the "Introduction," "Elements of Power Politics," "Power Politics in Disguise," and "Conditions of International Order." The actual length of the text is approximately eight hundred pages long, due to Schwarzenberger's concern with the history of events in international relations. This preoccupation with history also was responsible for the inordinate length of the first five editions of Schuman's texts.

The introduction by Schwarzenberger includes his definition of power politics. Schwarzenberger states:

Power politics signify a type of relations between States in which certain patterns of behavior are predominant; armaments, isolationism, power diplomacy, power economics, regional or universal imperialism, alliances, balance of power and war. Each group considers itself not merely as a means to a common end, but as an end in itself. At least for purposes of self-preservation, any measure which is required to achieve this object is deemed to be justified.³⁵

Thus, power politics is defined as a system of international relations in which groups consider themselves to be ultimate ends; and employ the most effective means at their disposal and are graded according to their weight in case of conflict. According to Schwarzenberger, this system of power politics has been a constant feature of international relations throughout the ages.

³⁵Ibid., p. 13.

The power politics view of Schwarzenberger means that he operates under two major assumptions or guiding principles. The first and foremost assumption states that "international relations has one function to fulfill--to throw the maximum of light on its subject."³⁶ Schwarzenberger does not feel it is the task of the discipline to make a case for or against anyone or anything. This is a direct refutation of the prescriptive approach. According to Schwarzenberger, "In any field of study it is difficult to live up to this standard."³⁷

Schwarzenberger's second assumption is that of the relevance of the distinction between society and community for any kind of sociological inquiry. For Schwarzenberger, the study of international relations is the branch of sociology which is concerned with international society. Because international relations uses methods from many of the other disciplines (i.e. history, law, economics, geography, anthropology), Schwarzenberger believes that it shares many of the difficulties of sociology. When international relations is considered within this context, one must be careful in distinguishing between society and community.

³⁶Ibid., p. 3.

³⁷Ibid., p. 3.

According to Schwarzenberger, "Individuals and groups within a society concentrate on the pursuit of their own self-interests."³⁸ The wider communities within which these societies exist usually impose restraints on the means by which such groups may pursue their self-seeking ends. The problem on the international plane is that usually the restraining influences which are needed tend to be lacking. Therefore, Schwarzenberger concludes, "International community groups within the international society tend to do what they can rather than what they ought. This is the essence of power politics."³⁹

The sociological perspective through which Schwarzenberger views international relations does not seriously alter his point of view as a power politics author. His use of the tools and techniques developed in sociology characterized the growth of international relations. Academics were beginning to recognize that international relations was developing in a manner which was not common for a social science. Quincy Wright stated this best in "The Study of International Relations."⁴⁰

The discipline of international relations has developed synthetically and this has militated

³⁸Ibid., p. 13.

³⁹Ibid., p. 13.

⁴⁰Quincy Wright, The Study of International Relations, (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955).

against unity. Other disciplines have developed through analysis and subdivision of older disciplines, as die genetics from biology and classical economics from moral philosophy. These disciplines began with a theory and developed from an initial unity. In international relations, on the other hand, an effort is being made to synthesize numerous older disciplines, each with a specialized point of view into a unity.⁴¹

In his introduction, Schwarzenberger recognizes the debt which the discipline owes to sociology. During the 1950's many of the texts attempt to delineate this process of synthesization which has characterized the development of international relations.

In Part I, "Elements of Power Politics" Schwarzenberger discusses the history of the present international system and the important factors which have made the workings of this system dependent upon the employment of power. In Schuman's text this is comparable to his Book One--"Origins" combined with Book Three--"Forces." Schwarzenberger reviews the concept of sovereignty, nationalism, and the important instruments of international politics (war, diplomacy, propaganda, and imperialism). He concludes this section with an account of how power is still dominant in international affairs at present:

If there is any trend noticeable in international society, it is not that of progress in the liberal and optimistic meaning of the word, but a very remarkable tendency towards the concentration of power in the hands of an increasingly small number of world powers. The United

⁴¹Ibid., p. 32.

States and the Soviet Union have succeeded in constituting themselves into super-Leviathan and in rallying around themselves the rest of the States that matter.⁴²

According to Schwarzenberger, "The bond still holding world society together is not any vague community of spiritual interests. It is power."⁴³

This leads into Part II of the book, entitled "Power Politics in Disguise." Schwarzenberger had dealt with international organizations in a general manner in Part I, but now he devotes sixteen chapters specifically to the United Nations. There are a total of thirty-six chapters in the book, meaning that this concentration on the U.N. takes up almost one-half of the total volume. Only in the early prescriptive texts did international organizations, particularly the League of Nations, prove worthy of such a lengthy treatment.

However, in this case Schwarzenberger does not choose to champion the cause of this new collective security organization. His major intent is to warn students of international relations of the dangers implicit within the development of the United Nations. The title of this section, "Power Politics in Disguise," suggests that an unfavorable attitude was going to be taken towards the U.N. by Schwarzenberger.

⁴²Schwarzenberger, Power Politics, p. 257.

⁴³Ibid., p. 251.

The experiment of the League is seen by the author as a reaffirmation of the principle of unrestrained State sovereignty. Disputes on matters which by international law lay solely within the domestic jurisdiction of a party were expressly declared to be outside the League's competence. Thus, national sovereignty re-emerged triumphant since the League was not capable of commanding internationalist loyalties.

The author's view on the League is then extended to the U.N. Schwarzenberger discusses many different facets of the organization: the Atlantic Charter, collective security, trusteeship, and functional cooperation. In addressing all of these subjects, the author sees the U.N. as grossly inadequate in living up to the commitments of the Charter, and carrying out its various functions. According to Schwarzenberger, each of the world powers still stands for traditionalistic values which it cherishes more highly than universal peace.

Schwarzenberger concludes the text with Part III, "Conditions of International Order." After concluding that the United Nations did not hold the key for the transformation of the international "society" to the "international community," he speculates upon the future of various other methods of world unification. These include a reform of the United Nations, regional and functional integration, and federal integration. Schwarzenberger states, "Unless

a Federal Union is consciously built as an open community, and unless it is imbued with the spirit of brotherhood and sacrifice, this Union, too, would quickly degenerate into another of the antagonistic groupings of power politics in disguise."⁴⁴

Of all the power politics authors, Hans J. Morgenthau, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, has gained the greatest notoriety within the profession. His book, Politics Among Nations--A Struggle for Power and Peace, presents a theory of power, par excellence. No other author at this time offered the student a more comprehensive or intensive treatment of this approach. Even in the late 1970's, many scholars still considered the later editions of Morgenthau's text the most complete introduction to the subject of international relations.

The first edition of his book was published in 1948 and the most recent fifth edition in 1973. In this present study the second (1954) and fifth editions will be considered. Morgenthau believes that the second edition of his book better expresses his view of international politics. The 1948 text was considered by Morgenthau as a needed frontal attack on the utopian concepts which had plagued the discipline of international relations after World War I. "By 1954 this battle has been largely won

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 816.

and it is now time to consolidate the power politics approach in a second edition."⁴⁵ This edition also gives greater emphasis to the "emergence of new trends in world politics (i.e. the colonial revolution, supra-natural institutions-- ECSC, NATO)." ⁴⁶

Morgenthau begins his text by advancing several principles of politics. He summarizes these principles in his description of the realist school of thought:

The realist school of thought believes that the world imperfect as it is from the rational point of view, is the result of forces inherent in human nature. To improve the world one must work with those forces, not against them. This being inherently a world of apposing interests and of conflict among them, moral principles can never be fully realized but must at best be approximated through the ever temporary balancing of interests and the settlement of conflicts. This school then, sees in a system of checks and balances a universal principle for all pluralist societies. It appeals to historic precedent rather than to abstract principles, and aims at the realization of the lesser evil than of the absolute good.⁴⁷

According to Morgenthau, this means that the world is characterized by a continual power struggle among nation-states. In these power struggles, nations follow policies designed to preserve the status quo, to achieve imperialistic expansion, or to gain prestige. "In Morgenthau's view, domestic and international politics can be reduced to

⁴⁵Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, 2nd ed., (NY: Alfred H. Knopf, 1959), p. VII.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. VII.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 3.

one of three basic types: 'A political policy seeks either to keep power, to increase power, or to demonstrate power.'⁴⁸ In other words, national interest is defined in terms of power.

Nations choose one of the latter three policies according to how they believe national interests may best be served. The political realist can safely predict that state behavior will reflect the actions of diplomats and soldiers who strive to maximize benefits for their countries. "Morgenthau equates national interest with the pursuit of state power, where power stands for anything that establishes and maintains control by one state over another."⁴⁹ This power-control relationship can be achieved by coercive as well as cooperative techniques. Power and interest are both the ends and the means for states undertaking international political action.

After stating this general thesis in Part I and II, Morgenthau discusses the concept of national power and the limitations placed upon national power in the present international system (in Part III-VI). Subjects such as nationalism, the balance of power, sovereignty, and international law are reviewed in these chapters. Part VIII

⁴⁸Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1971, p. 77.

⁴⁹Coulombis and Wolfe, Power and Justice, p. 77.

and IX deal with the problem of peace in the mid-twentieth century. Morgenthau reviews attempts which have been employed in the past to attain world peace. Disarmament, collective security, and international institution building are all placed in the context of a power politics approach. Like Schwarzenberger, Morgenthau does not believe these methods can really transform the present configuration of power politics.

The final section is Part X, "The Problem of Peace in the Mid-Twentieth Century: Peace Through Accommodation." As mentioned earlier, Morgenthau is not content to merely provide a description of the international system. In this last chapter he makes recommendations on how a more stable international environment can be maintained. This normative element in his text reminds one of the orientation of the prescriptive textbook writers. However, the complete transformation of the present international system is not the dominant theme in the text nor do his recommendations speak of such a far-reaching goal. He states:

We concluded that international peace through the transformation of the present society of sovereign nations into a world state is unattainable under the moral, social, and political conditions prevailing in the world in our time. If the world state is unattainable in our world, yet indispensable for the survival of that world, it is necessary to create the conditions under which it will not be impossible to establish a world state. This method of establishing the preconditions for permanent

peace we call peace through accommodation. Its instrument is diplomacy.⁵⁰

Thus, the final chapters are concerned with Morgenthau's hope to see the revitalization of diplomacy as an effective means of keeping the peace in the bipolar world. Such an orientation, Morgenthau feels, does not ignore the realities of power politics nor cause a naive, trusting attitude which would lay the foundations for another world war.

Following the publication of the post-World War II Schuman texts (1948, 1953), the Schwarzenberger book (1951) and the Morgenthau texts (1948, 1954), many other power politics authors employed their definitions of power in texts. Recapitulating, Frederick Schuman describes the international system as composed of sovereignties, acknowledging no higher authority with self-preservation as each state's ultimate objective. "In the final analysis, Schuman views power as military strength or fighting capacity. The only rational justifiable policy in such a system is national power 'to be preserved against threats, to be maintained against contingencies, and to be enlarged and extended when opportunities present themselves for so doing without unreasonable risk.'⁵¹

⁵⁰Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, 2nd ed., p. 505.

⁵¹Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1971, p. 74.

Georg Schwarzenberger, with his sociological perspective, analyzed power as a prime factor in Power Politics. His view of power is less militaristic than Schuman's. "Power is a combination of persuasive influence and coercive force, but those who wield power, while maintaining and exhibiting an ability to impose their wills on the noncompliant, normally prefer to achieve their ends merely by posing the threat of effective sanctions, without actually resorting to physical force."⁵²

Finally, the second edition of Morgenthau's text (1954) set forth the most systematic, coherent theory of power to date. Hans J. Morgenthau believed that the interests of states can be best defined in terms of power. The power of states is measured not only in terms of military forces, but also by geographic factors, natural resources, patterns of population, levels of technology, forms of government, political leadership, and ideology. States employ these variables in "attempting to gain the power of man over the minds and actions of other men."⁵³ Morgenthau expanded upon Schuman's view of power and most explicitly stated Schwarzenberger's approach.

International Relations--The World Community in Transition by Norman Palmer and Howard Perkins was first published

⁵²Ibid., p. 11.

⁵³Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, 2nd ed., p. 93.

in 1953 and a second edition printed in 1957. The second edition is considered in the present study. This text reflects the same general concern with power as the centralizing concept in international relations.

The Palmer and Perkins text does not offer anything new to the study of international relations. The authors assume a power politics approach, relying on much of the new work which has been done in the field. For example, in Chapter Two, "National Power," Palmer and Perkins rely upon the definitions of power supplied by Morgenthau and Schwarzenberger in their description of the international environment. The authors state:

When the warnings of statesmen are not enough, high taxes and excited commentators often help to remind people that we are living in a world in which states still feel that their best assurance of security lies in their own strength. As long as that is true, regardless of the fervent wishes of some peoples to live in peace, states must be expected to protect themselves with whatever power they can muster.⁵⁴

The text covers all of the major subjects which have become relevant in a textbook on international relations. The authors begin with a discussion of the state system, involving the state itself, nationalism, sovereignty, and national power. The second section deals with the various tools or instruments which states have available for use in

⁵⁴Norman D. Palmer and Howard C. Perkins, International Relations, 2nd ed., (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1957), p. 91.

the promotion of national interests (i.e. diplomacy, imperialism, war). Part III is entitled, "The Controls of Interstate Relations," and provides an analysis of the balance of power, international laws and international organization. The fourth section involves the conflicts and changes which have come since World War II. Finally, a section on foreign policies, followed by an attempt to predict the future of the world community completes the text.

Palmer and Perkins, as evidenced by this brief review of the text's subject matter, have attempted to present a comprehensive view of international relations. They have effectively synthesized into one book most of the topics which have been covered in the Schuman, Schwarzenberger, and Morgenthau texts. Palmer and Perkins believe that this creates a balanced approach. They state:

Students of international relations must always strive for objectivity, balance, and perspective. They must carry on their work in the face of obstacles of prejudice, ignorance, emotionalism, and vested interests often including their own.⁵⁵

The authors' commitment to balance does not mean they have combined the systems, prescriptive, policy-making, and power politics approaches in one text. They have merely dealt with many elements of international relations within the power politics approach. The student using such

⁵⁵Ibid., p. XXXIV.

a text is confronted with a vast amount of information, ordered in a power politics framework.

Unlike Morgenthau, Palmer and Perkins do not take on a prescriptive approach in the final section of their book. As mentioned earlier, they have chosen to present well-documented chapters which relate the views of many leading authorities within the field and have been wary of injecting views of their own. In their conclusion they do not offer a plan for reaching greater international stability. Instead, they state:

If a better world is not to be reached by some ingenious scheme of international organizations, what then? The answer is that the world will always be in a mess but that through its own persistent efforts it may materially reduce the measure of its harassment. It may eventually eradicate war and other conflicts, but it will never give every man his own self-determined justice. As for a magic formula we shall here at least avoid the inconsistency of offering one.⁵⁶

Thus, the student is given a framework for analyzing the world, but no indication of which direction international relations should proceed in the future.

Following the publication of the Palmer and Perkins text in 1957, a sixth edition of Schuman's International Politics was released in 1958. The author, by this time, is very assured of his method of analysis. The premises he stated in the first edition have remained the same in the sixth:

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 824-825.

It seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, that adequate understanding of the world community of our time can best be acquired by explaining its cultural antecedents and historical developments, by examining the tapestries of international law, diplomatic practice, and international organization which people have pieced together in an effort to serve their needs; by recognizing that politics among nations in a State System lacking common government is essentially a struggle for power; and by reviewing foreign policies of the major Powers in terms of external and internal stimuli and responses and the choices available to policy makers in each hour of decision.⁵⁷

This restatement of Schuman's power politics approach describes the structure of the sixth edition. (Book One--"Origins," Book Two--"Forms," Book Three--"Forces," and Book Four--"Prospects.")

Schuman has remained true to this form in all six editions. The changes which have been incorporated in the texts by Schuman usually reflect new events on the international scene. Certain additions were made with the advent of the nuclear age, a section was added in Book Four of the 1948 edition entitled, "E = MC²" and the "Plutonium Problem." Changing events were also responsible for other additions in Book Four--"Prospects," such as "The Menace of Communism" appearing in the 1953, fifth edition (later softened to "The Challenge of Communism" in the sixth edition, 1958). Probably the topic which Schuman has the most difficulty in placing was the worldwide

⁵⁷Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics, 6th ed., (McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1958), p. VIII.

problem of poverty. In the first edition this topic was located in Book Four, and the chapter was entitled, "The White Man's Burden." It then became only a section of a chapter entitled, "The Quest for Empire" in the second edition and was moved to Book Three--"Forces." It remained in Book Three until this sixth edition when it was retitled "The Problem of the Poor," and placed in Book Four--"Prospects." The fact that a topic is placed in this final section of the text indicates that Schuman feels that the subject has immediate, urgent implications for the international system. (i.e. "Testing of the League" 1933, "The Atomic Age" 1958).

In the sixth edition (1958), Schuman also argues for the superiority of his approach due to the inadequacies of other textbooks on the market. He finds the increased output of texts puzzling since it is not accompanied by a corresponding increase of interest in the discipline. Qualitatively, Schuman also finds the deluge of books quite disturbing. Schuman states, "One book offers a generalized 'theory' of international relations with a minimum of factual information (possibly he is referring to Morgenthau's text); another presents a plethora of facts with no hints as to their meaning; and still others stress one or another facet of international relations and neglect the rest. No adequate education in world affairs

can be derived from such sources. Schuman approves of the power politics approach, but feels only his text offers the student a comprehension of international relations.

While Schuman remained bound to his traditional approach in this sixth edition, other writers were borrowing the power politics approach of Morgenthau and building their texts around this concept. Palmer and Perkins (1957) had employed both Morgenthau and Schwarzenberger's definition of power in their text. The second edition of The Relations of Nations (1962) by Frederick Hartmann reiterates Morgenthau's contention that statesmen "think and act in terms of interest defined as power." Hartmann states:

In the very broadest sense, the term international relations embraces all intercourse among states and all movements of peoples, goods, and ideas across national frontiers. However, as a field of study its focus is on the processes by which states adjust their national interests to those of other states. In turn, national interests may be defined in terms of what states seek to protect or achieve vis-a-vis other states.⁵⁸

National interests, for Hartmann, are the irreducible core of any state at any time. The success a nation-state achieves in adjusting national interests depends upon the power at its disposal. Like Morgenthau, Hartmann believes that estimates of national power are hard to arrive at since there are many factors which affect this variable,

⁵⁸Frederick H. Hartmann, The Relations of Nations, 2nd ed., (NY: Macmillan, 1962).

(i.e. size, population, natural resources, type of terrain, climate, people's attitudes, etc.)

Hartmann breaks with Morgenthau, and for that matter with Schuman, by concentrating heavily upon the elements of national power and how these variables affect foreign policy-making. Schuman, Morgenthau, and Palmer and Perkins were much more concerned with presenting the reader with a power politics approach which included all of the subjects normally covered in an international relations text. Hartmann covers topics such as international organizations, diplomacy, sovereignty, and nationalism, but his text gives an inordinate amount of attention to foreign policy-making. However, this emphasis does not fully dominate the text, and therefore the book cannot be considered in the policy-process category. Power is still the centralizing concept in Hartmann's text.

A brief description of the book's structure further illuminates Hartmann's impetus in writing the text. He begins by stating, "The problem of the present cannot indeed be understood with necessary perspective, until we have mastered the operation of the nation-state system as a whole."⁵⁹ In order to fulfill this objective, Hartmann devotes the first part of his book to a discussion of power, nationalism, and sovereignty. Secondly, he explores

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 11.

the problems each state confronts in terms of its national power and foreign policy. Hartmann feels that such a discussion can only make sense if it is followed by an analysis of how states relate with one another (i.e. diplomacy, legal, economic, organizational, and militarily). This third section is followed by an in-depth discussion of the procedures which have evolved among states in order to settle disputes. Hartmann presents case studies and reviews the success international organizations have reached in the settlement of disputes. In Part V, Hartmann explores the alternative patterns of power that states may choose to resolve or cope with the power-security problem. Hartmann presents different balance-of-power systems which have proved effective in stabilizing the international system, and also presents historical case studies which give validity to his theoretical arguments. Finally, Hartmann reviews the foreign policies of various nations: United States, USSR, Germany, France, Africa, Latin America, Middle East, and Asia. He feels that this allows the reader to gain a realistic perspective on the present world crisis.

The last chapter of the text, "Recapitulations and Reflections" is an attempt by Hartmann to discern certain trends that are already in process in the international system. He bases this discussion on the theoretical concept of power which he expounded upon in the body of the

book. He begins this discussion with a degradation of the utopian approach. The moralistic point of view, according to Hartmann, while it correctly described a universal popular desire tended to overlook or minimize the fact that in many states the government in power was able to plunge the nation into war in complete disregard of that wish. The realists suggested an alternative orientation in light of this alleged overemphasis on the role of popular aversion to war. The will to power increasingly came to be suggested as a more accurate description of the backbone of international relations.

New developments in the international environment, according to Hartmann, have forced a re-examination of past definitions of power. Hartmann believes that power politics still adequately describes the relations of nations, but that a bipolar system can no longer effectively order the current power configuration. Hartmann states:

In the most fundamental terms, the national interests of many powers, previously unimportant or temporary, not backed by sufficient power to be heard with effect, are now being asserted. These powers do not consider U.S.-Russian antagonism as the essential point around which all international relations must revolve. Rather their attentions focused on their own problems and the effect of the Cold War on their problems.⁶⁰

Hartmann warns the super-powers that they must be aware of the impact of these diverse interests. He states, "It is

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 645.

enough for us at the moment to realize that it is going on and that an approach to international relations predicated upon a 'free world' opposed to a 'slave world' is too simple a discription and too imbued with a U.S. or USSR bias."

Hartmann is the first power politics author in this study who concludes his text with the belief that scholars should seek to analyze the international system beyond the traditional power politics force. Hartmann, like many other authors at this time (1962), believed that the world could be better described as multipolar than bipolar. The rise of the Third World nations, U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, and the nuclear stalemate between the superpowers seemed to reveal the need for a more sophisticated approach.

Hartmann defines this need in terms of U.S. policymaking. In order to be successful in the future, the United States must gain an accurate view of the international environment. For Hartmann this means casting away visions which speak only of Cold War politics. He states:

We must reflect upon the ease with which self-proclaimed patriots in a distorted version of "Americanism" have in recent years in America injured and cheapened some of the truly great values upon which this nation was built and from which it receives its innate spiritual strength in the struggle against communism (by definition a moral evil) many other evils were committed in a fear-inflamed atmosphere on the

simple notion that whatever purports to fight evil is of necessity good.⁶¹

McCarthyism was the result of a purely bipolar orientation within a power politics approach. Hartmann feels that Communism must be handled with a more realistic and less extreme point of view. He maintains the belief that Communism is an evil, but other realities in the international environment (such as the rise of the Third World) must be understood if we ever hope to "eliminate this source of insecurity."⁶²

The Dynamics of International Relations--Power, Security, and Order, by Fred Greene (1964) also applies the power politics framework which has become prevalent in the study of international relations since 1945. Greene's approach stresses that group of values that focuses on security and power as the central feature of international politics. He depends very heavily upon historical materials to supply the bases, illustrations and texts of the analytical effort that grows from this foundation.

Greene feels that the pivotal importance of physical security must be stressed since this determines many aspects of its diplomatic behavior. However, he does not equate security with power. The lessons of the nuclear

⁶¹Ibid., p. 647.

⁶²Ibid., p. 648.

age have taught that the basis for power and for security may be quite diverse. Greene states, "One may become more powerful without becoming more secure."⁶³ According to Greene, power is measured against that capacity of other, while security need not be. "State interests (power) extend to fields that are even broader than the most encompassing interpretation of security and the means of attaining it. Frequently these other objectives are much more attractive and indeed come into sharp competition with costly and burdensome security requirements."⁶⁴

Greene's separation of the concept of national security from that of power is not a substantial deviation from Morgenthau's interpretation of power and national interests. Morgenthau defined national interest in terms of power. Seeking security was only one of the various paths designated by Morgenthau which a state could choose to pursue. Morgenthau delineated three paths altogether: a nation seeks to keep power, to increase power, or to demonstrate power. Like Greene, Morgenthau admitted that the latter two options may at times become more important than even seeking national security. Power becomes much more blatant and observable in such circumstances.

⁶³Fred Greene, Dynamics of International Relations, (NY: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1964), p. VII.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. VII.

The subjects covered in the Greene text are all treated within the power politics framework. The text is similar to the Palmer and Perkins book published in 1957 since Greene is also concerned with a balanced, objective approach in his book. In the text, Greene discusses the nation-state system, the role of power, nationalism and imperialism, international law and organizations, and power politics in the modern global setting. By 1964, this framework of analysis had become quite common for a power politics textbook. This concern with the origins, forms, forces and prospects for the international system characterized the balanced text of power politics authors. While the definition of power had become broader and more sophisticated, as time progressed, the layout of the new power politics texts resembled that which was first offered by Schuman in 1933.

International Politics, the second edition (1966) by Vernon Van Dyke is not very different from the Greene book. Power politics authors in the 1960's did not seriously stray from the definition of power supplied by Morgenthau or the form which Schuman had popularized in the six previously discussed editions of his text. Van Dyke's purpose in writing the text was to "describe and explain the behavior of states in their relations with each other in a clear and coherent manner."⁶⁵ In order to fulfill this

⁶⁵Vernon Van Dyke, International Politics, (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. V.

objective, Van Dyke structured his book similar to the Schuman, Greene, and Palmer and Perkins texts. National interest defined in terms of power remains the centralizing concept of Vernon Van Dyke's textbook.

What is of interest in this 1966 edition of Van Dyke's book is that while he defines politics as a "struggle for power,"⁶⁶ he does not believe that it should be regarded as this alone. Van Dyke states, "It is not simply a game in which points are scored for the purpose of seeing who wins, but a process in which the most fundamental decisions are made concerning the kind of life people lead."⁶⁷ According to Van Dyke, this means that politics involves cooperation as well as conflict. "Persons and groups whose desires are identical or harmonious are likely to join forces in an effort to achieve what they want."⁶⁸ Van Dyke incorporates this into his book as a second theme. He believes that the world is still dominated by the negative forces of power, but one must also begin to identify values relevant to peace and war, to explore the implications of both these values themselves and of methods of pursuing them, and to see whether and how adjustments might be made to reduce the role of violence in international affairs.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 11.

This broader definition of power did not find its way into the final seventh edition of Schuman's International Politics published in 1969. Schuman states:

I concluded long ago on the basis of long teaching experience on many campuses, as did other teachers and students that the present type of textbook offers the best hope of supplying readers with meaningful factual knowledge and thought-provoking hypothesis regarding the global State.⁶⁹

Along with this commitment to his traditional textbook form, Schuman does not change his definition of power. "The power which must thus be solicitously guarded in one's own state and looked at askance in others is, in the last analysis, military power or fighting capacity."⁷⁰

Schuman also takes the opportunity with the publication of this edition to take a swipe at the behavioralists. He believes that a movement towards orientation in international relations is only a ploy to avoid all confrontations with public policies and evade all normative issues. Schuman states:

I would like to believe that the "new" approaches which have come to be labelled behavioral or empirical promise better prospects. My own view is echoed in Barbara Tuchman's plea (The N.Y. Times, Jan. 1, 1967) to the American Historical Association: 'Let us beware of the plight of our colleagues, the behavioralist

⁶⁹Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics, 7th ed., (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969) p. VII.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 272.

scientists, who by the use of a proliferating jargon have painted themselves into a corner or isolation ward of unintelligibility. They know what they mean but no one else does.⁷¹

After six successful textbooks, it was doubtful that Schuman would alter his approach in order to jump on the behavioral band-wagon. Systems-oriented texts were becoming much more prevalent in the late 1960's and were the representations of the behavioral revolution in the field of international relations. None of the power politics authors drastically changed the later editions of their texts in order to demonstrate a behavioral orientation.

The fifth edition of Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations (1973) also remained true to its original approach. Of course changes were made to bring the book up to date, but the theoretical concepts have remained basically the same. This is demonstrated by Morgenthau's review of the important changes international politics has undergone since the fourth edition of his book in 1967:

1) recognition by the West of the territorial status quo in Europe, which has brought the Cold War to an end; 2) the ideological orientation that characterized foreign policies of superpowers has not totally disappeared, but has abated; 3) China has become a potential third superpower; 4) Vietnam has negatively affected the power of the United States; 5) the United Nations has continued to decline.⁷²

⁷¹Ibid., p. VII.

⁷²Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, 5th ed., (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. VII.

The experience of the Vietnam War has most especially changed the climate of international politics, according to Morgenthau. It has stimulated expansion of the analysis of political predictions and has suggested an emphasis upon the factor of nationality in the conduct of foreign policy."⁷³

However, close examination of the book reveals that not even this event has changed the book's general approach. Morgenthau defines power in the same way, employing the same principles of political realism as in the first text (1948), and concludes with the hope that diplomacy may be re-established as an effective means of peacekeeping. In fact, his conclusion is written in exactly the same words as in the second edition of Politics Among Nations in 1954. Like Schuman, Morgenthau found success in the power politics approach, and aside from intermittent updatings, refused to alter his general orientation despite changing events and professional attitudes.

The final texts to be considered under the power politics approach will be considered together since there is not much difference between the two editions. John G. Stoessinger first had his text The Might of Nations published in 1961. This study will analyze the first edition and the fourth which were published in 1973, since for comparative purposes the differences may be the most extreme.

⁷³Ibid., p. VII.

Stoessinger introduces the text by outlining the three conceptual principles which have affected his treatment of international relations:

The first of these is the ever present tension between the struggle for power and the struggle for order. Throughout the book, care is taken to emphasize that these two processes of international intercourse are always closely interrelated. The second organizing concept is that of the divergence between the images that nations entertain of world affairs and of each other and the international realities as they actually are. Finally, the book is focused upon what the author believes are the two truly dominant events of our time--the struggle of East vs. West and the struggle of nationalism vs. colonialism. It is chiefly with reference to the latter two struggles and the linkages between them that the data and analysis offered are topically organized.⁷⁴

As with all the power politics texts Professor Stoessinger's analysis sees contemporary international affairs characterized by the conflict of two forces. The communist and the capitalist nations are involved in "the fiercest struggle for power in history."⁷⁵ Despite his acknowledgment of the problems which the new nations of the Third World pose for international relations, the U.S.-USSR confrontation remains his primary concern throughout the text.

⁷⁴John G. Stoessinger, The Might of Nations, 1st ed., (NY: Random House, 1961), pp. 5-6.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 5.

The organization of the first edition reflects Stoessinger's reliance upon the four previously stated conceptual principles. The book is divided into four parts. Part I examines the nation-state system and the nature of power. Chapter Two in this section discusses the nature of power; this chapter is mandatory for any text which qualifies as a power politics text. More importantly the chapter on power serves as an introduction to the study of international relations. In the other types of texts this is not the format which is employed.

Stoessinger defines power as "the capacity of a nation to use its tangible and intangible resources in such a way as to affect the behavior of other nations."⁷⁶ Stoessinger includes among these resources: geography, natural resources, population, type of government, national character, and leadership. On the factor of geography Stoessinger takes issue with Morgenthau. He does not believe that it is always a necessary and crucial factor. Stoessinger sees the theories of Mackinder and Mahan as being outdated; the atomic age has rendered the science of geopolitics useless.⁷⁷

Leadership becomes one of the more important sources of power for Professor Stoessinger. He believes that a

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 31.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 19.

nation's leadership and the image which it projects upon the world determine whether or not the other resources will be an important determinant of national power. Stoessinger states, "No amount of manpower or industrial and military potential will make a nation powerful unless its leadership uses these resources with maximum effect upon the international scene."⁷⁸ This appears to be a warning to the United States for the future. In order to effectively battle communism there must exist a real commitment on the part of the Nation's leaders. If not the result could be an increased chance of a military or even nuclear encounter with the Soviet Union.

In this chapter Stoessinger also demonstrates a concern for foreign policy. This moves the text away from being characterized as a "pure" power politics approach. He defines foreign policy "as the expression of its national interests vis-a-vis other nations."⁷⁹ This then automatically brings the question--What are a nation's national interests, and is there any one goal that is shared universally in the nation-state system?⁸⁰

Stoessinger responds to these questions through a critique of Morgenthau's theory of international relations.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 30.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 31.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 31.

Morgenthau postulated that nations will tend to use their power in the quest for further power. Moreover he rejects as unrealistic the proposition that the national interest may be defined in terms of abstract moral principle. In Morgenthau's view, the national interest is virtually identical with national security. Following is a summary of Stoessinger's critique:

Morgenthau's is a brilliant exposition of a single-factor analysis. But like all such efforts, it is a "tour de force" which simply does not stand up under critical scrutiny. In the first place, power is relational; it depends upon comparison to be meaningful. To devise the national interests in terms of the maximization of power is to assume that the goals of all nations are competitive. This is incorrect. First, many nations are interested in enhancing the power and welfare of others, rather than in competing with them. Also, the goals of some nations are not competitive but are absolute, not being defined in relation to other states at all.⁸¹

At this point Stoessinger is thinking of smaller nations such as Sweden or Switzerland. Neither of these can be said to define its national interest primarily in terms of power. The message Stoessinger wants students to become aware of is that, "National goals may be competitive or absolute, clear or diffuse, overt or covert, static or dynamic."⁸² Beyond this it would be hazardous to generalize.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 32.

⁸²Ibid., p. 35.

After this introduction to the nature of power in Part II, Stoessinger deals with the international struggle for power as it exists during this period. Chapter Three, "The East-West Struggle" reveals Stoessinger's sentiments concerning Cold War politics. Similar to the previously discussed power politics texts, the emphasis here is placed upon an understanding of this specific conflict. In systems texts of the 1970's and a few policy-process texts, the primary concern becomes studying the nature of conflict in a more general manner. The Cold War is reduced to a case study, employed only to prove generalities in the area.

Stoessinger's treatment of the Cold War can be characterized as a current events orientation. For example, in the East-West chapter he discusses new options for the USSR and the United States in continuing the Cold War. He admits that the prospect of a nuclear war has changed the rules of the game:

Trapped like two scorpions in a bottle and deterred by the prospect of an atomic holocaust, the two superpowers have begun to resort to various new battle techniques short of actual military conflict. Of these, the most important are in the realm of propaganda and psychological warfare. The USSR in its behavior toward the West, has used the technique of "blowing hot and cold" and of alternating confusing signals--a method used by the Russian psychologist Pavlov to induce neurotic behavior in dogs. The efforts of Western observers to "interpret" the Soviet signals have usually led to frustration.⁸³

⁸³Ibid., p. 66.

Stoessinger postulates that this pattern has created an image of Soviet unpredictability which has become a valuable bargaining devise.

Part III of the text is devoted to the "International Struggle for Order." In this section the author discusses international organizations. Stoessinger believes that the relationship between image and reality has affected the viability of international organizations. For example, public opinion studies show that in the U.S., there is a tendency to evaluate the U.N. fairly indiscriminately. It is either praised or condemned as a whole. Stoessinger recommends a stoppage of the theoretical debates which characterize the study of international relations and begin to assess realistically the contributions the organizations are making to the international order.

In the conclusion, Stoessinger reviews the three conceptual principles with which he started. What he adds in this section is the warning to students that when studying world affairs there is always a difference between the way nations perceive one another and the way they really are. He believes that contemporary struggles of power are not based upon objective realities but, are "fought out in the realm of imagery and illusion."⁸⁴ It is the thesis of the concluding chapter that there are often great gaps between

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 406.

image and reality in world politics and that these integrally affect all aspects of international relations, deeply exacerbating the international struggle.⁸⁵

Stoessinger then suggests that there are separate sources for distortion. He conducts a brief analysis of three different examples of distortion (the US, USSR, LDC's):

In the US, it is difficult to identify the precise source of distortion. It may be found in a subtle interplay between the "mass public" and the elite in which each may act on the other as either a reinforcing and corrective agent, depending upon the specific circumstances. In the Soviet Union, the locus of distortion is the Communist Party elite which perceives the world through the lenses of Marxism-Leninism. In the emergent nations of the authoritarian type where there is little contact between elite and mass public the source of distortion is leadership itself.⁸⁶

Stoessinger concludes that the United States is the least susceptible to distorted imagery. He believes that the foreign policy process of checks and balances avoids extreme distortion.

Stoessinger admits that the Cold War may have been largely caused by a false perception of the USSR's military strength. He states, "The West became seriously affected by Soviet imagery and tended to perceive the Soviet Union as a kind of chess master on the world scene."⁸⁷ The result

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 407.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 411.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 412-413.

of this perception was a "collective inferiority complex" which made the West extremely fearful of the Soviets and worked to the Soviets' advantage. The unfortunate result of this situation, according to Stoessinger is that, "the West has remained hypnotized at a time when most of the inroads into the Western orbit were being made by Communist China."⁸⁸ Thus, Stoessinger is critical of the sense of intimidation the U.S. felt toward the Soviet Union, but he does not deny the confrontation which forms the basis of the Cold War mentality--inevitable confrontation between communism and capitalism. He is suggesting that a fear of the Soviet communists be replaced with a fear of the Chinese communists. It does not seem as though such an alteration would drastically change the world situation or end the Cold War attitude which still was prevalent in the United States at this time.

Twelve years later with the publication of the fourth edition of The Might of Nations, Stoessinger remains true to his power politics approach. A comparative analysis of the two texts reveals that the text is substantially the same. For example the introductions and conclusions to the book (usually where major changes take place) are exactly the same with only minor changes. The adjustments which have taken place are primarily in the area of updating the text so that it includes new events on the international scene.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 413.

The Preface to the Fourth Edition is the only section which has been entirely rewritten. Basically, it is a reassertion of power politics despite the change in the "nature of the international struggle." Stoessinger states:

The post-war era has definitely ended. A new generation is in the process of redefining its international relations; the U.S. and the Soviet Union no longer dominate the scene. China has entered the arena of bipolarity and it is now a triangular relationship of power. Power struggles over the Middle East continue with ferocity and in Indochina military confrontation has finally yielded to political negotiation. However, the era of power politics is far from over.⁸⁹

Stoessinger believes that the nature of international relationships have changed and so have some of the actors. However, like all the other power politics authors, he does not change his major thesis with newer editions of the text. In fact Stoessinger's book has changed the least in overall content when compared to the other power politics texts that have gone into later editions.

Conclusion

World War II changed international relations more than any single modern occurrence. Statesmen in the post-war years were confronted with the unprecedented problems presented by atomic weaponry, and with reduction of the number of effective major powers to two, the United States and the Soviet Union. "This struggle for power was characterized by an intense ideological hostility which opened an era of

⁸⁹John G. Stoessinger, The Might of Nations, 4th ed. (NY: Random House, 1973), pp. VII-VIII.

conflict, distrust, competition and misperception."⁹⁰ A bipolar international system may be said to have existed from 1945 to the early 1960's as a result of these factors.

This new configuration of power resulted in the Cold War exchanges of threats and competing alliances. "During this period the world witnessed such momentous events as the combat use of atomic energy, the achievement of atomic capability by the Soviet Union, the establishment of NATO, SEATO, and the Warsaw Pact, the Berlin Blockade, accession to power in China by Mao Tse-tung, and the Korean War."⁹¹ Soviet-American rivalry had fostered a model of international order which can be described most aptly as mutually hostile.

A bipolar distribution of power was conducive to a realist approach to international relations. International politics, according to the proponents of this school of thought, could only be defined accurately as a "struggle for Power."⁹² Power is loosely defined as a psychological relationship in which one actor is able to control the behavior of another actor. The international environment

⁹⁰Steven J. Rosen and Walter S. Jones, The Logic of International Relations, 2nd ed., (Mass: Winthrop Pub., Inc., 1977), p. 220.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 221.

⁹²Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, 5th ed., p. 27.

in the post-World War II era seemed to fit in neatly with this theoretical concept.

A second central concept for the realists is "interest." A rational political actor is one who acts to promote his interests. "The realists conveniently close the definitional gaps between interest and power by practically equating these two concepts."⁹³ "Thus, to act rationally (that is, to act in one's interests) is to seek power (that is, to have the ability and the willingness to control others)."⁹⁴

The textbooks written in the realist tradition use the notion of power politics as the major theme of their books. International history, institutions, and all facets of the subject revolve about the concept and understanding of power. Students were introduced to international relations with the belief that a "good political person" is a "rational political person"--a person who understands and seeks power but who also moderates his quest for power because he realizes that others also understand and seek power.⁹⁵ Pragmatism and an understanding of how the system operates are values which should prevail over morality, legalism, and ideologies.

⁹³Couloumbis and Wolfe, Power and Justice, p. 18.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 18.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 18.

Although a few power politics texts were published in the early 1930's, they really reached their heyday from 1945-1960 (the bipolar era). A few later editions can also be found in the late 1960's and early 1970's. In every case, these texts are not first publications, but new versions of the books published in the 1940's or 1950's. None of the authors have substantially altered their views in these more recent editions.

A ranking of the texts on a scale of the "ideal" power politics text down to "mixed" power politics text (exhibits characteristics of one or more of the other textbook types) depends upon two factors. First, the ideal power politics text must present a coherent theory concerning the nature of power. All topics which have come to be considered as standard elements in an international relations textbook should be treated within the centralizing concept of power. Finally, a pure power politics text should not exhibit characteristics which are common to any of the other three approaches. As mentioned earlier, this is a relatively difficult standard to maintain since the nature of textbooks is usually to synthesize elements from many diverse sources. However, it serves as an aid in determining which texts have been diluted by traits of textbooks from categories other than the power politics approach.

Hans J. Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations must be considered the text most truly representative of the power

politics approach. No other text so clearly delineates a theory of power and its link with national interests. The five editions of this text were not only successful in terms of reaching numbers of students, but also in the influencing of academics within the profession. In the text, Morgenthau's treatment of international relations is fairly comprehensive. The subjects he incorporates into his scheme of power politics range from international organizations to the study of sovereignty and nationalism. All topics are explained within the overriding emphasis of "national interests defined as power."

In the final section of his book "Peace Through Accommodation," Morgenthau becomes somewhat prescriptive in his orientation. Through the revival of diplomacy, Morgenthau feels that a more stable international system can be maintained. This recommendation by the author is of a different nature than the normative judgments offered by writers with texts in the prescriptive category. In this instance Morgenthau offers a suggestion on how the present system of power politics can be maintained more peacefully. Prescriptive authors present a case and method for the complete transformation of the international environment. The major theme of a prescriptive text is to present students of international relations with an awareness of the need for change in the international system,

plus the description of how such a process will take place. This is far from Morgenthau's major intent in the writing of Politics Among Nations.

Power Politics (1953) by Schwarzenberger follows Morgenthau's text in the ranking of the books. Schwarzenberger begins his text with a clear statement on the link between power and national interests. Schwarzenberger believes that an international society rather than a community best describes the present international order. Group self-interests are still the dominant feature of international relations. Because of this fact, it is Schwarzenberger's contention that the foremost objective of international relations should be to understand this incumbent system. Making a case for or against anybody or anything, according to Schwarzenberger, is not the task of the discipline. Thus, he refers to suggested means for establishing world unity (i.e. international organizations) as merely "Power Politics in Disguise."

Schwarzenberger's text is ranked lower than Morgenthau's due to his overemphasis on the workings of the United Nations. He becomes so engrossed with the history, mechanics, and problems of the United Nations that many other subjects of concern in international relations are ignored. Topics such as the elements of national power, foreign policy-making, and a detailed analysis of the

balance of power mechanism are not included in the Schwarzenberger text. Morgenthau's text is much more inclusive and this adds to the consistency and coherence of his power politics approach.

Four textbooks which followed the publication of the Morgenthau (1954) and Schwarzenberger (1951) texts can be grouped together in this ranking. International Relations (1957) by Palmer and Perkins, The Dynamics of International Relations (1964) by Fred Greene, International Politics (1966) by Vernon Van Dyke, and the two editions of Stoessinger's Might of Nations (1961, 1973), are similar in their commitment to objectivity and balance. All of the authors structure their texts around the concept of power, but they are not quite as meticulous as Morgenthau and Schwarzenberger in the application of this thesis.

The authors offer the student a fairly complete view of international relations, with chapters on subjects which have always been of primary concern in international relations--international law and morality, international organizations, diplomacy, nationalism, etc. This concern with covering the gamut of topics in international relations has somewhat overshadowed the interest in developing a theory of power politics. The result was the presentation of a power politics approach which was a bit more haphazard and less comprehensive than that of the Morgenthau or Schwarzenberger text.

This may be due to the gradually dissipating tight bipolar international system. In the late 1950's and during the 1960's when these four texts were published certain fundamental changes were occurring in the international system. First, there seemed to be a splintering of the two main power blocs. In the Soviet sphere events took several paths. Eastern European dissatisfaction with Soviet control, foreshadowed a few years earlier in East Germany, climaxed with the brief Hungarian revolt of 1956. "Coupled with Krushchev's campaign to "de-Stalinize" the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, this event resulted in increasing demands for quasi-independence among the Soviet "satellites, despite forceful suppression by Soviet troops."⁹⁶ The American bloc began to crack at the same time. Latin America began to identify itself more as a member of the Third World than a co-partner with the United States in the protection of the Western Hemisphere. Fidel Castro's accession to power undoubtedly brought this serious challenge to the supposedly strong ideological solidarity of the Western Hemisphere.

Also at this time, the presence of new nonbloc actors challenged the bipolar interpretation of the international system. A perfect example of this was the beginning of cooperative economic planning which took root in Western

⁹⁶Rosen and Jones, International Relations, p. 224.

Europe in the 1950's. As early as 1951 the European Coal and Steel Community created a bond among six states which founded the EEC a few years later. This marked the passage of economic cooperation with the U.S. to competition by the 1960's. The appearance of regional organizations, the Sino-Soviet split, and the new nonaligned policies of Third World nations spoke for the need of a new model of the international system; one characterized by a multipolar distribution of power.

This newly emerging international system may have proven too complex for authors such as Palmer and Perkins, Greene, Vernon Van Dyke, and Stoessinger who relied upon the unwieldy concept of power as a full explanation of the workings of international affairs. A system characterized by only two major powers is much more conducive to a framework of analysis built upon the notion of power. The presence of multiple international actors, undefinable in terms of power and purpose, can create complications for this type of thesis. A simple balance of power system does not effectively incorporate the role of many of the "new" actors in the conduct of international relations.

Vernon Van Dyke in his 1966 text explicitly demonstrates this problem facing the power politics authors. He defined international politics as a struggle for power (coercive influence), but was also aware of the limitations

such a definition places upon the student of international relations. Taking note of such developments as international institution-building for welfare purposes and regionalization,⁹⁷ Van Dyke sees the possibility of cooperation as well as conflict in the international environment. He never betrays his commitment to a power politics approach, but gives the reader the impression that such an orientation may not be totally comprehensive in attempting to provide a framework of analysis for international relations.

The seven editions of Schuman's International Politics are ranked fourth in terms of commitment to the power politics approach. Schuman in all of his texts from 1933 to 1969 defined power as military capacity. Although this was an integral part of his book, the concept of power did not form a cohesive bond by which Schuman interpreted all international phenomena. A student using this text would not easily make the connection between the concept of power and how this force dominated all the workings of the international environment.

Schuman's text broke new ground for the discipline with its first publication in 1933. At this time, studies in power politics were not as sophisticated nor as popular as they would become in the post-World War II era. The heavy reliance on historical data plus Schuman's expressed desire

⁹⁷Van Dyke, International Politics, p. 428.

to see a unified world probably helped to make the text more acceptable for the times. Prescriptive texts, characteristic of utopian writers of the 1920's and 1930's, were also chock full of historical data, (as evidenced by the Hodges text ⁹⁸ reviewed earlier in this study). Schuman's sympathetic attitude toward world unity also may have helped take the sting out of a fairly new and radical orientation in international relations. Undoubtedly, the lack of data and academic research into the nature of power may have also limited Schuman's ability to construct a pure power politics text. It is interesting that Schuman did not alter this approach even with the plethora of information which became available in the 1940's and 1950's.

The seventh edition of International Politics (1969) demonstrates Schuman's continued adherence to a "mixed" power politics approach. In this text, he continues to incorporate many traits which are closely identified with prescriptive texts. Book One--"Origins" is of a historical nature, presenting an account of the history of the nation-state system. Most power politics authors of the post-World War II era began their texts with an analysis of power and its relation to national interests. Schuman does not begin this discussion until he is two hundred sixty-seven pages into the book and even at this point (Book Two--

⁹⁸Charles Hodges, The Background of International Relations, (NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1931).

"Forces") it is surrounded by a great deal of historical information. This emphasis on history was prevalent in the prescriptive texts and usually downplayed by power politics authors.

Of greater significance is Schuman's emphasis on the need for world unity. Any student using the Schuman text cannot miss this overarching tendency in the final section of each one of his texts entitled Book Four--"Prospects." Schuman does not usually present a method of achieving world unity (except in the seventh edition (1969) when he states that religion will become a unifying force), but describes the prevailing forces which inhibit the transformation of the international system. This is then followed by a discourse on the chaos which will result if nation-states continue upon this path of diversity and disunity. Schuman becomes as adamant as the prescriptive writers in stressing an alternative path. He states in the first edition of his text:

In saying that salvation lies in "unity" one is attempting to say in a word what many words are needed to express adequately. There is little mystery about what is requisite to ward off worse disasters than those which have already befallen. The mystery lies only in devising means for applying to an irrational world the solutions which sober reason suggests. What is required is that the tensions and conflicts which beset the world society be reduced to a minimum and that the social intelligence of mankind be organized on a world-wide scale to cope effectively with economics and social

problems which will remain insoluble so long as they are dealt with in the old ways.⁹⁹

Schuman feels that an understanding of the evils of nationalism, sovereignty, and national interests (a system of power politics) will aid in the needed transition to an international community of values and welfare.

Just as Schuman's text exhibited the added characteristics of the prescriptive approach, Hartmann's The Relations of Nations (1962) was a cross between the power politics approach and the policy-process textbooks. For this reason, Hartmann's book is positioned last in this ranking of power politics texts. Hartmann integrates the two approaches even further than Schuman had with his power politics-prescriptive combinations. Power remains the centralizing concept for Hartmann, but he is particularly concerned with what limitations power places on national goals. Hartmann states:

A nation-state perennially faces the question: what should the national goals be? The answer to this question we call foreign policy, and it is at once evident that not everything that could conceivably be desired is obtainable. The most obvious limitation on policy is power, and therefore small powers must be more modest in their aspirations than great powers.¹⁰⁰

In the conclusion of his book Hartmann also makes the plea for a framework of analyses which goes beyond power politics.

⁹⁹Schuman, International Politics, 1st ed., p. 829.

¹⁰⁰Hartmann, The Relations of Nations, p. 43.

This request is based upon state-centric motives. Only if a more sophisticated, all-inclusive method of analysis is developed, according to Hartmann, will nations such as the United States be successful in future policymaking endeavors.

Despite these deviations from the power politics approach, all of the texts are remarkably similar. Students taking an introductory course which required any of these texts would almost be sure a common attitude toward the international environment. Politics on the international scene becomes a struggle for power characterized by violence, war, and conquest. There are severe limitations in the extent to which political reform or education can alter this situation.

"For these power politics authors, acting in pursuit of personal, group, and national interests is being eminently political."¹⁰¹ To seek power in order to promote one's interests is considered prudent political behavior; "the primary concern is the survival and growth of one's social collectivity."¹⁰² This amoral and power-oriented politics places the highest priority on the pursuit of one's practical interests. Implicit within this orientation is a pessimistic and deprecatory view of human nature.

¹⁰¹Couloumbis and Wolfe, Power and Justice, p. 18.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 18.

The earliest text of this nature was published in 1933 (Schuman) and the latest in 1973 (Morgenthau). During this forty-year period there was never a real gap in the printing of power politics texts. However, between the years of 1945 to 1960, there was a marked increase in the output of these books. Due to the acceptance of the approach within the profession and the bipolar international system, these years were much more conducive for the authoring of power politics texts.

Because of the great number of power politics texts on the market and the length of time these books have dominated the profession, it can be assumed that this textbook approach has reached more students than any other. College students either just taking an introductory course in international relations or majoring in the subject during the post-World War II era (1945-1960) were generally taught with a power politics orientation. A bipolar balance of power system and Cold War politics characterized the texts of this time as much as the centralizing concept of power. New approaches were later assumed by textbook writers in dealing with a changing international environment, but it is unknown whether college graduates were equally successful in adjusting their international perspectives.

CHAPTER V

THE POLICY-PROCESS TEXTBOOKS

POLICY-PROCESS TEXTBOOKS

The policy-process textbooks can be regarded as an outgrowth of the power politics approach. The authors of these books accept as their fundamental premise the fact that the behavior of nations in the international system can be explained exclusively in terms of a struggle for power. This premise serves as a background for the authors' main impetus in writing the book--a description of how a nation-state attains its national goals in this system of power politics.

This policy-making focus is the distinguishing characteristic of these textbooks. The authors accept the "rules of the game" as outlined by the power politics authors, but add a different dimension in their approach. This new dimension can be described as an emphasis on how to win the game; in other words, what they feel is needed to attain and preserve national interests in the contemporary setting of world politics.

An "ideal" type of textbook in this category would begin with a description of the nation-state system, followed by a synopsis of policy-making techniques, an inventory of the elements which affect policy formulation (i.e. geography, population), an analysis of how policy is implemented, and usually a sector dealing with the foreign

policies of specific countries or geographic regions. This particular orientation stresses the need for pragmatism within the discipline of international relations. The authors believe that there are certain fundamental principles upon which all foreign policies are based. If the student of international relations can grasp these universal principles, he will then understand the interactions among nation-states. International relations, according to these authors, is actually the conflictual and consensual situations created through the interactions of the various foreign policies of the nation-states.

One of the first policy-process texts was The Great Powers in World Politics by Frank Simonds and Brooks Emeny. The text was first published in 1935, revised in 1937, and went into its third revision in 1939. This third edition will be reviewed in the present study. The text has maintained a policy-process approach through all three editions, but the third edition is of greatest interest due to the "stress and strain of international events during the first seven months of 1939."¹

Simonds and Emeny acknowledge the new vantage point from which they undertake the study of international

¹Frank Simonds and Brooks Emeny, The Great Powers In World Politics, 3rd ed. (NY: American Book Co., 1939), p. VIII.

relations. The authors state, "Instead of approaching the contemporary situation by means of an intended survey of the historical background, we will focus upon the present national policies of the great powers whose influence is dominating in international relations. We seek to interpret these national policies in the light of their basic factors, economic, ethnic, geographic, and historic."² Through this analysis the authors hope to gain a better understanding of why the world at this time has once again been brought to the brink of international conflict.

Early in the study Simonds and Emeny present their thesis explaining the present instability, "The argument of this volume is that Fascism and National Socialism, although on the surface indistinguishable from familiar nineteenth century imperialisms, are at bottom, the characteristic expressions of great peoples in revolt against the limitations placed upon their national prosperity by their poverty in national resources."³ Simonds and Emeny believe these ideologies are a reflection of a people's realization that there is an unequal distribution of national resources. Rather than living with this inequality, ideologies are adapted which seek to change the status quo. Nations based in Fascism and National Socialism develop

²Ibid., p. V.

³Ibid., p. VI.

foreign policies which reflect the discontent of a people deprived of primary resources. This leads Simonds and Emeny to conclude that, "no viable system of organized peace can be founded upon the contemporary status quo of inequality."⁴

Part I, "Foundations of International Relations," seeks to describe the basic elements which are responsible for the differences in power among the nation-states. Foreign policy-makers must be aware of their nation's geography, demography, economy, and strategic capabilities before they formulate a viable policy. If a nation finds itself at a comparative disadvantage within one of these areas, there will be an attempt to compensate. Simonds and Emeny believe this attempt at compensation is usually done at the expense of another state.

In Part I the authors also deal with the instruments employed by nations in attempting to secure a more favorable international position. For example, tariffs, propaganda, and war are all considered legitimate, viable means of pursuing national policy. The authors want the students to become conscious of the grim fact that there is no code of ethics in world politics. International relations is best understood from the perspective of Social Darwinism, "only the strong survive."

⁴Ibid., p. VI.

Part II is entitled "Regional and World Politics." In this section Simonds and Emeny apply their thesis to the major world powers. The authors conduct an inventory of the national resources of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Soviet Russia, China and the Asiatic Region, Japan, and the United States. This domestic strength or weakness is then explained in terms of how it has determined foreign policy actions. For example, in the case of Germany, Simonds and Emeny state:

For to understand the national policy of a Great Power, it is necessary to see into the soul of its people. Deep in the German soul has been the corroding sense of wrongs remediable only by the force of German armies. This persecutor complex has been aggravated by the Versailles Treaty and postwar events, but is as old as the German people and derives from their geographical position. Situated in the heart of Europe, Germany is surrounded by more countries than any other Great Power.⁵

Thus, Simonds and Emeny interpret Hitler's aggression into Eastern Europe as a continuation of the German peoples' historical search for security.

The final part of the book, "Can Peace be Preserved?" is devoted to the discussion of the eighteen years following the Conference of Paris after World War I. Simonds and Emeny are interested in the specific attempts at peace-keeping during this time period: the League of Nations, Locarno, and the attempts at naval and land disarmament.

⁵Ibid., p. 231.

The conclusion they reach is that history has repeated itself in reference to these postwar activities. The authors state:

No student of contemporary history can fail to note the obvious parallel between the decade and a half following the Congress of Vienna and the eighteen years which came after the Conference of Paris. Politically both were eras of reaction provoked by earlier convulsions: the first by the French Revolution, and the second by the Russians.⁶

In both cases, the authors believe that because of these revolutions and the preceding wars a "truce of exhaustion" existed among the Great Powers between 1815-1830 and 1920-1937. Such a peace "will always collapse because in effect if not in design, they perpetuate rather than amend the economic status quo."⁷

In the final analysis, Simonds and Emeny are not very hopeful concerning a permanent peace in the future. They do not base this pessimistic prognostication merely upon the unfortunate events of 1939, but on the "inability of the 'Haves' to utilize intelligently their undoubted power in meeting the issues raised by the 'Have-nots.'"⁸ The history of the nation-state system plus the present is characterized by inequalities which ultimately lead to conflict.

⁶Ibid., p. 635.

⁷Ibid., p. VII.

⁸Ibid., p. 647.

Simonds and Emeny state:

Today economic conditions have largely replaced political as causes of conflict. But this transformation has neither changed the nature of the problem nor modified the resolution of peoples. Thus, the contemporary question is whether peaceful means can be found for removing economic inequalities which nations will not endure; for in the end, if these nations discover no alternative, they will resort to arms. If mankind actually believed that war is the greatest of human evils, there would be no problem of peace. But such has never been the case in the past and obviously is not in the present.⁹

Simonds and Emeny's interpretation of the international environment is based in economic determinism. According to these authors, a plentiful endowment of national resources can put a nation-state in a strong economic as well as an enviable political position. No other textbook in this study based its arguments so closely on the theories of social conflict developed by Marx and Lenin. However, the only mention of Marx in the text is once in reference to the political program adopted by the Russian revolutionaries. Simonds and Emeny do not depict the international system as an antagonism between a capitalist class and the proletariat. But the authors, like Marx did view economic inequalities as the principal cause of conflict.

Modern World Politics by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and Associates was first published in 1942. A revised edition

⁹Ibid., p. 646.

was published in 1945 and is the subject of discussion in the present study. Although books of readings have been excluded as introductory textbooks in the study, the well-coordinated and integrative nature of the book plus the timeliness of the second edition (1945) have made it necessary to include this book in the study. Reminiscent of previous authors of textbooks in international relations, Kalijarvi begins the text by stating that the revised edition has not been drastically altered from the first book. Kalijarvi states, "In this revision the authors continue to review world currents as realistically as possible; to depict a world in which power is still the catalytic force in all international relations."¹⁰

However, Kalijarvi feels that changes on the international scene have been of such a severe nature that the publication of a second edition was imperative.

According to Kalijarvi, the changes in the international environment have affected the way in which national power is evaluated and measured. Kalijarvi, et al. is especially concerned with the implications these changes have had for the United States. He states:

There are several important reasons why a thorough knowledge of all facts and conditions affecting international relations has become

¹⁰Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and Associates, Modern World Politics, 2nd ed., (NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1945), p. V.

imperative for larger numbers of Americans. First, the United States, by its ratification of the United Nation Charter, has indicated embarkment upon an entirely new and broad program of cooperation in world affairs. Second, with the basic changes in the methods and instruments of waging war, the oceans and terrain barriers no longer offer positive strategic advantages; the United States has in a sense become an insular rather than a continental power. Third, the mushrooming of Communism and the socialization of economic institutions on other continents are developments of deepest moment for the United States.¹¹

In the content of the book, Kalijarvi and Associates interpret all of these changes in terms of how they have either impinged upon or strengthened the national power of nation-states.

The structure of the text indicates the predominance of the policy-process orientation in the book. The text begins with Part I, "Fundamentals of International Relations," an analysis of the meaning of power politics and many of the elements "(nationalisms, imperialism, minority ambitions, customs, and traditions)"¹² which characterize the dynamic nature of international politics. Also, Kalijarvi, et al. describes "a number of imperfect controls over struggles for power that have developed through the ages--international organizations, international law, and

¹¹Ibid., pp. V-VI.

¹²Ibid., p. 1.

various means for settling disputes among states with a minimum of friction."¹³

Kalijarvi does not believe any world organization can win out in the challenge posed by the nation-state. Great care should be taken to distinguish between what organizations aim to do and what they actually do. According to Kalijarvi, the world has not yet entrusted any organizations for long with any great political power, certainly not power that can curb national policies.

Part II of the text presents a description of the techniques which states employ to attain national goals, and Part III presents an analysis of the foreign policies of the "Great Regions" in world politics. The reader would expect the textbook to take this direction after reading Kalijarvi's interpretation of power and its meaning for the nation-state. He states:

Since the measure of the political greatness of a state is the power that it can wield or that it is reputed to be able to wield, power itself often becomes an objective. For a state to survive or to grow great in this world, it does not depend upon law, morality, or pious hopes, but upon a cold-blooded, clear-eyed evaluation of the forces at play. Whether it likes this situation or not, no state, by the very fact that it is a state can escape "playing the game". If it plans successfully, it survives; if not, it dies.¹⁴

Kalijarvi and Associates are much more interested in the

¹³Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 23-24.

specifics of how a nation gains, keeps, and exercises power, rather than describing the workings of an entire international system based in power politics.

Part II of Kalijarvi's text, entitled "Techniques and Instruments of Power Politics," resembles a handbook in military strategy. The authors are very much impressed with the military advancements made during World War II. The learning experience of the war has drastically altered the national resources which add to a nation's power and influence. Chapters such as: "The Art of Generalship," "Aeropolitics," "Psychological Warfare," "The Strategy of Treachery and Espionage," and "Sea Power in World Politics," exhibit the writers' tendency to equate military power with national power. Naturally, traditional factors are also included as playing a major role in determining a nation's strength (i.e. geography, population, economics, etc.). However, Kalijarvi, et al. believes that "military factors are of utmost importance in meeting political, economic, and social objectives."¹⁵

Part III, "The Great Regions in World Politics," according to Kalijarvi, "deals with the struggle for power as it has taken place in the recent past, as it is being conducted today, and to some degree, as it may be carried

¹⁵Ibid., p. 221.

on in the future. It is the story of how states have used their fundamental resources and techniques in order to reach their national objectives."¹⁶ This treatment is done regionally in order to show "the inter-relationships among neighboring states."¹⁷ The authors believe that the two world wars have demonstrated that significant events in one country are bound to affect the life of other countries. The boundaries of the nation-states are often ephemeral according to Kalijarvi. Thus, instead of a state-by-state analysis, the following regions are studied: the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Continent of Europe, USSR and Asia, Africa and the Arab lands, the United States (the only nation-state treated separated), Central and South America, and Japan, and China, and their Neighbors.

A treatment of the world by regions reveals the definite influence of geopolitics in the Kalijarvi study. Approximately twenty-five pages are devoted to this topic in the text. In the chapter "Geopolitics, Imperialism, and War" written by Joseph S. Roucek a critique of geopolitics is presented.

Roucek in Modern World Politics (1945) reviews these geopolitical theories. He then discusses how Mackinder's conception of the Heartland was borrowed by the noted German

¹⁶Ibid., p. 475.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 475.

army officer, Karl Haushofer. "Haushofer's influence was considerable in military circles and he was credited with being one of Hitler's very political advisors."¹⁸ The teachings and research of Haushofer appealed to the Nazi leaders and they adopted a geopolitical framework of thinking which expressed the need to enlarge frontiers, to obtain lebensraum, self-sufficiency in raw materials and other natural resources. Roucek recognizes the transformation geopolitics has undergone because of the military failure of Nazidom. As evidenced by the prominence of the subject in the text, this failure has not affected the recognition of the important role geopolitical factors still play in both war and in times of peace.

In the section of the Kalijarvi book, entitled "The Great Region in World Politics," the region-by-region analysis takes note of the geographical factors which characterize each region and how such factors may influence a country's ability to attain national goals. For example, in the chapter on the United States, Kalijarvi states, "The expansion of industry, growth of population, technological change, and other conditions challenged isolation, neutrality, and all the fundamentals of foreign policy the United States had followed for over a century."¹⁹ Kalijarvi

¹⁸Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁹Kalijarvi, World Politics, p. 616.

felt that this new role for the United States was pre-ordained. The factors which make a nation strong in peace and war were all present in this country and would eventually force the United States to embrace a Great Power role. Geographical and climatic characteristics, as well as, many other elements of national power were responsible for this inevitable historical movement.

Both the Simonds and Emeny text (1939) and the Kalijarvi book (1945) describe the national resources which make a nation strong. The authors link this analysis with a thesis concerning how the international system operates. Simonds and Emeny believe that the inequalities in resource distribution are the primary causes of conflict. Kalijarvi, et al. states that the national resources plus the military power automatically determine a country's potential for world leadership. In this text, the authors also believe that the contest for the position of leadership is responsible for international conflict. In later policy-process texts the authors are less willing to adopt a geopolitical theory based upon national resource distribution. The textbook writers of the next three decades are more concerned with the techniques of foreign policy-making and how and why particular countries (not regions) adopt a specific orientation in foreign policy-making.

Robert Strausz-Hupe and Stefan T. Possony had a text published in 1950 entitled International Relations in the Age of Conflict between Democracy and Dictatorships which represents the new approach in the policy-process texts. The second edition (1954) will be analyzed in this study since it retains the authors' major orientation, but also incorporates important events from 1950-1954. The Korean Conflict and the pervasive Cold War atmosphere have sharpened the authors' concern with intelligent policy-making by the United States government.

Strausz-Hupe and Possony begin their text with the following statement:

The authors thought it necessary to subject the foreign policies of the democracies to a searching and explicit critique, no less searching and explicit than the critique, contained in this volume, of the foreign policy of the dictatorships. The authors are fully aware that they will thus give offense to the preconception of at least a few among their readers. But the great issues of international politics are far too important and too pressing to be handled with non-committal delicacy.²⁰

Strausz-Hupe and Possony's expressed bias concerns the need for the democratic nations to take the initiative in world affairs. The authors state, "The democratic nations with surprising indifference to their own survival,

²⁰Robert Strausz-Hupe and Stefan T. Possony, International Relations, 2nd ed., (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1954), p. VIII.

condoned--indeed, sometimes abetted--the spreading of dictatorial government. In the rare cases when they opposed the danger, they indulged in those untimely half measures of which the present generation of democratic statesman has the unique secret."²¹

Part I of the text is entitled "Theory of International Relations," and is an attempt to build a theory around the concept of power. The authors link power with a nation's ability to reach national policy goals. Strausz-Hupe and Possony state:

While a government's routine decisions in the foreign field deal with economics and other international relations, the key decisions deal with international politics in the proper sense, i.e., with power politics. No decisions can be of higher importance than the resolution to enter into, or abrogate, alliances and federations; to engage in international conflict; to go to war; and to offer or to sue for peace. Such crucial decisions are motivated by the desire to increase power or to prevent power increases on the part of competing nations.²²

Thus, the authors believe that foreign policy is dominated by two contradictory requirements. "The need for economic and cultural relations can be satisfied only through cooperation among nations. Paradoxically, it is this cooperation which produces the necessary surplus energy and

²¹Ibid., p. VIII.

²²Ibid., p. 5.

wealth which allows nations to engage in power conflict."²³

Since the world is characterized by this paradox, Strausz-Hupe and Possony believe that foreign policy-makers are faced with a type of balancing act. They state, "The fundamental rule is, therefore, that the makers of foreign policy neither can with impunity concentrate on cooperative and neglect power competitors, nor without inviting disaster aim at accumulating power and neglect cooperation."²⁴ The best that can be expected is to approach policy-making with an attempt to maintain a rational outlook. According to the authors, "Success is dependent on insight, skill, perseverance, courage, and faith."²⁵

Parts III through VI of the text discuss the various elements of national power and the techniques of foreign policy. The authors analyze the same factors which add to a nation's strength as in the two previously discussed policy-process texts (i.e., geography, population, raw materials) but with an added emphasis on the industrial and technological strength of nations. The onset of the

²³Ibid., p. 7.

²⁴Ibid., p. 7.

²⁵Ibid., p. 49.

nuclear age is the apparent cause of the authors' pre-occupation with these elements of national power. They state, "By means of atomic warfare, the attacker may secure such a considerable initial advantage and reduce his opponents' economic production so effectively that the war potential of the latter never will come into play."²⁶ Control of atomic energy has displaced many of the national resources which were regarded as primary in the Simonds and Emeny text and the Kalijarvi book.

The authors' discussion of the techniques of foreign policy include many subjects familiar from the two preceding texts: alliances, isolationism, propaganda, political warfare, imperialism and colonialism, and economic warfare. Following these chapters in Part III through VI, is Part VII, "The Age of Conflict." This section gives proof of the authors' overriding concern with Soviet-American relationships. Throughout the text there is an implicit acceptance of a bipolar world, a world of good and evil.

Strausz-Hupe and Possony's interpretation of Soviet foreign policy objectives stress the importance of ideology and theory. The authors begin this section by stating:

In the Communist Manifesto (1848), Marx and Engels wrote that the communists disdain to conceal their aims. This is one of the few

²⁶Ibid., p. 174.

frank and truthful statements ever penned by dedicated communists. The communists never have hidden their purpose of destroying the existing social order the world over; indeed they loudly have proclaimed this intent. The student of international relations must register the fact that the Soviet leaders, for more than thirty-five years, have with unswerving dedication served their spurious cause, that a vast store of written and factual materials supply evidence for the Soviets' dilemma to achieve world hegemony; and that the free world rejects communism and resists the imposition of communist world rule.²⁷

Strausz-Hupe and Possony believe that without the "facade of ideology"²⁸ the Soviet leaders would stand exposed as the most wanton oppressors of history. Thus, Soviet foreign policy is interpreted as being previously expansionistic.

The authors' discussion of American foreign policy is based upon the contention that, "the Soviet regime will stay firmly in the saddle and its hostility will remain a threat to the free world for a long time to come."²⁹ Strausz-Hupe and Possony do not believe that the United States has adequately faced up to this threat in the past. In order to ensure national security, the authors feel that foreign policy-makers "must develop a new sense of reality in order to walk upright upon its path through a

²⁷Ibid., pp. 553-554.

²⁸Ibid., p. 554.

²⁹Ibid., p. 677.

world of decaying cultures and crumbling empires, which, in its entity, is being rents asunder by revolution."³⁰

This is not a very specific recommendation for curtailing the threat of communism. The authors do not favor containment; they believe that United States policy-makers should somehow take the initiative in the Cold War conflict with the USSR. A first step in this process according to the authors, is to admit that they are engaging in a power struggle. They state:

The United States was and still is one of the most accomplished practitioners of power politics. The U.S. consistently denied that it engaged in power politics, but precisely because of its vehement demands the United States was able to use power technique with exceptional success and with an untroubled conscience.³¹

According to the authors this image of idealism must not be confused with reality. "The United States is compelled to maintain, for the duration of the Soviet threat, a huge military establishment to deter aggression and ward off nuclear destruction."³²

The authors conclude the text with a further declaration of Soviet foreign policy and the need for strong Western opposition. The authors state:

³⁰Ibid., p. 681.

³¹Ibid., p. 681.

³²Ibid., p. 681.

The West has a rich tradition of political sagacity ennobled, as Soviet doctrine is not, by a "decent regard" for the aspirations of mankind. It has most certainly the natural and technical resource that can be forged into instruments for enforcing its political solutions. These political solutions may not lead to utopia but they may give mankind the breathing spell it needs to adjust itself to those changes which necessitate the transformation of obsolescent political structures into a universal Good Society.³³

Strausz-Hupe and Possony believe such objectives can only be attained through smart policy decisions by the United States.

The effect of Korea and the Cold War climate within the United States has had a far reaching impact upon the policy-process texts. These writers were as aware as the power politics authors of the alleged dangers of idealistic thinking and peacekeeping devices, such as the League of Nations and the more current United Nations. Harsh lessons learned from two world wars, the advent of the nuclear age, and limited post-war skirmishes with the communist nations had made the attainment of national objectives the central concern for the policy-process authors. The elements of national power and their proper utilization became the overreaching subject of concern in the textbooks. Most of these texts were written from a U.S.-centric point of view.

³³Ibid., p. 806.

Two editions of The Dynamics of International Relations (1962 & 1967) by Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln are similar to the Strausz-Hupe and Possony book. The 1962 edition's stated objectives are: "1) to expose the dynamic characteristics of the present international scene as we see them raising potentially, troublesome questions for Americans and for free nations elsewhere; and 2) to afford some guidelines for those who may be called upon, whether as citizens or as officials of government, to deal with a world in which they will have harsher realities and more difficult choices than at any time in their history."³⁴ Obviously, the authors maintain the U.S.-centric approach which was promulgated in the Strausz-Hupe and Possony text.

In both texts the authors state the theoretical proposition that search for power and influence toward achievement of national purposes are among the most vital motivations behind the choices made by governments. The foreign policy-making processes of nation-states provide the only systematic method of analysis of international affairs, according to the authors. Through their foreign policies, nations attempt to maintain their national interests and extend these perceived interests.

³⁴Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln, The Dynamics of International Politics, 1st ed., (NY: The MacMillan Co., 1962), p. VI.

Implicit within their policy-making approach is the acceptance of an international system in continuous conflict. Some nations, according to Padelford and Lincoln, have attempted to protect their perceived interests by rigidly defending a given status quo, some by enlarging their territory or sphere of influence, some by attempting to reduce a foreign threat or danger. The countless policy options available to nations leads to inevitable incompatibility. International relations becomes characterized by a constant "struggle for power." In order to make such an analysis more meaningful it is necessary to "focus attention not merely on power but also on the source and well-springs of the values and goals which unite and divide nations."³⁵

These "sources and wellsprings" referred to by the authors are the factors which determine the positions and policies of nation-states. Part I was a reaffirmation of the power politics approach to international relations. In Part II the authors discuss the specific elements of power: geography, population, technology, economy, ideology, and militia power. In the 1962 edition it is evident that the authors do not want to make a commitment concerning which factor guarantees the greatest degree of security. The following paragraph demonstrates the authors'

³⁵Ibid., p. 26.

belief that international affairs may be in a state of transition."

One of the principal classical reasons for the existence of a state is the provision of physical security for its citizens and protection for their institutions and values. But a single state by its own action can no longer guarantee its security. Some, such as the United States and the Soviet Union, can still, alone, guarantee a high probability of security in the short term, however, longer term prospects are much more questionable. Alone, the individual nation-state can no longer carry out its responsibility for the security of its people.³⁶

This passage suggests that the authors at the opening of the 60's see the world as markedly different from the immediate post-World War II era. Fundamental changes in the structure of world power have resulted from the war. The authors cite a number of factors which have contributed to shifts of power, attitudes, and outlooks: "the dawn of the space age; acquisition of nuclear capability by the USSR; the creation of many new nations; the emergence of Communist China as a major power centre; and the Soviet stand for world leadership."³⁷ What this all means is that the immediate postwar condition of bipolarity has given way to a greater diffusion of power.

Padelford and Lincoln believe that this diffusion of power has led to a dilemma among foreign policy-makers.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 218-219.

³⁷Ibid., p. 563.

National security has become a vague unknown quality in the world of the 1960's. The authors state, "There is a consciousness of shared insecurity on the part of nations and individuals."³⁸ The quest for power may still be a nation's primary goal, but how does one get it? The most vital question of the day becomes: "What, then, can be done to insure the security of states as a group, and for individual states to generate increased security without increasing the insecurity of their fellow states?" ³⁹

In the conclusion of Part II amidst this tone of uncertainty there is a certainty of which the authors want the reader to be assured, "Since the Sino-Soviet group is avowedly militant in pressing its purposes, there is for the free world in the near term no alternative but to maintain a dynamic equilibrium of military power while at the same time continuing resourceful efforts to strengthen existing institutions such as the United Nations."⁴⁰ The Sino-Soviet split had not occurred as of yet; thus, the authors, are expressing the prevalent Cold War attitude of confrontation which prevailed in the United States at this time. The student introduced to the discipline of international relations with the second edition of

³⁸Ibid., p. 219.

³⁹Ibid., p. 218.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 218.

Padelford and Lincoln's book is presented with a sympathetic supportive view of the arms race.

Part III, "The Formulation and Shaping of Foreign Policy," continues this line of thought. This section deals with two aspects of international politics: the nature of foreign policy and the political processes by which states evolve their foreign policies. The authors believe that international politics consists of the clashing of three foreign policies related to three basic governmental systems: "the United States' separation-of-powers system; the cabinet system of a government responsible to a popularly elected parliament, as in Britain and many other free nations; and the Soviet-designed system of authoritative rule."⁴¹ In this section the authors endeavor to deal with each of these systems and how their foreign policies are created. This separate treatment of foreign policies is then concluded with a comparative summation. The following paragraph provides a good insight into the thesis of Part III:

In summation it may be said that the nature, the substance, and the procedures of Soviet and Chinese Communist decision-making are radically different from those of Western democracies. The differences in nature and substance stem from the essentially peaceful defense, and preservatory objectives of the democracies, as contrasted with the doctrinaire, fanatical, and aggressive objectives of the two chief communist states. The

⁴¹Ibid., p. 222.

differences in procedures are a function of the constitutional and institutional emphasis found in the liberal democracies as compared with the personal and totalitarian nature of the Communist regimes.⁴²

Padelford and Lincoln's warning of confrontation between East and West takes on an even greater tone of urgency in the last section of Part III. Here the authors ponder what the future of Sino-Soviet will actually be. Padelford and Lincoln begin by noting a few sources of conflict which may lead to a split in the alliance. For example, "both nations are accustomed to hard bargaining, setting high demands, and to extreme forms of name-calling and rudeness toward opponents."⁴³ All of these are cited by the authors as causes of conflict.

The authors fear that the higher the stakes of world politics becomes, the more extreme the tactics of each country may become. Padelford and Lincoln temper their prognosis for a schism between China and the USSR with the notion that "a Sino-Soviet split may be a deliberately contrived tactical maneuver."⁴⁴ Such a maneuver would successfully confuse the West in their perception of the contemporary balance of power. With this scenario as a real possibility for the future the authors predict

⁴²Ibid., p. 328.

⁴³Ibid., p. 331.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 331.

"Whatever way these things work out, the future relations between the Communist giants are wrought with grave dangers to others." 45

The final section is entitled "Organizing the International Community." This section deals with past and present attempts to bring the international environment out of a state of anarchy. International law and international organizations are covered in this part of the text.

The authors believe that the problems confronting nations are ineffably complex. Organized cooperation is interpreted by Padelford and Lincoln as a response to a sense of need that is mutually shared in varying ways and with differing outlooks. The scatter patterns of organizations is likely to remain as long as this situation exists. Thus, the authors believe that a proliferation of regional, universal, and military organizations should be expected in future international affairs.

The 1962 edition of The Dynamics of International Politics revealed the anxiety American political scientists felt due to the Sino-Soviet pact. A review of the second edition of Padelford and Lincoln's text is done with the express purpose of attempting to discern a change in the authors' attitudes after the Sino-Soviet split. The publication of the second edition was in 1967, allowing

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 331.

the authors a good amount of time to reflect upon their prognostications for the future.

The 1967 edition is organized in the same manner as the first text. Padelford and Lincoln have rewritten the text in order to take into account, "changes and shifts in power relationships, the multiplication of states, and the increasing importance of development and nation-building."⁴⁶ Upon reading the text one finds that the authors have indeed become more concerned about this last element. Third World nations by the latter part of the 1960's with their dominant voice in the United Nations and as the stage for superpower conflict have taken on new meaning and importance in the introductory texts. Physical evidence of this recognition of importance by the authors is demonstrated with the addition of a new chapter on population growth.

The unprecedented number of developing countries created a unique world political problem. The authors state that most of the people in LDC's are reaching the age level of military service, childbearing, voting, and industrial labor. This, they comment, is particularly noticeable in China, Southeast Asia, certain countries in Latin America, and parts of Africa. This is considered

⁴⁶Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln, The Dynamics of International Politics, 2nd ed., (NY: The MacMillan Co., 1967), p. 5.

significant since they pose a problem of unemployment. The authors believe that this condition of overpopulation may result in politically unstable and highly nationalistic conditions.

Padelford and Lincoln's concern for the Third World is placed in the context of the struggle for power between the United States and the USSR. The authors believe that the "new nationalism" in the underdeveloped areas is advantageous for Communistic hegemonic desires. The burden of anticolonialist sentiment borne by the Western powers has made Communist ideology much more attractive than that of the West. According to Padelford and Lincoln there is an eminent danger that the new nations will ultimately be drawn into the Soviet sphere of influence.

Communist strategy outside the Soviet bloc has sought temporary alliance with nationalism as a means to Communist penetration. Communist leaders have then to take over from the bourgeois' national liberation movements. In the first stage Communists try to expand influence through trade, economic assistance the example of Soviet economic growth; and through infiltration of government and influential groups. Soviet policy anticipates that in the second stage the underdeveloped countries will make the transition to Communism. Soviet policy seems to accept Lenin's prophecy that the outcome of the struggle will be determined by control of the majority of the world's population, which lives in Russia, India, and China.⁴⁷

The authors obviously take a doctrinaire view of Communist foreign policy toward the Third World. In the first

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 99.

edition evidence was found which demonstrated this propensity in terms of US-USSR relations. Now this mode of thinking has been extended to the LDC's. Actual reaffirmation of this interpretation of Soviet foreign policy is found in Part III, where the authors compare the Communist and US foreign policy processes. Padelford and Lincoln state: "The Marxist-Leninist doctrines of inevitable conflict between the Communist and capitalist worlds and of dialectical materialism are the continuing basis of Soviet foreign policy, though now complicated by the Sino-Soviet struggle for Communist leadership."⁴⁸ Peaceful co-existence, for these authors, becomes merely a disguise for expansionistic policies. They state:

Much has been said by Soviet leaders about peaceful coexistence. Careful examination of statements made to Soviet and Communist audiences reveals that this means coexistence only until Communist forces are able to overthrow regimes now outside their control and to isolate and undermine the West. No cessation of the struggle against the West and no moratorium on efforts to subvert the developing lands is implied in the concept. Soviet doctrine supports "wars of liberation" that is, insurgency against non-Communist governments.⁴⁹

Obviously, the second edition has not relinquished the Cold War overtones which dominated the first edition of the text. Even with the reality of the Sino-Soviet

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 279.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 279.

split, the authors are assured of the continued quest of world domination by the Soviets.

The last section of Part III is once again devoted to the "Future of Sino-Soviet Relations." The authors admit that classical Marxism-Leninism did not explicitly foresee a situation in which two great Communist-ruled powers would rival one another for world leadership; Lenin and Stalin contemplated only a situation in which the Soviet Union would always be the vanguard. For the authors this does not mean that world revolution through Communist aggression has become a thing of the past. In 1967 Padelford and Lincoln hint at the possibility of eventual reconciliation of the two nations, despite very different cultural, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. The authors state:

If the projections of economic growth and the predictions of the demographic experts match present estimates from 1975-2000 there could be such an increase in productivity and population in China and the Soviet Union that a revolutionary swing in the balance of world power could occur if these powers were able to heal their split and if the Western nations were no more united than they are now. The future relations between the Communist giants are fought with grave dangers to others.⁵⁰

In the final analysis, both volumes by Padelford and Lincoln serve as warnings to U.S. citizens. The world is seen by the authors as in a state of transition. Padelford and Lincoln state, "There are two revolutionary forces,

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 290.

perhaps critically incompatible with each other--the revolution of rising expectations and the population explosion"⁵¹ represent the first challenge emanating from the Third World. The second challenge of this transitory time is the Communist ideology "which is doctrinally aggressive, having a dogma that the march of lust dictates the ultimate triumph of Communism."⁵²

These challenges of the present and the future require an active leadership role in world politics by the United States, according to the authors. They state:

For the United States the preservation and strengthening of our freedom and institutions lies at the heart of our national purpose. Surrounding these are our other objectives, looking toward a more peaceful and a more prosperous world in which law and justice may more fully reign in the affairs of nations. In our times we cannot close our eyes to the prospect that the double series of challenge will place unprecedented demands upon the United States. And however difficult it may be, the United States must have the necessary foresight, the ability to organize its policy-making process, and the willingness to commit resources to policies the end results of which are far from clear and certainly attainable in a short time. Only thereby can purpose be steady and successfully pursued.⁵³

World peace and security become tied to the containment of communism and the strength of the United States. The Padelford and Lincoln text epitomizes the U.S.-centric

⁵¹Ibid., p. 563.

⁵²Ibid., p. 563.

⁵³Ibid., p. 575.

approach. The United States should engage in the struggle for world power with the knowledge that Her policies represent the only viable path to world peace and security.

It would be impossible to use the Padelford and Lincoln texts in an introductory international relations class today. These are books which are tied to the times when they were written. K. J. Holsti's International Politics (1967) is a text which seeks to avoid this entrapment. In the Preface, Holsti indicts past international relations texts for their "current events" approach. He states:

All the approaches have their value, but perhaps ideally one general work should attempt to combine them. The observer of current affairs should relate his tales to generalizations of broader significance for surely there is some lesson of general applicability to be learned from the Cuban crisis of 1962, the problems of NATO or the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.⁵⁴

Holsti's intent signifies the now all-important goal of international relations scholars. It has become extremely important to define the boundaries of the field. The discipline and its practitioners must move beyond the scope of "recorders of current events." Students must become aware of the tools and framework which is unique to the discipline of international relations.

A study of Holsti's text reveals that this book is very different than any other textbook published at this

⁵⁴K. J. Holsti, International Politics, (NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967), p. VII.

time. Holsti's framework of analysis is based upon answering two basic questions: 1) Why do states conduct their relations in specified ways?; and 2) How do they conduct their relations? This organization and its emphasis on foreign policy qualifies the book to be designated as a policy-making text.

The first six chapters of the text attempt to answer the first question which was posed. Holsti presents a descriptive analysis of the alternate approaches to international relations; the different types of international systems (i.e. Chou Dynasty, Greek city-states); the Western State System; and foreign policy orientations, objectives, and formulation.

In the first chapter, Holsti outlines four general approaches to the study of international relations. He describes a first group of scholars as those who focus their attention on international law and institutions. This is a continuation of the tradition which was popular immediately after World War I. The second group of scholars is defined as those who look upon military and defense policies as the best way to secure stability. Instead of long-range techniques of ordering international relationships, these scholars are concerned with immediate security and strategic problems. A third group of scholars takes the position that while the study of international relations

is properly concerned with descriptive, military, and ethical analysis of contemporary problems, the main purpose should be to present general propositions or theories. After this initial step, the scholar should then attempt to construct hypothesis which may help in predicting the future. Holsti's final group of scholars combines the main characteristics of the first with the third. These people are deeply concerned with the problems of peace and war but he argues that these can never be understood or controlled unless a vast amount of reliable knowledge about the subject is first created. This approach has earned the title "peace research" since the primary objective of these scholars is to control processes leading to violence. Holsti attempts to present the student with an integrated overview of contemporary research in the discipline.

The Holsti text is also of relevance because it indicates the voluminous amount of research which has taken place within the field since its inception. Holsti states, "In this book we are interested primarily in types of foreign policy, bargaining processes, and means of wielding influence, not with the activities of only one state or group of states."⁵⁵ In the chapters devoted to foreign policy-making Holsti relies on contemporary research to provide a framework to explain how foreign policy is

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 17.

actually made. He is more concerned with the process rather than making suggestions on what the future U.S. role in world politics should be.

For instance, in the chapter entitled, "Foreign Policy Objectives" Holsti presents a description of a nation's core interests and values, middle range objectives, and long range goals. This framework can be applied to any nation-state. Such a framework is valuable to the student since he or she will then be able to analyze and dissect future international events as they are presented by the media. All of the chapters in the Holsti book bear this same concern for establishing a framework of analysis. Holsti's ability to write such a text demonstrates the maturation of international relations as a separate discipline. He owes much to the many scholars who designed the conceptual tools and theories which have allowed this more organized presentation of the behaviour of nation states.

This new method of analysis within the policy-making approach was again used in 1977 by Robert L. Wendzel in his text, International Relations--A Policymaker Focus. Wendzel attempts to analyze international relations from the viewpoint of the policymaker. Like Holsti's text this is not a U.S.-centric view. Wendzel is fairly descriptive in his orientation. There are certain steps which all

policymakers go through when deciding a foreign policy. He also believes that there are common policy-making problems. These are just two examples of how the author follows through on his intention of familiarizing students with the general nature of the international environment. Wendzel believes that there are certain generalizations and commonalities which exist in international relations and every policymaker is confronted with them no matter to what country he owes his allegiance.

The policymaker focus is the central organizing feature of Wendzel's text. Wendzel states that there are four parts to this feature:

First, it involves a concern for the policymaker's actual perception and actions. Second, it includes an examination of the many factors that significantly affect the policymaker, whether he is aware of them or not. Third, the approach includes a continuing effort to induce the student to put himself in the policymaker's shoes. And fourthly, the book contains a normative element. Frequently, there is an attempt to provide some guidelines as to how policymakers presumably, "should try to proceed in certain cases what the policy should at least attempt to do."⁵⁶

Wendzel carries the same hope that Holsti stated in his text, "This pragmatic specificity should provide the student with a useful, analytical foundation for his own examination of concrete situations."⁵⁷

⁵⁶Robert L. Wendzel, International Relations, A Policymaker Focus, (NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. VII.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. VII.

Wendzel's organizational approach is, first, to analyze the fundamental framework for the policymaker's activities--the basic features of the international environment within which he works. For example, in this section the author discusses states and nonstate parties and their respective roles in the international system. Second, in the next two chapters Wendzel focuses upon the steps in formulating policy. He outlines it as a five-step process: 1) Who is involved?; 2) Determination of objectives; 3) Ascertaining capability; 4) Determining orientation; and 5) External means of increasing capability. In the third section Wendzel analyzes the instruments of policy implementation (i.e. Foreign Aid, Warfare, propaganda, etc.). And finally he examines common policymaking problems.

Holsti and Wendzel's texts have reversed what the earlier policy-making texts have sought to accomplish. The earlier texts placed current affairs as the focal point of their discussions. In other words, for writers such as Padelford and Lincoln the current state of Soviet foreign policy became primary, and generalizations concerning how policy was made were treated as secondary. Holsti and Wendzel make the generalization on foreign policymaking primary and then use current events as a case study to prove the generalization.

For example, in Chapter 1, "The International Environment," Wendzel includes a section on the role of ideology in international affairs. He begins the section by stating that an ideology may influence the policymaker's calculations. He defines ideology as "the more or less coherent and coexistent sum total of ideas and views on life and the world that grounds the attitudes of actual or would-be power-holders."⁵⁸ In order to get a better understanding of this phenomenon's operation, Wendzel then moves to an examination of the "liberal" American belief system, and the role of communism in the conduct of Soviet foreign policy.

Despite the new orientation in the policymaking texts it is quite easy to prejudice the reader to the view of the writer in these books. Although the reference to the impact of ideology on Soviet foreign policy is meant only as a case study reinforcing a primary concept, there is no way of assuring that a student will remember the concept rather than the writer's personal views on Soviet foreign policy.

Wendzel in his discussion of Soviet ideology gives evidence of the softened attitude toward the Russians which has come with the onset of detente. During the 1950's and early 1960's the texts interpreted Soviet foreign

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 21.

policy in terms of Marxist-Leninist dogma, either because of lack of information or because of inherent biases. Wendzel notes in his text the "flexibility" of the Communist ideology. He states:

A strict interpretation of most Communist thought allows for little in the way of friendly relations with capitalists. In practice, however, Communist Russia has had to choose the lesser capitalist evil on many occasions. Today she is more friendly to the leading capitalist country, the United States, than to Communist China. It is important to note that Communist thought could be and was very 'flexible' in order to justify actions whose objective often was simple survival and whose major decision component was consideration of capability.⁵⁹

Obviously, even when an author attempts to provide the student with an enduring analytical framework, the attitudes and interpretations of the time period will come across. This is to be expected since no textbook author writes within a vacuum or entirely blocks out contemporary affairs. Holsti and Wendzel's texts are less time-bound than the policy-making texts. They also provide a great service to the discipline by presenting to the introductory student a view of international relations with more well-defined boundaries and basic concepts than any other policy-making text to date.

The final text to be reviewed in this section is The Logic of International Relations, second edition,

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 22.

by Steven J. Rosen and Walter S. Jones. This text is an experiment in what the authors call "perceptual analysis." According to Rosen and Jones they are attempting to apply the Stanislawski Method of acting to the study of international relations. The authors state:

We will try temporarily to be the figure we wish to understand. Instead of taking a detached, objective, "scientific" perspective and looking at each actor's view critically, we will try to step into each nation's shoes to look at the world from its own point of view. This is an exercise in role-playing, or more exactly in role-writing, imagining first the outlook of a Soviet Communist, then seeing the world from an American point of view, then as a U.S. ally, then as a Chinese Communist and finally from a synthesized Third World perspective.⁶⁰

According to the authors the advantage of a presentation such as this will enable the student to understand points of view which are profoundly different from our own. "The relations of nations are in their very nature a meeting place of divergent preceptors."⁶¹

How does the Rosen and Jones text fit into the category of the policy-process books? First, it must be recognized that this is a fairly unique work in the field of international relations. It was not until the latter part of the 1960's that authors became student-oriented. Introductory international relations texts prior to this were

⁶⁰Steven J. Rosen and Walter S. Jones, The Logic of International Relations, 2nd ed. (Mass. Winthrop Pub., Inc., 1977), pp. XIII-XV.

⁶¹Ibid., p. XV.

written to interpret the contemporary international environment, (current events). They were not concerned with ordering the vast amount of data which had come to make up the discipline of international relations. From a pedagogical view it seems the earlier texts were written for the authors' colleagues within the profession, and works such as Holsti's, Wendzel's, and now Rosen and Jones' text were more well-suited to the classroom. A judgment such as this can be made, since in the latter three texts the authors have made more of an effort to present the reader with key concepts of international relations rather than personal evaluations of contemporary issues. As mentioned earlier, the scope and boundaries of the field had become more well-defined.

Of course, this concern with student learning does not qualify the text as a policy-process book. Perceptual analysis is directly tied to the making of foreign policy. For instance, in the average policy-process text there is many times a section devoted to the foreign policies of specific countries or regions. In the Rosen and Jones text, Part I is an analysis of the world outlook of the five key actors in the contemporary international system: USSR, United States, the major Western allies, China, and the collective image of the Third World. This section is comparable to the foreign policy section in the other

policy-process texts. The main difference is that instead of explaining the Soviet or the Allies foreign policy from an American point of view their foreign policy is explained as a logical outgrowth of internal factors. In other words, Rosen and Jones pay special attention to the domestic scene within a country and how it influences and shapes foreign policy.

The authors admit that there are certain problems with this approach to international relations. Rosen and Jones state:

It has been said that this method tends to be forgiving of sins, to view the behavior of each actor in the sympathetic light of its own values and experiences. Ultimately, each actor is free of responsibility, each the victim of respective misperceptions. We concede that an agnostic analysis of positions, giving the internal logic of each case and avoiding external judgments, may introduce greater moral ambiguities than fixing a single position from which to assess all the alternative views. We believe that these dilemmas of reactionism and ambiguity are inherent in international relations, and that it is necessary to escape the comfort of one's own belief system.⁶²

A student may conclude the course by not knowing what is right or wrong, since the authors refuse to make judgments. However, the realization that international issues are not black and white, that international actors cannot be defined as good or evil, is probably the most important lesson to take away from an introductory course in international relations.

⁶²Ibid., XVII.

In order to demonstrate exactly how perceptual analysis is used by the authors and show its correlation with the policy-process approach, it is necessary to review a chapter in Part I of the text. The chapter on the Soviet perspective is a good indication of how Rosen and Jones use perceptual analysis.

The authors begin the chapter by stating that the Soviet point of view has two core themes: "a Russian theme as a nation with a long history of goals and conflicts before communism, and the Communist theme based on a universal ideology, which is a system of beliefs and values purporting to apply equally to all countries."⁶³ During the mid-1970's when the text was being written, the spirit of detente had a great effect upon how academics interpreted US-USSR relations. This could explain why Rosen and Jones believe the mixture of goals of the Soviet Union have shifted to a greater emphasis on national interests and a reduction of communism's universal goals. In their view, more attention is being given to the problems of Russian society and the demands of the Russian people.

In explaining the two core elements of the Russian perspective the authors first discuss the fundamentals of communism relying on what they conceive as Marxist-Leninist dogma for most of their content. For example, they devote

⁶³Ibid., p. 3.

a section to economic determinism and quote a passage from The Communist Manifesto.

The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf, guild-burgers and journeyman--in a word, oppressors and oppressed--stood in sharp opposition each to the other.⁶⁴

Rosen and Jones interpret this to mean that in every organized society one class controls the ownership of the means of production, and it uses political authority and all-powerful institutions to maintain this control. Society becomes a pyramid in which the broad working class at the bottom produces wealth for an elite at the top.

The second core theme, Russian national interests, is then discussed by the authors. In this section Rosen and Jones discuss the part historic Russian policy has played in the Soviet perspective. For example, the problem with border areas is discussed:

Another part of the historic Russian policy that preceded communism but has continued is the pursuit of influence in critical border areas: Poland, Balkans, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits, Manchuria, Finland, and elsewhere. The values in these policies are economic, strategic, and even cultural (pan-Slavism, in addition to the impetus of Communist ideology. Indeed it is argued by some that the whole modern Soviet policy is nothing more than a continuation of the imperialism of the Tsars, even in Korea, Iran, and Mongolia.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 4.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 13.

The authors conclude this section by saying that the relative position of various national interests and ideological goals in Soviet foreign policy change over time. Rosen and Jones state, "Indeed, it is probable that Russian national demands have overshadowed questions of Communist principle, particularly in later years."⁶⁶

This exercise in perceptual analysis continues with an application of the Soviet point of view to the international system, the United States, Europe, and China. Rosen and Jones believe that the contemporary international system is seen as largely unjust and threatening to the Soviet Union, whose main role is to defend itself and its allies and to combat international injustice. Such an outlook characterizes the USSR because, "The dominant theme in the Soviet view is the theory of imperialism. Capitalism, which is still the social system in most of the advanced and powerful countries, is supported by class exploitation, and imperialism is simply the international expression of this exploitation."⁶⁷ It becomes the obligation of the USSR to defend other Communist states from capitalist-inspired counterrevolution or invasion.

The second part of the text is entitled, "The Logic of Power" and is a discussion of power, the balance of

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 31.

power, the balance of terror, and the causes of war. This chapter resembles many others found in the policy-process texts. The authors describe the ingredients of power potential. In this text, the authors recognize that power comes from three sources: natural, sociopsychological, and synthetic. This analysis is not any more sophisticated than what is found in early policy-process texts, despite the new general classifications of the elements of power. Geography, population, national self-image, and quality of leadership are discussed as in earlier texts, without any new major insights.

In Part III, "The Logic of World Order," the authors conclude with a treatment of International law and organizations. The authors discuss intergovernmental, functional, and nongovernmental organizations in the text and reach the same conclusions for all these international actors. Rosen and Jones do not believe that the organizations will replace the nation-state as the principal actors of the international system. The unifying effect of the organizations will increase if the conflictual nature of world politics continues to moderate over the years. In their presentation, an attitude of hope for the future growth of the ideals of cooperation is embodied in the organizations.

Also in this section is a general conclusion to the text which offers an interesting thesis by the authors.

Rosen and Jones state, "Despite the contributions made to international peace and stability by nongovernmental organizations, international law, and regional integration, it is apparent that the international system presently points toward self-destruction."⁶⁸ Rosen and Jones' pessimistic view of international relations is atypical for policy-process authors. Normally, both power politics and policy-process authors believe that the effective management of power in the present international political and economic structure is enough to assure peace. Rosen and Jones believe that a more extreme type of change has to take place:

Our choice, it now appears, is not between perpetuation of the present structure and vague alternatives but between: 1) world order based on piecemeal erosion of states' sovereignty, and 2) highly institutional and expansionist world government. The longer the choice is delayed, the more alternatives narrow to two: expansionist world government and systemic destruction.⁶⁹

A conclusion such as this is more in keeping with the prescriptive approach found in the textbooks.

Rosen and Jones' text is not only unique among the policy-process texts because of their perceptual approach, but also because of their highly visible condemnation of the international order. This latter characteristic has not been associated with earlier policy-process texts.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 440.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 440-441.

The reason for this alteration is due to a change in text-book writing which typifies texts of the 1970's, rather than texts of any one category. During the 1970's, text-book writers in each category admitted that North-South relations may be the real source of conflict in the very near future.

Although a multitude of international crises occurred in the 1970's, (i.e. Angola, Arab-Israeli conflict, etc.) it would be impossible to link the change in the Rosen and Jones text to any one incident. Not even the Vietnam War can serve as a watershed mark in the alteration from one style to another. A change in style or orientation is due to the authors becoming aware of a major problem which exists in the international area. The problem is so far-reaching and complex that it indicates a flaw in the nation-state system which has existed since the contemporary international system began in the 1600's.

Most of the texts which were first published in the 1970's all indicate an increasing loss of faith by the authors in the nation-state. Besides East-West relations, the 1970's have witnessed a growth in literature and concern for North-South relations. Third World countries because of their strong voice in the UN, the growth in political power of their members (OPEC), and the escalating need for raw materials and new markets by the West have

come to the center of attention in world politics. The international relations text attests to this rise in Third World attention, not only by devoting lengthier chapters to the subject, but also by taking on an alarmist characteristic. To textbook writers such as Rosen and Jones there cannot be a solution to this problem without a violent confrontation.

International relations texts of the 1930's closely resemble 1970's texts which present this doomsday image. In the case of the 1930's texts, the growth of Fascism was the force which could not be dealt with peacefully. The approaching war with the Axis power had a cross-categorical effect. One could find books from each category predicting and warning of the impending conflict. In the 1970's, a sense of urgency is felt by the reader in all four types of textbooks, but this time the issue concerns the gross inequality of wealth which exists in the present international system. It seems, according to the authors, that it is only a matter of time before the LDC's demand restitution and violently take their share of the world's wealth.

The point of this discussion is to demonstrate that changes in the international environment may have the same type of impact on authors, despite the fact that their texts may belong to different categories. The new-found

concern for the Third World is a perfect example of this cross-categorical impact. The writers of many texts in the 1970's have been united in their forecast of inevitable confrontation between North and South. They retain their individual, unique approaches to presenting the substance of the discipline, but are united in the issuance of a warning.

Rosen and Jones have tampered with the policy-process approach through the presentation of perceptual analysis. Their methodology has broken new ground in the writing of international relations texts. The authors have placed a commitment to objectivity above the tempting opportunity to use the text as a platform to critique contemporary international affairs. Secondly, the text has declared the present international power arrangement dangerous and destined for eventual collapse. As mentioned above, the authors are reacting to a concern for North-South relations. This grim prediction is atypical for a policy-process text. However, during the 1970's the problem has had a great impact upon scholars within the field and has demanded notice from authors employing each type of approach in writing introductory texts. Rosen and Jones are responding to a new awareness within their discipline and an increasingly, perennially stronger demand from the Third World.

Conclusion

An attempt to rank the policy-process texts on a scale which measures the "pureness" of the authors commitment to the approach would be futile. None of the texts deviate significantly from the policy-process approach. However, in assessing the texts, there is a real separation between the Holsti, Wendzel, and Rosen and Jones texts and the presentation of material in the Simonds and Emeny, Kalijarvi, Strausz-Hupe and Possony, and Padelford and Lincoln texts. This difference should be explained since it signifies a change in textbook writers' attitudes concerning what their primary objective should be in writing an introductory book.

In the Simonds and Emeny, Kalijarvi, Strausz-Hupe and Possony, and Padelford and Lincoln texts, the authors' primary focus is on the interpretation of international events transpiring on the contemporary scene. From a pedagogical view, these texts do not effectively communicate the basic principles and theories of international relations. In their resolve to present the reader with an assessment of contemporary affairs, the authors do not provide a comprehensive framework from which to interpret international affairs. Many times these policy-process texts become platforms for the authors to recommend what they believe are the wisest policy actions for

the U.S. in the future. Thus, the texts present a U.S.-centric view, which describes international relations in terms of a conflict-ridden environment in which the U.S. must emerge triumphant.

The Holsti, Wendzel, and Rosen and Jones texts indicate a student-directed concern. All three writers feel that it is important for students to leave an introductory course in international relations with a framework of analysis which will be applicable for the future. This indicates a shared interest with the systems approach texts, although the policy-process authors retain the policy-making perspective as the distinctive feature in their texts. The overlap between the policy-process texts of the 1970's and the systems books is to be expected since most of the systems texts were also published in the 1970's. The commonality registers the pervasive influence of behavioralism in international relations. As will be explained in the next section of this study the systems texts are a directed outgrowth of the influence of behavioralism. This results (in both 1970's policy-process and systems texts) in less of a current events type of approach and more of an emphasis being placed upon understanding the theories and conceptual tools which define the boundaries of the discipline.

The Rosen and Jones' text also reflects another major concern of the 1970's. Similar to the prescriptive texts, the Rosen and Jones book is pessimistic concerning the future of the contemporary international order. The North-South conflict has precipitated this wary attitude of the future. The result is that Rosen and Jones, along with the prescriptive authors, issue a plea for a drastic change in the structure of the world system. This text, in particular, is a good example of how international relations texts can maintain a dominant approach, but also integrate various characteristics of the other textual approaches.

The structure of the Rosen and Jones text, along with the Holsti and Wendzel books, also allows students the opportunity to judge contemporary international situations from their own perspective. Padelford and Lincoln's text confined the reader to a Cold War mode of thinking. A policy-process text is performing its primary objective best, when it avoids such an outcome. Students should begin to understand that policy-makers are faced with a myriad of options. The international arena may not have many commonly accepted "rules of the game," but there are also significant means to and degrees of comprehension. Just as in any other social science, there is a significant amount of information which defines the field of international relations. In the 1970's, textbook writers have

felt the need to present this information to students in order to make their text and a course in international relations more applicable and useful in the future.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYSTEMS-ORIENTED TEXTBOOKS

SYSTEMS TEXTBOOKS

"The early 1960's witnessed a considerable expansion of interest in theoretical analysis, especially in inductive and deductive theory and its validation by means of such methodologies as content analysis and bivariate and multivariate correlations."¹ "The results of these efforts have been published in numerous books and articles, which have appeared in the specialized periodicals of the field--World Politics, International Organization, Foreign Policy, Orbis International Security."² Behavioralism or the scientific approach to international relations was evidenced in the writings of the late 1950's and the early 1960's. "The powerful impact of scholars as diverse as Harold Lasswell, Karl Deutsch, and Morton Kaplan has depended on the case of each on their making relevant to the study of international relations new skills of analysis."³ "Charles McClelland has turned to general systems theory and Ernst Haas to functionalist sociology for their paradigms."⁴

¹James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, 2nd ed. (NY: Harper and Row Publishers, 1981), p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 111.

³William T. R. Fox, The American Study of International Relations (Univ. of South Carolina: Institute of International Studies, 1967), p. 100.

⁴Ibid., p. 100.

The approach of the power politics scholars is turned upside down. The behavioralists ask not what is the power of a given actor in a system but what factors operate to prevent the attainment of specified objectives.

Since the onset of behavioralism, system has become a widely used term in contemporary political science and international relations. The political system has been defined by Gabriel Almond as "that system of interaction to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the employment, or the threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion."⁵ Karl Deutsch holds that a system is characterized by transactions and communications. He is concerned with the extent to which political systems are equipped with adequate facilities for collecting external and internal information as well as transmitting the information to the points of decision-making.⁶ According to David Easton, systems theory is based on the idea of political life as a boundary-maintaining set of interactions imbedded in and surrounded by other social systems which constantly influence it.⁷

⁵Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 1981, p. 143.

⁶Ibid., p. 143.

⁷Ibid., p. 143.

According to Easten, political interactions can be distinguished from other kinds of interactions by the fact that they are oriented principally toward the "authoritative allocation of values for a society."⁸

In the study of international relations, Morton Kaplan suggests the existence of a system of actions which he defines as "a set of variables so related in contradistinction to its environment that describable behavioral regularities characterize the internal relationship of the set of individual variables to combinations of external variables."⁹ Charles McClelland carries this definition of systems theory further; it is fundamental to understanding the relationships among nation-states:

The strategy, first of all, of conceiving of many kinds of phenomena in terms of working relations among their parts, and then labeling them systems according to a definition of what part of the problem is most relevant, is the key to the approach. Then, the procedures of bypassing many complexities in order to investigate relationships between input and output, of systematically moving to different levels of analysis by recognizing the link of subsystems to systems, of being alert to 'boundary phenomena' and the ranges of normal operations of subsystems and systems, and of taking into account both parameters and perturbations in the environments of systems are other major parts of the general systems apparatus.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., p. 143.

⁹ Ibid., p. 146.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 146-47.

Charles McClelland has employed systems theory as a framework for an event interacting model, meaning he uses it to identify, measure, and examine interaction in one system and its subsystems. "Systems theory provides for the examination of linkages or recurrent sequences of behavior that originate in one system and are reacted to in another."¹¹ If such sequences can be isolated and examined, it may be possible to gain theoretical insights into the nature of the interdependence of international and national systems."¹²

The systems approach has become extremely popular among scholars in international relations because it (supposedly) furnishes a framework for the organization of information, integrating variables, and introducing materials from other disciplines. J. David Singer summarizes the advantages of this theoretical approach:

First of all, it is the most comprehensive of the levels available, encompassing the totality of interactions which take place within the system and its environment. By focusing on the system, we are enabled to study the pattern of interaction which the system reveals, and to generalize about such phenomena as the creation and dissolution of coalitions, the frequency and duration of specific power configurations, modifications, responsiveness to changes in formal political institutions, and the norms and folklore which it manifests as a societal

¹¹Ibid., p. 147.

¹²Ibid., p. 147.

system. In other works, the systemic level of analysis permits us to examine international relations in the whole, with a comprehensiveness that is of necessity lost when our focus is shifted to a lower, and more partial, level. For descriptive purposes, then, it offers the advantage of comprehensiveness.¹³

It is no surprise that systems theory has had its impact upon the textbooks in international relations. With its many adherents and its ability to order a vast amount of data, this approach has dominated the organization and structure of international relations textbooks in the 1970's.

An early forerunner of the systems textbooks of the 1970's was World Politics by A. F. K. Organski, published in 1958. In the Preface, Organski discusses the inadequacies of international relations as a discipline at this time. He feels that writings on the subject up to this point have been largely descriptive. The result has been the collection of an immense amount of data, with the discipline bordering on the verge of great discoveries. Organski states, "Those who work in it today are still groping, but within the next few decades the basic foundation of a new discipline will be laid."¹⁴

¹³James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, revised ed. (NY: The Free Press, 1969), p. 22.

¹⁴A. F. K. Organski, World Politics (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 5.

As a textbook writer one can easily see why Organski is classified within the systems category. He believes that it is the primary objective of textbook writers to organize the mass of detailed information within the field. He calls his new approach "scientific":

This book approaches international relations in the tradition of the sciences rather than that of the humanities or arts. To be scientific: a) it must be rational and conform to the rules of logical thought, b) concerned with empirical facts most focus on current and recent events. This text is not a history of recent happenings. Concrete incidents and cases are used for illustration and to test generalizations put forward.¹⁵

The book is divided into three broad sections: one, on the nation and its characteristics; two, on international relations; three, on international organizations. A conclusion sums up the findings and makes predictions.

Part I is an examination of the basic unit of all international relations, the nation. Organski sets as his goal in this section the determination of what it is that makes this particular group of people a unit. He concludes that it is a combination of political ties, territorial ties, political ideology, economic ties, a national language, a national culture, religious ties, and a common history which holds a nation together. In particular, he points out that nationalism is the main ingredient which holds people together in the political grouping known as a nation.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 5-7. - 244 -

Organski's analysis of the nation-state is not much different from that of power politics and policy-process authors of this time. He grants that the nation may diminish in importance in the distant future, but it is unlikely that this will occur in the near future. "The forces that created the nation have been a long time in the making, and the adjustments that individuals have made in accepting this new unit have been severe. It will take new forces at least as powerful and new adjustments at least as painful to destroy the nation-state."¹⁶ He ends this analysis with an attack on the prescriptive textbook writers: "To believe that nationalism will vanish because it is dangerous or that nations will wither away because there are better ways of organizing mankind is naive."¹⁷

Part II treats relations among nations first with relationships that characterize dealings between very strong nations and very weak nations and then moving on to relations among the great powers. In Chapter Twelve of this section entitled, "The Power Transition," Organski puts forward an interesting theory concerning instability in international politics in this latter part of the 1950's. He states:

¹⁶Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 50.

We have divided the history of international relations into three periods: the first period, now past, when no nation was industrial; the second period, running from about 1750 until some time in the future, where some nations are pre-industrial, some industrializing, and some fully industrial; and the third period, not yet begun, in which all nations will be industrial.¹⁸

Organski sees the present or second period as the period of the power transition. This is a dangerous time since some nations are industrialized while others are very rapidly reaching the stage of power maturity. As long as the already industrialized nations enjoy a large preponderance of power over the rest of the world, peace is guaranteed. However, as new nations industrialize, the old leader is challenged. This challenge, according to Organski, usually results in war.

After Organski states this theory concerning political conflict, he fills these generalized roles with nation-states. The United States becomes the older industrialized power and China, the new source of competition. Organski states, "China's power today is very little, but her potential is obvious, and there is already considerable sentiment in the West that we should adjust to allowing her a dominant role at least in the Far East."¹⁹ Organski believes that if the United States acknowledges this

¹⁸Ibid., p. 337.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 334.

inevitable rise in Chinese power, the risk of war will be reduced.

Similar to other texts written in the 1950's, Organski's book demonstrates a concern for the future relations between the USSR and China. He believes that, "Ties between Russia and China will become stronger and political policies closely coordinated."²⁰ It is important to note that Organski does not make the concern for the Sino-Soviet alliance the main feature of any chapter. The chapter on "The Power Transition" leaves the reader with an awareness of how a generalized international crisis can come about, rather than with a fear of a monolithic Communist threat.

Part III of the text is devoted specifically to international organizations. Organski contends that the student should keep in mind the kind of accomplishments that may reasonably be expected of them. It is his belief that in trying to arouse the support required to bring them into being, the founders have oversold them. The result has been puzzled disillusionment or furious rationalization when the organizations failed to live up to expectations. At best, Organski believes that the organizations can provide useful channels for negotiations when the desire to settle peaceably is present.

²⁰Ibid., p. 444.

Organski ends his text with a general conclusion which can be described as an attempt at social forecasting. These predictions are based upon the analytical foundation which Organski has built in the latter part of the book. Much of what is said in the conclusion of the text is not in keeping with the systems approach since Organski becomes primarily concerned with the contemporary international situation.

There are four predictions which Organski makes for the future. First, he states his belief that nations will continue to be significant units of action. Nationalism will keep nations from multiplying ties and seeking political interdependence. The second prediction is that the distribution of power among nations will continue to shift throughout the current period of time and this shift will be away from the Western nations. Organski sees Russia, China, and India on the rise over the next twenty-five years. Thirdly, he believes that the most important question which policymakers must be concerned with is "how long it will take China to achieve the status of the most powerful nation in the world."²¹ Organski states:

When China passes Russia, friction between these two nations should increase. Relations may even get quite nasty, but it seems safe to predict that Russia will hand over leadership

²¹Ibid., p. 446.

of the Communist world to her great partner without a fight for China's superior power potential will be obvious. She will merely seek to dominate, not to overthrow the Communist order; and a tradition of friendship will help to ease the transfer. Russia has already exhibited considerable flexibility in her relations with China. Choices of serious conflict between the two are slight, and attempts to split off China from the Communist bloc are probably a waste of time.²²

Organski's final prognostication concerns relations with the USSR. He states, "War with Russia is highly likely in fifteen to twenty-five years, for at that time Russia's power will roughly approximate that of the United States and the conditions necessary for war will be present."²³ According to Organski, there are two chances of avoiding war. First, if Russia is cautious and the United States becomes more flexible in her foreign policy there may be a way of averting international disaster. A specific recommendation which he makes is for the United States to unite with the nations of Western Europe into one new and mighty nation. Only in this way can the United States retain a definite monopoly on international power. Organski ends by stating the realization that such a union will probably never take place. He states, "and yet, such hopes are shadows, for standing

²²Ibid., p. 447.

²³Ibid., p. 444.

square in the path of union with Europe is the nagging, tenacious, smothering force of nationalism."²⁴

The scientific approach used by Organski limited the amount of time spent discussing current events. Its effect upon the reader has been to see international relations more as a discipline with boundaries and limits. The discipline appears more well-defined. Obviously, this has a noteworthy pedagogical advantage. The approach gives the student an analytical foundation upon which to interpret international events for himself. Such a change from the earlier texts should make an introductory course much more valuable for the student since it will be applicable long after he or she graduates from the college or university.

The systems approach becomes much more obvious in World Politics in Our Time (1970) by David Jordan. The text attempts to "introduce students to the difficulties in analyzing, understanding, and controlling international politics."²⁵

Jordan feels that the past power perspective of international relations texts needs to be deepened. He states,

²⁴Ibid., p. 450.

²⁵David C. Jordan, World Politics in Our Time (Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1970), Preface.

"Despite the undoubted role of power in world affairs there are choices and problems involved in whether or not to seek it, how much to seek, how to get it, and how, where, and when to employ it."²⁶ For example, Jordan believes that Morgenthau's definition of power as "men's control over minds and actions of other men"²⁷ as too broad and Frederick Hartmann's definition, "how much strength the state has at its disposal,"²⁸ as too narrow. According to Jordan the problem of using power as the ordering concept for international relations is that any effort to define the term runs the danger of either attempting too much and thereby becoming diffuse and meaningless, or of doing too little, of oversimplifying, and thereby misdirecting the student away from the discovery of many meaningful power relationships.

In order to explain what the power perspective does not touch on in world politics, Jordan adapts a systems perspective. First, he seeks to redefine power as it exists in the international system. Jordan relies upon Karl Deutsch's definition as it is presented in The Analysis of International Relations:²⁹

²⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

The dimensions of power involve a triadic relationship under the headings: domain, range, and scope. The domain of power is "the collection of people that are subject to it, the range of power is the difference between the highest reward and the worst punishment which a powerholder can bestow upon some person in his domain, and the scope of power is the set or collection of all the particular kinds of classes of behavior that are effectively subjected to it. The power actors hold will have domain, range, and scope dimension and these dimensions may interact and overlap with each other.³⁰

Another variable affecting the use of power, according to Deutsch, is the ability or "weight" of a state or actor to change the probabilities of particular outcomes. Deutsch states, "It involves at least two concepts: to reduce the probability of an outcome not desired and to increase the probability of a specific outcome."³¹

Finally, there is the variable designated by Deutsch as the "relativity of power." The utility of State A's coercive or influential power will depend on what power State B possesses. It is not merely a matter of how much A has but of how much more State A has than State B and whether a third party is likely to intervene.³²

Deutsch's approach suggests some of the complexities of power analysis. "It indicates that holders of power may not only have overlapping capabilities, but also areas

³⁰Ibid., pp. 4-5.

³¹Ibid., p. 5.

³²Ibid., p. 5.

beyond their power--that is, beyond their ability to direct outcomes either by influence or physical coercion."³³ According to Deutsch, "A twilight zone for one state's control over another exists when power overlaps and a no man's land where no state alone can control the outcome of events."³⁴ It is in these areas that physical coercion and war merge so that the worth of power declines and the propensity arises for seeing war as something entirely different from a form of diplomacy, serving the goals of the state. Jordan believes that this creates a new impetus for international relations scholars: "The study of international relations must be deepened beyond the power perspective to include the management of problems by means other than merely the decisive control of power."³⁵

Thus, Jordan believes that the first step toward a more comprehensive understanding is to seek the most appropriate perspective. Naturally, Jordan believes he has found this appropriate perspective. The author states:

Two levels of analysis have proved fruitful for analyzing contemporary international affairs: that of the actor and that of the system. When the methods are used together

³³Ibid., p. 5.

³⁴Ibid., p. 5.

³⁵Ibid., p. 5.

their effectiveness is enhanced. Actor level analysis identifies the actors in world politics and explores how they behave. In actor level analysis the events are frequently seen as stemming from what the actors do. System level analysis conceives of the whole of world politics as an identifiable and understandable political process. The system focus stresses the characteristics of a given international system at a particular time. Patterns of international interactions and the conditions that promote or undermine such patterns are analyzed.³⁶

To begin the task of comprehending international politics both levels are employed in tandem to "illuminate the scope, complexity, and intractability of international affairs."³⁷ According to Jordan, "When actor and system analysis are used together, disruptive and stabilizing factors in the international arena may be more readily identified."³⁸

What is meant by actor analysis? The goal of actor analysis is to become familiar with the scores of states that participate in international affairs. Jordan assumes that if enough is known, patterns in the complex relationship between multiple states may emerge. Much of actor analysis is, consequently, oriented toward the study of the foreign policy of individual states.

³⁶Ibid., p. 8.

³⁷Ibid., p. 281.

³⁸Ibid., p. 281.

Actor analysis raises a basic problem of how to identify the actors in world politics. Jordan notes that in the past it was fairly simple to identify the actors; now it is self-evident that the nation-state no longer monopolizes the international scene. What about the United Nations? "What about leaders of religious bodies--the Pope, for example?"³⁹ On the balance, Jordan admits agreement with the majority of textbook writers that the nation-state remains the primary or principal actor in international affairs, but it should also be clear that it is not the sole actor.

The second level of analysis, system analysis, treats the international system as a whole. "The systems approach stresses that area of international politics that is outside the unilateral control of the actor, while still accepting the actors as being of great importance."⁴⁰ Two subcategories are related to this point of view: 1) the restraining nature of the international environment, and 2) the coercive nature of the interaction process. Below, Jordan explains these two subcategories:

1) The international environment may contain elements that will constrain a state's behavior if the actor understands what these elements are. For example, nuclear weapons

³⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

can restrain an actor if that actor understands the implications of such weapons and believes that such weapons may be used, under certain circumstances, against its interests. In other words, the environment may lead to the auto-limitation of actors to the degree that actors understand the environment. 2) The interaction process may constrain the actor, even if the actor did understand the nature of the environment. Independently of the actor's beliefs the interaction process can create a reality requiring conforming behavior. In other words, the penalties emerging from an unexpected interaction process may then compel the actor to alter its behavior.⁴¹

Jordan then seeks to establish a link between actor and system analysis. The best way to understand how this is done is by referring to an example given in the text. The 1963 Cuban Missile Crisis affords the author the opportunity to present how two level analysis works:

To illustrate this proposition the 1963 Cuban Missile Crisis offers a dramatic example. Why the Soviet Union decided to install missiles in Cuba in the first place cannot be understood by describing what happened afterwards or by what the Soviet Union should have done. What should be stressed is what the decisionmakers considered to be relevant.⁴²

Jordan believes that it is important to note: "the Soviet interpretation of U.S. policy previous to Kennedy's October 22 speech was that American imperialist maneuvers were designed to frighten progressive forces and encourage

⁴¹Ibid., p. 11.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 11-12.

reactionary ones."⁴³ In other words, the installation of missiles in Cuba would not lead to unilateral intervention by the United States; this was the Soviets' perception at the time.

This first level of analysis (actor) has identified the actors and what they decide is of prime importance. System analysis is then linked to actor analysis in two ways. "There is the system as perceived by the actors and the system as it is and as it subsequently actually affects the actor."⁴⁴ It appears, for example, that the interaction process that emerged from the Cuban crisis was not what the Soviet Union had anticipated from their perceptions of the international environment; conforming behavior was therefore forced on it. Thus, the Soviets had not been aware of the reality of the international system. Jordan states:

After the decision was made the Soviets had to come to grips with the reality of a nuclear environment and the actual, not the anticipated, U.S. response. Although the Soviet Union may at first have thought that its nuclear weapons would provide protection for Cuba; it had to adjust its perceptions to meet the reality that the U.S. would indeed respond with force to the presence of missiles so close to American shores. Soviet leaders then had to weigh the security provided by maintaining the nuclear weapons

⁴³Ibid., p. 157.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 12.

against the enormous insecurity posed by the American threat of retaliation.⁴⁵

In other words, USSR policymakers did not have a realistic view of the international system.

In conclusion, a synthesis of the two methods employed by Jordan would involve three steps. First, there is an identification of the actors and a description of their objectives. This is accomplished by finding out who is doing what and by noting how and why it is being done. Second, the objective characteristics of the international environment must be assessed. One must question whether or not the relevant actors take this into account; if not, why not? Why is the environment relevant to these actors in some areas and not in others? Is the nature of the environment obscure? These questions are among those that must be asked in order to stake out the environmental context of international affairs. Finally, an objective assessment of the interaction process resulting from actor decisions must be explored. Jordan believes that a crisis illuminates an unexpected interaction process, but then the three-step evaluation starts all over again. This is because the actors can always upset each other's predictions of their expected behavior.⁴⁶ As the reader proceeds

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 14.

through the text this approach becomes clearer, since the structure of the text is organized around this general outline.

Jordan's World Politics in Our Time is a definite product of behavioralism. It is, by no means, a pure systems approach; but the reference to Deutsch's definition of power, the perception of the world political scene as a system and the general concern for maintaining a "scientific" perspective, are all indicative of the systems text. Actor analysis reminds one of the Rosen and Jones approach discussed in the policy-process section. Their experiment with perceptual analysis has many parallels with Jordan's actor analysis. Both texts demonstrate a concern for the question: Why has this nation chosen this specific foreign policy? This means that internal factors within the country's political system are discussed rather than just how the country interacts with other nations. Jordan's concern with these internal workings gives his text policy-process characteristics.

The 1972 and 1975 editions of Games Nations Play by John Spanier have many similarities to the Jordan text. These first and second editions will be treated together since there are only insignificant differences between the two. The central objective of Spanier in writing the text is to "convey to the student that there are a number

of different ways to think about the subject of international relations and not just one way, not simply a "right way."⁴⁷ Already, it is obvious that like all of the systems texts, this is a student-directed presentation.

Spanier wants to give the introductory student a way to analyze international politics. Spanier states:

It is precisely because current events so soon become 'ancient history' that my aim has been to provide the reader with those tools of analysis that will enable him to analyze tomorrow's events for himself. Thus, this is a book about the 'games nations play.'⁴⁸

In order to accomplish his objective Spanier employs three levels of analysis: the state system, with its balance-of-power emphasis; the national system with its domestic priorities; and the decision-making system, with its dependence both on the policymakers' perceptions of reality and on the institutions that formulate and execute policy.⁴⁹ Spanier's book perceives all three levels of analysis as systems, making this text the purest systems approach considered in the study.

The three dimensional approach used by Spanier is a modification of Kenneth Waltz's "three images" and J. David

⁴⁷John Spanier, Games Nations Play, 1st ed. (NY: Praeger Pub., 1972), p. XI.

⁴⁸John Spanier, Games Nations Play, 2nd ed. (NY: Praeger Pub., 1975), p. XI.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. XI.

Singer's "levels of analysis."⁵⁰ Spanier's presentation reflects a debt to international relations scholars who have led the way in behavioral research. He relies heavily upon Singer's work entitled Quantitative International Politics⁵¹ and Karl Deutsch's book, The Analysis of International Relations.⁵² Works such as these were Spanier's inspiration and have directed him in the organization of the approach used in his text.

Spanier begins his endeavor by asking the question: "How can we organize and interpret the 'reality' that we call the international political world?"⁵³ According to Spanier, the only way of simplifying this reality is by isolating and emphasizing certain aspects of this reality, thereby enabling us to make a conceptual blueprint of the political life among states.⁵⁴ Through the use of the three forementioned perspectives, the information will be organized by allowing the author to "1) draw boundaries between subjects; 2) select the key factors or variables that allow us to select the relevant data in order to put it all together in some meaningful way which aids us in

⁵⁰Ibid., p. XI.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 492.

⁵²Ibid., p. 491.

⁵³Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 7.

our understanding of international politics."⁵⁵ The expected result is a "comprehensive picture of the games nations play, particularly why they play the game, to a lesser extent how they play it, and some of the efforts they make to regulate and moderate the game, or play it differently or abolish it altogether."⁵⁶

The second chapter of the text explains the three levels of analysis. The first level, systemic, is defined as "the international or state system comprising all existing political units that interact with one another according to some regular and observable pattern of relationship."⁵⁷ Spanier believes that the inclusion of the term system is of great importance. He states:

The reason the term 'system' is used is twofold. First, it encompasses all the component units of sovereign states and therefore possesses the virtue of comprehensiveness; second, it focuses on the relationship or interactions among these units and therefore, on their interdependence. The behavior of each state depends upon the behavior of other states or, in terms of gamesmanship, every player's move or strategy.⁵⁸

According to Spanier, a system becomes an abstract way of looking at a part of reality for purposes of analysis.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 9.

The second part of the text is organized around this discussed "state system." In this part the actors in world politics and the environment within which they operate are defined. The tools and devices employed by the international actors are also summarized. This means that there are specific chapters devoted to power, coercion and violence, alliance and nonalignment, how peace is preserved (i.e. U.N., League of Nations), and the values of the nation-state. In other words, it is a comprehensive presentation of the major players and forces which operate in the international arena.

The second level of analysis is the nation-state level. Spanier states:

As distinct from the state system level of analysis with its emphasis on the external determinants of state behavior, the nation-state level attributes this behavior to a state's internal characteristics, such as the political system, the nature of the economy, or the social structure. The emphasis here is not on the likeness of states, but on the differences of motivation attitudes, and internal composition, or domestic structure among nations.⁵⁹

Spanier believes that each state has a "picture in its head"⁶⁰ of the world and its role. Each wears "colored glasses"⁶¹ because it possesses a repertory of acts and

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 315.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 315.

responses derived from its domestic and foreign experiences. Thus, he concludes that each perceives reality selectively because of its particular world view; in practice this becomes translated into a national style.

This method of analyzing foreign policy is presented in the third part of the text. It can be compared to the perceptual analysis approach presented by Rosen and Jones and the actor analysis methodology of Jordan. All three accept the axiom that foreign policy is based on the manner in which policymaking elites see the world, and define their aims within the framework of a nation's political culture. "For example, American policy, like Russian policy, derives from a set of attitudes toward politics and political conflict in general and international politics in particular, conceptions of how and to what extent historical development can be molded, and ideas of the methods to advance national objectives."⁶² Therefore, Spanier postulates that a concept of style can assist in clarifying how a nation and its policymakers are likely to view a specific situation. Nation-state level analysis allows a view beyond just a knowledge of the interactions among the states that comprise the state system.

The decision-making level of analysis must then be added to these other two. Spanier states:

⁶²Ibid., p. 316.

It is this level of analysis that is probably most familiar to many people. Up to now we have analyzed international politics in terms of such largely abstract units as the state system, which delegates roles to its member units. Common sense tells us that 'the United States' does not make decisions; certain men who occupy the official political positions responsible for making foreign policy decisions do.⁶³

According to Spanier, the decision-making approach to understanding the foreign policy of a country makes the basic assumption that one needs to look at the specific men and departments officially responsible for making external policy.

The study of the decision-making level is also contained in Part III of the text. Spanier states that three aspects of decision making will be stressed--the policy-maker's perception of the world, the different kinds of decisions made, and the various types of decision-making systems. Spanier explains these three aspects:

1) The first of these is very important for the obvious reason that it is the link between the external environment and policy decisions, the real world and the world perceived. 2) Different policymakers are involved in different types of decisions. We will distinguish two types: crisis and program. Crisis policy refers primarily to great-power confrontations and program policy to annually debated and funded policies such as foreign aid or defense spending. 3) The most common type of effect of governmental

⁶³Ibid., p. 27.

organization upon the policies that emerge from them is often popularly discussed in terms of such broad categories as totalitarian governments versus democratic governments. The former, it is sometimes claimed, have certain advantages over the latter because power and decision making are highly centralized. Democratic governments are said to be slow and deliberate although this is a matter of judgment.⁶⁴

Special attention is given to the decision-making apparatus of the United States, the USSR, and LDC's in these chapters.

In both editions of the text, Spanier ends the book by once again discussing the analytical framework. Overall, the book has retained a high degree of objectivity. Spanier's three-level analysis and his primary concern with establishing an analytical framework have helped in this endeavor. It seems that once authors of the texts admit to the complexity of international affairs, the U.S.-centric attitude becomes less apparent. In the conclusion of Spanier's text this observation becomes more apparent.

The state-system model may greatly help us understand the outbreak of the cold war but by itself it cannot tell us the reasons for the scope and intensity of conflict. On the other hand, to attribute the eruption of the American-Soviet conflict solely to the Kremlin's anticapitalism or solely to Washington's anti-Communism is to ignore the power and security dilemma confronting all powers in the state system. It is, in short, to neglect the environment in which states live.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 33-35.

The result is not only a too restricted understanding of state behavior it is also a misreading of the future.⁶⁵

Spanier in this defense of his approach also admits that one level may be more important than another. The greatest weight was given to the structure of the state system and the least to the policymaker's personality and perceptions in explaining a bipolar state system. Conversely, in a distribution of power in which states felt a choice of policies, the second and third levels became primary.

The reader finishes the Spanier text with a respect for the complexity of international relations. If the student has internalized the substance of the text, he or she will be less prone to accept monotheories as an explanation of contemporary international events. The student should feel a need to explore a situation from many different angles and perspectives.

Unlike the power politics texts, the reader of the Spanier book is not deluged with facts and data on current events. Thus, a student trained with the Spanier text may not know all of the intricacies and details concerning the Vietnam War. Instead, what he or she takes away from the course is an understanding of conflict in general. This is a major characteristic of the systems approach. While at times the authors may reflect

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 487.

a personal or American bias in their presentation, the substance of a chapter or a Part deals with trying to relate an important facet of international relations. Admittedly, systems authors are at an advantage since their texts were published after a significant amount of research had been done in the field. They were able to alter the primary emphasis of the texts due to the level of sophistication the field of international relations had reached in the 1970's. The provision of basic conceptual tools to undergraduates has become the main impetus of textbook writers, replacing the traditional practice of analyzing current events.

Conclusion

The systems texts have brought a major change to the manner in which introductory international relations textbooks are written. None of the other three textbook types have demonstrated such a consistent concern with the needs of students. These texts employ a systems approach in order to provide students with analytical tools which will be useful long after they have completed an introductory course in international relations.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the systems approach has proven extremely popular since it furnishes a framework for the organization of information. This is particularly important in an introductory text,

since many students desire a capsulized summary of the discipline. Systems authors have replaced the previously overriding concern for current events with an emphasis placed upon understanding this nature of international relations. The texts have become better indicators of new advances within the field, rather than indicators of dominant U.S. opinions concerning international affairs. Contemporary theories and concepts are discussed in order to provide students with the ability to analyze the changes in the international environment and what these changes mean for our future.

The fact that international relations is perceived as a system of action also has its effect upon the reader. A systems approach focuses upon the relationship or interactions among the component units of the international environment. This means that students should become aware of the interdependent nature of the international system. Students should begin to appreciate the complexities of international affairs and start to understand the many consequences which may result from the actions of just one nation-state. Monotheories and simplistic solutions to international crisis should not be appealing to the student of the systems approach.

Although systems theory has become one of the major approaches to the study of politics, it has also been the

object of major criticism. The systems texts may be cited for many of the same deficiencies which the theory has had to contend with. For example, Stanley Hoffman believes that "the systems models, because they aim at a high level of generalization, do not capture the stuff of politics."⁶⁶ Stated differently, the measurement of the quantity of transactions or interactions, without reference to the qualitative dimension, is inadequate. Hoffman contends that a description of the relations between states is more important than a generalized theory which seeks to reduce the complexity of the situation. Vital elements such as institutions, culture, and the actions of individuals are lost in systems analysis,⁶⁷ according to Hoffman.

This critique of Hoffman's is most applicable to the systems texts. As noted through the chapter, there is less space devoted to current events or the details of important international events. The move toward the more theoretical, generalized type of text may indeed cheat the student. An argument can easily be made for the significance of knowing how the U.S. became involved in Korea, why the U.S. finally pulled out of Vietnam, how NATO was formed, etc. Without this factual grounding, students may

⁶⁶Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories, 2nd ed., p. 169.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 169.

never feel comfortable discussing international issues. How can one discuss U.S.-Cuban relations if the Cuban Missile Crisis has not been discussed or the student does not know what type of relationship Cuba has with the USSR at the present time?

Finally, it must be pointed out that the systems texts give evidence of how the field has matured. In order to supply students with an analytical framework from which to view world politics the authors have relied upon a significant amount of research which has been done over the last fifty years. The texts have not only become student-directed, but also discipline-directed. A student using a systems text will leave a course with a good knowledge of the academic debates and modern research which characterize the field of study.

Ranking the systems textbooks according to the "purity" of their approach is relatively easy in this section. They are arranged in the same order as they were presented in the chapter, moving from the least pure to the most pure--1) Organski 1958, 2) Jordan 1970, 3) Spanier (1st and 2nd editions) 1972 and 1975. The textbooks have become more directed and consistent in their presentation of a systems approach in the newer books. This observation reflects the rising popularity of behavioralism. Not only did the systems approach capture the attention of many

scholars in the 1960's and 1970's, it also was responsible for a voluminous amount of research. Authors such as Jordan and especially Spanier had the advantage over Organski of not only knowing that their texts would be accepted by their colleagues; but they also had a greater pool of information from which to draw upon in the writing of their texts. By the 1970's the systems approach had been integrated into the study of international relations. This has allowed greater consistency in maintaining a systems approach in the texts.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

**TRENDS AND VALUES
OBSERVED IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
TEXTBOOKS**

The conclusion consists of two parts. First, there is a summation of the results of the study with an emphasis placed upon the significance of the findings. The second part is an attempt to comment upon what can be expected for the future in the publication of international relations textbooks. The information gathered in the 1970's will be especially helpful in this second endeavor.

The major result of the study is the distinguishing of four approaches to the writing of international relations textbooks. Authors choose either the prescriptive, power politics, policy-process, or systems approach in writing their texts. Each author defends his chosen approach to writing his text based upon both pedagogical and academic reasons. All of the authors make the claim that their specific approach aids in the organization of the complex information which forms the substance of the discipline. Also, there are thematic impacts associated with each of the four approaches. Thus, the structure of the text and the author's interpretation of how the international political system operates is largely dependent upon the approach chosen by the writer. It is important to understand that each approach engenders a different perception of international relations by students at the time the text is being read and in their future analysis of international affairs.

The prescriptive texts serve as a platform for those writers who desire the unity of the nation-state system. Their analysis of the international system is conducted from a highly critical perspective. The inadequacies of the system are revealed in order to support the argument for a transition to a more unified system. It becomes the primary task of the prescriptive author to outline a method for achieving this alternative, consensual system. International institution-building, international education, and the concern for ecological problems are all presented by the authors as viable methods of achieving the desired result--a world state.

What effect does the prescriptive approach have upon a student's perception of world politics? The student becomes future-oriented if he is introduced to international relations through a prescriptive text. The main concern of the authors is to bring about change. If this message is internalized by the student, he or she should become harsh critics of the contemporary international system and evaluate international events in terms of either their propensity for maintaining the status quo or precipitating nation-state cooperation. The prescriptive approach trains the student to become aware of the anarchical nature of nation-state political interactions and to recognize the need for a better, alternative future.

Students reading the section on international organizations in the prescriptive texts would regard international institution-building as a method of unifying the world which has failed. International organizations may be brought into existence by nation-states, but this does not mean that the traditional values of these states have changed. Until the fundamental principles of the nation-state system, nationalism and sovereignty, are replaced with unity and cooperation, one cannot expect the organizations to transform the world political scene. Most prescriptive authors offer an alternative method for achieving world unity. Thus, the student instructed with the prescriptive text interprets organization-building as a naive, dated method of achieving the goal of world unity.

The power politics approach employed by textbook writers furnishes the student with an understanding of the present international system. The nation-state system is perceived by these authors as an environment in which the struggle for power best describes interstate relations. Unlike the prescriptive writers, the power politics authors are more concerned with "what actually exists" than an investigation into "what ought to be." It is the contention of the power politics authors that acting in pursuit of personal, group, and national interests is being eminently political.

Because of the great number of power politics texts on the market and the length of time these books have dominated the profession, it can be assumed that this textbook approach has reached more students than any other. College students presented with this approach are instructed to believe that a rational political actor is one who acts to promote his interests. Thus, to act rationally is to preserve and seek power. The student is trained to evaluate international events in terms of their immediate effect upon the nation-state system and how the events influence the balance of power. How is a nation attempting to preserve its power? How is a nation attempting to increase its power? These are the types of questions a power politics author hopes a student will ask after being introduced to world politics through their text. Since the audience of the textbook writers is composed of Americans, it is logical that the authors would also desire that students realize the importance of the preservation of power by the Western world (esp. United States). In fulfilling this objective, the writers explain international relations from a decidedly Western perspective. For example, the Cold War is interpreted as a U.S.-USSR confrontation which was precipitated by the Soviets. The outcome of this confrontation, according to the power politics authors, should result in a

preservation and extension of American hegemony. A student instructed with the power politics approach should be ultimately concerned with the ability of his or her nation-state to remain politically dominant and powerful in the nation-state system.

The policy-process texts are an outgrowth of the power politics approach. They accept the struggle for power as the fundamental rule of the international environment. However, their primary interest is in the presentation of a policymaker's view of international relations. The authors of these texts believe that a state-centric approach helps the reader to best understand the complex internal and external forces which affect foreign policymaking. The effective fulfillment of desired national interests depends upon both a diverse number of domestic variables as well as the power configuration in the international environment. According to the policy-process authors, only by being able "to step into the shoes" of the policymaker can a student appreciate the forms and forces which are the substance of international relations.

A student introduced to international relations with a policy-process text develops a state-centric view. He or she becomes familiar with the factors which are necessary to make a nation politically powerful in world affairs.

On the domestic scene the student is made aware of the importance of geography, population, technology, leadership, national will, etc., in the quest of independent action in world politics. External to the nation-state, the tools of diplomacy, psychological warfare, economic influence are all presented to the student as means for achieving a common end--the protection and extension of a nation-state's national interests.

Similar to the power politics texts, the policy-process authors also desire that students realize the need for the preservation of the Western democratic order. The national interests of the United States are regarded by the authors as supportive of the international status quo. Therefore, these policies are to be lauded since they are interpreted as fundamentally peaceful. Unlike the expansionistic policies of the Nazis or the Soviets, the Western democracies do not precipitate conflict because of a desire to change the nation-state system. In the view of the policy-process authors, a foreign policy which seeks to maintain the status quo can be equated with a policy based in peace. Students should interpret the message of the policy-process authors as follows: International relations is the message of the diverse national policies of the nation-states; in order

for peace to be maintained it is important that the national interests of the West remain dominant in world politics.

The systems authors seek to provide the reader with a framework for the analysis of relationships among nation-states. According to the systems authors, this framework should have substantial value to the introductory student. It is stated by all of the authors that the framework will aid in the interpretation of future events on the international scene after they have left the course. The use of a systems approach is also valuable because students gain an understanding of the interdependent nature of the international system. The systems authors believe such an approach allows students to effectively identify, examine, and measure interaction within the international system and its many subsystems. Finally, the authors have considerable regard for the predictive capacity which may result from a knowledge of this contemporary international system. The systems authors feel their texts offer the student a wholistic view of the international environment which was not presented by any previous type of textbook.

The systems approach grew out of the concern for a comprehensive view of international relations. By perceiving world politics as a system, the author is able to

present the pattern of interaction which the system reveals and to generalize about a great many phenomena within the political system. In other words, it permits the examination of international relations in the whole with a comprehensiveness which allegedly did not exist with the other approaches. Due to this new approach, it is now possible to order the immense amount of information collected since the serious study of the discipline began; and it is also possible to translate this data into generalizations and fundamental principles of international relations.

The student instructed with a systems text should emerge with a valuable tool for use in the future. A framework for the analysis of information on international affairs is presented to the student. Systems texts have placed an emphasis upon an understanding of the nature of international relations. For example, the Cuban Missile Crisis is discussed in a systems text under the major heading of "Types of Conflict Situations in International Relations." The event is not only important because of historical value but also, because of its significance, as an operationalized principle of the discipline.

The student trained in the systems approach becomes primarily concerned with ordering the international environment. Whether one wants to admit it or not, politics

involves moral decisions. It is a matter of contention, whether the systems approach aids students in making such decisions. A student may gain a comprehensive knowledge of world politics, but it is of little use if he or she does not also gain the ability to judge the humanistic value of specific political choices. Whereas the power politics and policy-process texts biased a student's view, one wonders if the systems texts influence the student to take no view at all.

From the overview of the textbooks, it is also possible to determine the changes which have occurred in the textbooks from 1930-1978. The 1930's contained two prescriptive texts, Mowat and Hodges; two power politics texts, first and second editions of Schuman's text; and one policy-process text, Simonds and Emeny. This combination of approaches in the 1930's decade reveals the conflict which was emerging between the utopians and the realist scholars of international relations. The prescriptive authors are concerned with presenting a plan for achieving a unified international system, a world state. Schuman, as a power politics author, underlined the prevalence of war conquest and conflict in the interstate system. His presentation and Simonds and Emeny's 1939 text demonstrate how this realistic, power-centered approach began to dominate in the latter half of the

1930's. The power politics and policy-process texts emphasized the viability of the nation-state system and the need to try to maintain peace within this system.

The texts published from 1940-1949 include two power politics texts, Schuman's third and fourth editions, and one policy-process text by Kalijarvi. These texts measure the political greatness of the state in terms of the power it can wield or that it is reputed to be able to wield. The major focus of each of these texts is to describe the workings of international relations in terms of the power relations among nation-states. With the Second World War being waged, it is of little wonder that there is not a text which stresses the cooperative values and trends within world politics.

The texts published from 1950-1959 include five power politics texts--the fifth and sixth editions of Schuman's text, Schwarzenberger's text, the second edition of Mogen-thau's text, and the second edition of Palmer and Perkins book; one policy-process text, Strausz-Hupe and Possony text; and one systems text by Organski. Except for Organski's text, all of the texts written during this decade stress the need to recognize the prominent role of power and national interests in the international system. Group self-interests are still interpreted as the dominant feature of world politics. Because of this fact of international political life, both policy-process and power

politics authors contend that the foremost objective of international relations should be to understand the nation-state system. If anything, the 1950's enforced and refined the power politics approach. Organski's text, published in 1958, was the first text to question the limitations of the power politics approach.

What has the dominance of the power politics approach from the years 1930 to 1957 done to students' view of international relations? One could postulate that during this time students were educated with the primary objective of teaching them to understand the nation-state system. Since the system was characterized as a struggle for power among nations, it is logical to presume that most of the students accepted the conflictual nature of international relations. These students were not given the task of working for a transformation of the international system. They were taught to preserve the political supremacy and material interests of their nation-state in the game of power politics. An astute observer of international affairs was defined as one who recognizes the constant attempts by nations to extend their sphere of influence to other sovereign states. It became the task of the power politics student to guard against the infringements upon their nation's sovereignty and to extend the hegemony of their nation whenever possible.

The texts published from 1960-1969 include five power politics texts--Hartmann's text, Greene's text, Van Dyke's text, Schuman's seventh edition, and Stoessinger's text; and three policy-process texts--two editions of Padelford and Lincoln's text and Holsti's book. These later policy-process and power politics authors structure their texts around the concepts of national interests and power, respectively. However, the gradually dissipating tight bipolar international system in the late 1950's and 1960's brought some changes to these dominant approaches. These texts were more student-directed. Rather than embellishing upon the power politics concept, the authors were more concerned with presenting the student with a comprehensive analysis of the diverse forces which characterize international relations. It was becoming difficult to fit new entities such as functional and regional organizations into the theoretical framework of power politics. Forces of cooperation were not easily included in a theory which was built upon a two Superpower international system.

The texts published from 1970-1978 include three prescriptive texts--the Sprouts book, Sterling's text, Finlay and Hovet's text; two power politics texts--Morgenthau and Stoessinger's texts; two policymaking texts--Wendzel and Rosen and Jones' texts; and three systems texts--Jordan's text and two editions of Spanier's text.

During the 1970's, the authors finally disregard the pure power politics approach; the Morgenthau and Stoessinger texts are largely repeats of the original editions. The new prescriptive, systems, and policy-process texts, although possessing different approaches, all have something in common. A student-directed impetus is prevalent in all these texts; the authors intend to present the reader with the basic concepts and principles which have come to form the scope and substance of the field. The desire to organize the mass of data and information which has been researched since the 1930's is a common characteristic of all these texts.

It should be noted that the prescriptive and systems approaches dominate the decade of the 1970's. The prescriptive texts are a response to "new" situations which have appeared in the international system. The ecological problem, the North-South conflict, and the presence of non-governmental actors are all new elements which have not been dealt with consistently until the 1970's. The Sprouts argue that the problems will be the source of world-wide integration. Other 1970 prescriptive authors offer new formulas for the development of a world state. This revitalized concern with the formation of a world state may be attributed to the preoccupation with the study of nonstate actors in international relations research. During the

1970's, many academics began to proclaim the decline of the nation-state, based upon the rise of the number of international transactions (i.e. MNC's, travel functional organizations, regional organizations). The era of détente emphasizing the values of cooperation may have also had some influence upon the authors of the prescriptive texts. An easing of tensions between the U.S. and the USSR may have influenced some writers into thinking that the forces of cooperation have triumphed over the forces of conflict.

The systems texts are clearly an indication of how behaviorism has taken a hold in political science and international relations. These texts have become better gauges of academic opinion than indicators of dominant U.S. opinions concerning international affairs. The texts not only provide students with an analytical framework from which to view international events but they examine the interactions among the component units of the international environment. In order to carry out this type of analysis the theoretical framework from which international affairs is viewed had to be extended past the power politics approach. The systems approach allows a much more inclusive presentation of the forces and actors which make up the international scene. Thus, this behavioralist approach has been adopted because of the scientific trend

which has developed in the discipline and the failure of the power politics perspective to effectively classify and account for all of the forces and component parts of the international system.

In the policy-process, systems, and prescriptive texts of the 1970's, the student receives an introduction to international relations which seeks to provide a conceptual framework from which to view international affairs. These texts are much more student-oriented than their predecessors. Rather than using the texts as a platform to "sell" or condemn a particular approach to international relations, the authors are more concerned with imparting a comprehensive overview of how different forces and actors interact within the system. A student introduced to the subject in this manner will have a good grasp of the scope and boundaries of the discipline, since these texts define them better than any earlier attempt. The student will also be able to understand the international environment as a series of forces and counterforces, of nation-states and nonstate actors. In other words, the texts present the subject matter in a well-ordered manner, and the international system is reduced to a series of basic principles and reactions and interactions.

A problem which arises with this new approach of the 1970's is the simplified view of international relations

which a student may develop as a result of the study of one of these texts. Students must realize that the international environment is a complex network of interrelations among individuals, groups, nations, organizations, and regions. A myriad of forces ranging from religious to political to sociological constantly affect the actions and reactions of international actors. The texts of the 1970's do not impress this fact upon the student. In the attempt to order and define the boundaries of the discipline, students lose the appreciation of the complexity of international relations when they read an introductory text.

Also, the authors of the 1970's present a value-free analysis of international relations. While one could indict the power politics author for forcing American values upon the student, these new texts have gone to the other extreme. It is doubtful that a student introduced to international relations with one of these texts will develop strong political views about any subject. In the quest for objectivity the authors have created an anti-septic, dull approach to international relations. The texts provide a description of the system, but they do not evoke any type of emotion. Only in the 1978 edition of the Couloumbis and Wolfe text is there an attempt to "emotionalize" international relations. In their

introduction, the authors make a plea for the development of a "humanistic approach" to international relations. They believe that a knowledge of how the nation-state system operates is commendable, but that this knowledge must be combined with the ability to "apply humanistic concerns to raw data and thereby evade the pitfall of parochialism." If the discipline is to progress any further, it is necessary to teach students of the relative indeterminacy of international phenomena and make them fully aware of the moral and value-laden nature of international relations.

The Future

In the 1980's the power politics approach will probably not be employed by any of the textbook writers. As mentioned earlier, the power politics approach was not capable of explaining all of the different facets of world politics. For instance, the power politics approach had a problem incorporating elements of cooperation such as regional and functional organization into its framework. The policy-process texts will not appear in significant numbers since they are so closely tied to the power politics approach. However, they may remain more relevant than the power politics books. International relations scholars have reached a consensus that the nation-state will remain the dominant actor in world politics; therefore,

it seems that an analysis of the elements of international relations from the perspective of the policymaker will remain valuable. The emphasis placed upon the explanation of the internal and external elements of a nation-state's national power and the policymaking process will surely be viewed as an important approach by many international relations teachers in introducing students to the discipline of world politics.

It was already noted that the systems and prescriptive texts of the 1970's dominated this decade and that there were similarities between these two types of texts. In the 1980's it is reasonable to expect a further integration of the two approaches. Most prescriptive authors of the 1970's have admitted that a permanent peace can only be attained after the values of political leaders and the peoples of the world have been altered. The allegiance to the nation-state and the protection of sovereign rights must be replaced with a new spirit of internationalism and a loyalty to the common good. It is expected that the authors of the 1980's will still be concerned with presenting alternate methods of achieving this desired result. The general principles of international relations uncovered by the behaviorists and their adeptness of ordering international phenomena will be utilized in combination with the prescriptive approach.

The complete intertwining of the system and prescriptive texts is likely to dominate the 1980's. A student will be instructed in the actual workings of the international system, but also he or she will have to realize that certain value judgments must be made if the propensity for conflict is to be removed from international relations.

These prognostications for the future of international relations texts are a real possibility when one considers some of the recent trends within the discipline. "during the past decade, two schools of thought in the field of international relations--peace research (which pursues a behavioral approach to conflict, resolution, and war avoidance) and world order (which is concerned with problems of population, growth, resources, environment, poverty, and dehumanization)--have attempted to respond to conditions of rapid change in the global system by focusing upon alternative world futures."¹ "Both schools," write Beres and Targ, "are avowedly normative in that they both aim at global transformation along the lines of preestablished value hierarchies."² Both schools of thought are interdisciplinary and implicitly "are determined to give history a shove in the direction of

¹James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, 2nd ed. (Harper and Row Pub., Ind., 1981), p. 38.

²Ibid., p. 38.

their hearts' desires."³ Following is a summary of the primary endeavors of those engaged in futuristic research:

- 1) Articulation of the values that are to guide the research (such as war avoidance and the minimization of violence, economic well-being, social justice, democratic freedom and participation, and environmental balance);
- 2) description and projection of significant current trends;
- 3) design of alternative future world models--enterprise that calls more for imagination than for reference to present reality;
- 4) selection out of the range of available futures the type or types that appear most desirable;
- 5) development of transitional strategies which will enable humanity through a mix of individual and collective behavioral changes, to overcome those structures and processes that obstruct the achievement of the preferred future.⁴

The concern with alternative futures among international relations scholars indicates the priority assigned to transforming the nation-state system. Certain values are established as desirable and then methods are developed to ensure the realization of these values.

This trend in international relations fits in well with the development forecasted for international texts of the 1980's. Combined with a description of the international system, it is expected that many authors will ask students to make decisions which have implications for the future of the nation-state. The most extreme

³Ibid., p. 38.

⁴Ibid., p. 39.

of these books may promote political activism as a means
of attaining the desired objectives outlined in the texts.

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