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Welcome to International Law!

A vast network of international law and dozens of international organizations make globalization possible. This course describes the sources of international law, the subjects it covers as well as the relevant stakeholders.

Treaties and other types of agreements among countries set rules for international trade and finance, such as the GATT; foster cooperation on protecting the environment, such as the Kyoto Protocol; and establish basic human rights, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Meanwhile, among many international organizations, the United Nations facilitates international diplomacy; the World Health Organization coordinates international public health and protection, and the International Labor Organization monitors and fosters workers' rights around the world.

The scope and authority of international law have thus expanded dramatically during the era of globalization. Historically, international law addressed only relations between states in certain limited areas (such as war and diplomacy) and was dependent on the sovereignty and territorial boundaries of distinct countries (generally referred to as “states”).

But **globalization** has changed international law in numerous ways. For example, as globalization has accelerated, international law has become a vehicle for states to cooperate regarding new areas of international relations (such as the environment and human rights), many of them requiring states to rethink the previous notions of the inviolable sovereign state. The continued growth of international law is even more remarkable in this sense, since states, having undoubtedly weighed the costs and benefits of the loss of this valuable sovereignty, have still chosen to continue the growth of international law.

Because of the need for enhanced international (or as some call it, “transnational”) cooperation, globalization has therefore given new meanings to classic issues. Questions of the authority of a country within its own borders – that is, its state sovereignty – the role of the individual in the international community of nation-states, and the authority of international organizations, have all evolved in light of the forces of globalization.

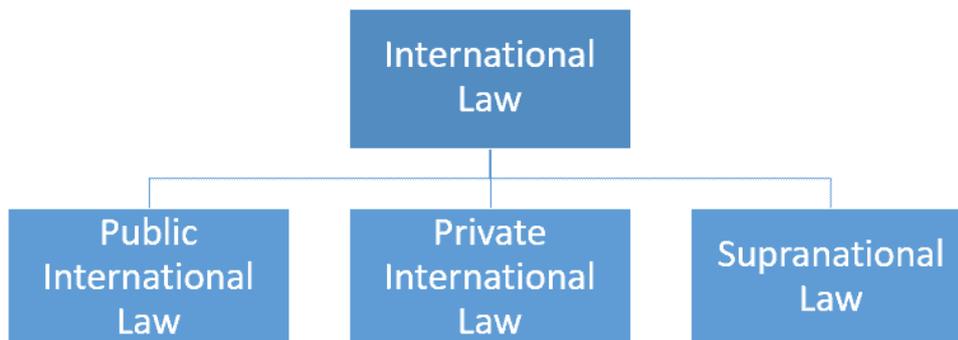
2. What is International Law?



What is the basic definition of “international law”? Is international law similar to the laws of a national state that are enforced by courts and police? Where do we find the rules of international law? Finally, how is international law enforced, if there is no world government?

Is International Law Really “Law”?

Basically defined, international law is simply the **set of rules that countries follow** in dealing with each other. There are three distinct legal processes that can be identified in international law:



- **Public International Law:** The relationship between sovereign states and international entities such as the International Criminal Court),
- **Private International Law:** Addressing questions of jurisdiction in conflict
- **Supranational Law:** The set of collective laws that sovereign states voluntarily yield to

There are several ways to think about law. In the domestic legal system, we think of law as the rules that the government issues to control the lives of its citizens. Those rules are generally created by the legislature, interpreted by the judiciary, and enforced by the executive branch, using the police, if necessary, to force citizens to obey. What is the law for the

international community if there is no legislature, judiciary or executive branch, and no police force?

Imagine a school playground with several children at play. The “law” is the set of playground rules that the teacher tells her students. For example, she might tell them, “Don’t hit your classmate.” Two different reasons can explain why the children will follow this rule. On the one hand, they may follow the rule only because they are afraid of being punished by the teacher. On the other hand, the students may believe that it is a bad thing to hit their classmates. Since it is a bad thing to do, they will follow the teacher’s rule.

In the first case, they will obey the rule only if the teacher is there and ready to punish them. In the second case, students will obey the rule even if the teacher is not there. In fact, even if the teacher is not present, the children may obey the rule because they have become used to not hitting each other and have therefore enjoyed playing with each other.

Just as certain common understandings between children may make it easier for them to play, a collective agreement on certain rules can often serve the interests of all the members of a community. Just as on a playground without a teacher, in the international setting, there is no central authority. For the most part, however, states will follow the rules they have agreed to follow because it makes these interactions easier for all parties involved.

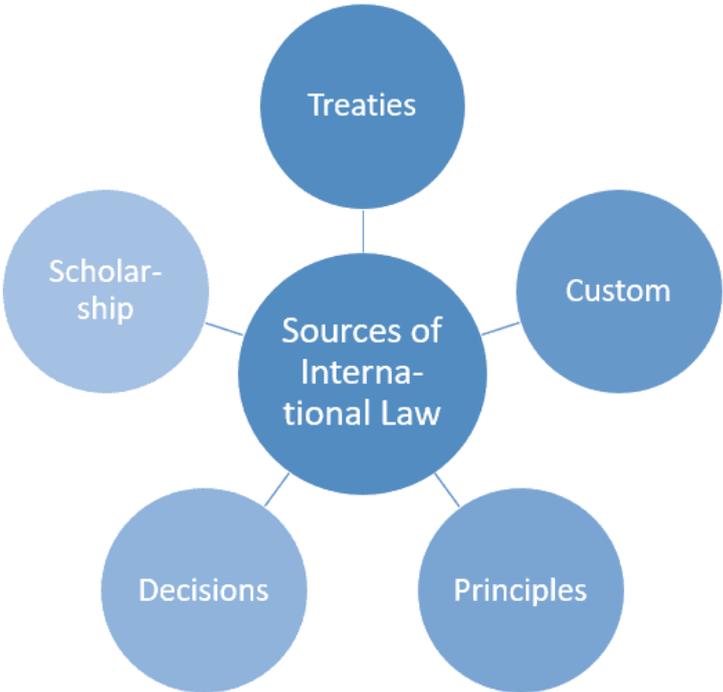
Thus, the fact that there is **no overall authority** to force compliance with the rules does not necessarily mean that there is no law. **Law still exists** in this setting, though it may be practiced and enforced in different ways. International law can therefore be called “real law,” but with different characteristics from the law practiced in domestic settings, where there is a legislature, judiciary, executive, and police force.

International law is the set of rules generally regarded and accepted as binding in relations between states and between nations.

What are the sources?

Since there is no world government, there is no world congress or parliament to make international law the way domestic legislatures create laws for one country. As such, there can be significant difficulty in establishing exactly what is international law. Various sources, however – principally treaties between states – are considered authoritative

statements of international law. Treaties are the strongest and most binding type because they represent consensual agreements between the countries who sign them. At the same time, as stated in the statute of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), rules of international law can be found in customary state practice, general principles of law common to many countries, domestic judicial decisions, and the legal scholarship.



International Treaties:

Treaties are similar to contracts between countries; promises between states are exchanged, finalized in writing, and signed. States may debate the interpretation or implementation of a treaty, but the written provisions of a treaty are binding. Treaties can address any number of fields, such as trade relations, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the European Union, or control of nuclear weapons, such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They can be either bilateral (between two countries) or multilateral (between many countries). They can have their own rules for enforcement, such as arbitration, or refer enforcement concerns to another agency, such as the International Court of Justice. The rules concerning how to decide disputes relating to treaties are even found in a treaty themselves – the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (United Nations, 1969).

Custom:

Customary international law (CIL) is more difficult to ascertain than the provisions of a written treaty. CIL is created by the actual actions of states (called “state practice”) when they demonstrate that those states

believe that acting otherwise would be illegal. Even if the rule of CIL is not written down, it still binds states, requiring them to follow it.

For example, for thousands of years, countries have given protection to ambassadors. As far back as ancient Greece and Rome, ambassadors from another country were not harmed while on their diplomatic missions, even if they represented a country at war with the country they were located in. Throughout history, many countries have publicly stated that they believe that ambassadors should be given this protection. Therefore, today, if a country harmed an ambassador it would be violating customary international law.

Similarly, throughout modern history, states have acknowledged through their actions and their statements that intentionally killing civilians during wartime is illegal in international law. Determining CIL is difficult, however, because, unlike a treaty, it is not written down. Some rules are so widely practiced and acknowledged by many states to be law, that there is little doubt that CIL exists regarding them; but other rules are not as universally recognized and disputes exist about whether they are truly CIL or not.

General Principles of Law:

The third source of international law is based on the theory of “natural law,” which argues that laws are a reflection of the instinctual belief that some acts are right while other acts are wrong. “The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations” are certain legal beliefs and practices that are common to all developed legal systems (United Nations, 1945).

For instance, most legal systems value “good faith,” that is, the concept that everyone intends to comply with agreements they make. Courts in many countries will examine whether the parties to a case acted in good faith, and take this issue into consideration when deciding a matter. The very fact that many different countries take good faith into consideration in their domestic judicial systems indicates that “good faith” may be considered a standard of international law. General principles are most useful as sources of law when no treaty or CIL has conclusively addressed an issue.

Judicial Decisions and Legal Scholarship:

The last two sources of international law are considered “subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.” While these sources are not by themselves international law, when coupled with evidence of

international custom or general principles of law, they may help to prove the existence of a particular rule of international law.

Especially influential are judicial decisions, both of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and of national courts. The ICJ, as the principal legal body of the United Nations, is considered an authoritative expounder of law, and when the national courts of many countries begin accepting a certain principle as legal justification, this may signal a developing acceptance of that principle on a wide basis such that it may be considered part of international law.

Legal scholarship, on the other hand, is not really authoritative in itself, but may describe rules of law that are widely followed around the world. Thus, articles and books by law professors can be consulted to find out what international law is.

How is International Law enforced?

A treaty may have incorporated into its own text enforcement provisions, such as arbitration of disputes or referral to the ICJ. However, some treaties may not expressly include such enforcement mechanisms. Especially in situations where the international law in question is not explicitly written out in a treaty, one can question how this unwritten law can be enforced. In an international system where there is no overarching authoritative enforcer, punishment for non-compliance functions differently. States are more likely to fear tactics used by other states, such as reciprocity, collective action, and shaming.

Reciprocity

Collective
Action

Shaming

Reciprocity:

Reciprocity is a type of enforcement by which states are assured that if they offend another state, the other state will respond by returning the same behavior. Guarantees of reciprocal reactions encourage states to think twice about which of their actions they would like imposed upon them. For example, during a war, one state will refrain from killing the prisoners of another state because it does not want the other state to kill its own prisoners. In a trade dispute, one state will be reluctant to impose

high tariffs on another state's goods because the other state could do the same in return.

Collective Action:

Through collective action, several states act together against one state to produce what is usually a punitive result. For example, Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait was opposed by most states, and they organized through the United Nations to condemn it and to initiate joint military action to remove Iraq. Similarly, the United Nations imposed joint economic sanctions, such as restrictions on trade, on South Africa in the 1980s to force that country to end the practice of racial segregation known as apartheid.

Shaming (also called the "name and shame" approach):

Most states dislike negative publicity and will actively try to avoid it, so the threat of shaming a state with public statements regarding their offending behavior is often an effective enforcement mechanism. This method is particularly effective in the field of human rights where states, not wanting to intervene directly into the domestic affairs of another state, may use media attention to highlight violations of international law. In turn, negative public attention may serve as a catalyst to having an international organization address the issue; it may align international grassroots movements on an issue; or it may give a state the political will needed from its populace to authorize further action. A recent example of this strategic tactic was seen in May 2010, when the U.N. named the groups most persistently associated with using child soldiers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (United Nations, 2010).

3. Sovereignty



State sovereignty is the concept that states are in complete and exclusive **control** of all the people and property within their territory. It also includes the idea that all states are equal as states. Since all states are equal, one state does not have the right to interfere with the internal affairs of another state.

In other words, despite their different landmasses, population sizes, or financial capabilities, all states, ranging from tiny islands of Micronesia to vast expanse of Russia, have an **equal right** to function as a state and make decisions about what occurs within their own borders.

Practically, sovereignty means that one state cannot demand that another state take any particular internal action. For example, if Canada did not approve of a Brazilian plan to turn a large section of Brazil's rainforest into an amusement park, the Canadian reaction is limited by Brazil's sovereignty. Canada may meet with the Brazilian government to try to convince them to halt the project. Canada may bring the issue before the UN to survey the world's opinion of the project. Canada may even make politically embarrassing public complaints in the world media. However, Canada cannot simply tell Brazil to stop the rainforest project and expect Brazil to obey.

Under the concept of state sovereignty, no state has the authority to tell another state how to control its internal affairs. Sovereignty both grants and limits power: it gives states complete control over their own territory while restricting the influence that states have on one another. In this example, sovereignty gives the power to Brazil to ultimately decide what to do with its rainforest resources and limits the power of Canada to impact this decision.

Globalization is changing this view of sovereignty, however. In the case of the Brazilian rainforest, Brazil may consider a rainforest located wholly within its property an issue solely of internal concern. Canada may claim that the world community has a valid claim on all limited rainforest resources, regardless of where the rainforest is located, especially in consideration of issues like endangered species and air pollution.

Similarly, states no longer view the treatment of citizens of one state as only the exclusive concern of that state. International human rights law is based on the idea that the entire global community is responsible for the rights of every individual.

International treaties, therefore, bind states to give their own citizens rights that are agreed on at a global level. In some cases, other countries can even monitor and enforce human rights treaties against a state for the treatment of the offending state's own citizens.

In international law, a sovereign state is a nonphysical juridical entity that is represented by one centralized government that has sovereignty over a geographic area.

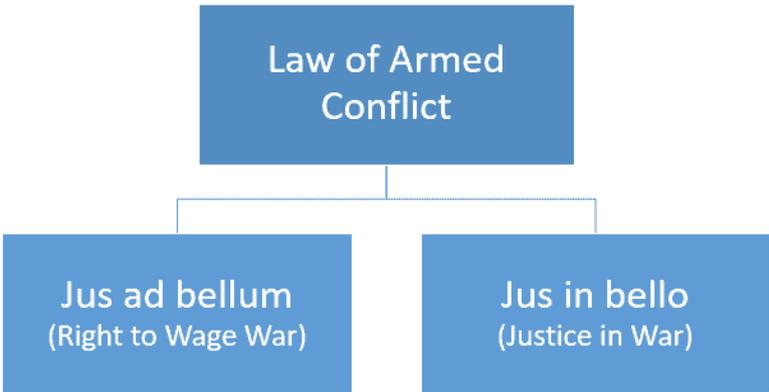
4. Fields of International Law



International law has developed certain areas of practice, guided by different principles, documents, and institutions. Even though these areas of expertise can stand alone, the underlying principles of each field both inform and compete with one another.

Law of Armed Conflict

The law of armed conflict (also called the “law of war”) can be divided into two categories. The first concerns the legitimate reasons for **starting a war**, known by its Latin terminology, jus ad bellum (“Right to Wage War”). The **laws during war**, jus in bello (“Justice in War”), are also called international humanitarian law.



“Jus ad bellum” principle:

Article 2(4) of the UN Charter states, “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations” (United Nations, 1945). Some regard this as the prohibition of the use of force outside of UN-approved actions. On the other hand, others consider this clause

only non-binding rhetoric, especially considering the history of armed conflict since the UN's birth in 1945.

The UN Charter and CIL do recognize that a state is entitled to use force without international approval when it is acting in self-defense. However, the events that trigger this right to self-defense are subject to debate. Most international lawyers agree that self-defense actions must be immediately necessary and proportional to the attack the state is trying to repel. The clarity of what qualifies as a "just war" has been put in the spotlight as recently as the Invasion of Iraq in 2003, with scholars and politicians around the globe questioning the legitimacy of such a war. In this era of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, some contend that legal self-defense also extends to pre-emptive attacks to prevent the development of a military threat.

"Jus in bello" principle:

Once armed conflict has begun, international humanitarian laws begin to apply. Some of the most important principles of "jus in bello" are that there must be a valid military purpose to every attack ("military necessity"), that attackers must try to avoid killing non-combatants (the principle of "distinction" between military and non-military targets), and that if non-combatants are killed, their deaths must be in proportion to the military necessity of the attack ("proportionality").

For example, attacking a weapons factory is legitimate, but if the factory is located near civilian homes, then the attacker must try to avoid attacking those homes; if attacking them will inevitably kill many civilians, the attack should not take place. Applying these principles in practice, however, is very difficult. Who determines whether an attack was necessary, distinguished between civilians and combatants, and was proportional? The main rules governing jus in bello are written down in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 (ICRC, 1949).

Economic Law

International law governs a diverse mixture of economic and commercial matters, such as trade, monetary policy, development, intellectual property rights, and investment. This area of international law reaches broadly enough to encompass topics ranging from international transactions by private parties to agreements between states to regulate their trade activities.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that governs international trade, is the most important treaty in this area; it is administered by the World Trade Organization. Others include the treaty on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) and the General Agreements on Trade in Services (GATS).

- **GATT** can be described as a set of rules, multilateral trade agreement, that came into force, to encourage international trade and remove cross-country trade barriers.
- **WTO** is an international organization, that came into existence to oversee and liberalize trade between countries. It is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business.

With respect to customs duties and charges of any kind imposed on or in connection with importation or exportation (...) any advantage, favour, privilege or immunity granted by any contracting party to any product originating in or destined for any other country shall be accorded immediately and unconditionally to the like product originating in or destined for the territories of all other contracting parties.

— General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

Human Rights Law

International human rights law is different from most areas of international law because rather than governing relations between states, human rights law governs a state's relations with its own citizens. The modern human rights law movement has its roots in the post-WWII trials of Nazi leaders at Nuremberg. The world community recognized that the mass atrocities committed during WWII were too serious to be handled under domestic laws because the crimes committed were crimes against all of humanity.

Subsequently, the creators of the UN recognized the reaffirmation of **fundamental human rights** as one of its most important purposes, and in the first year of its existence, set out to ensure that goal. The first step took place when The Human Rights Commission – at the time the lead UN body of human rights – produced the “**International Bill of Human Rights**,” which is composed of the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights and two binding treaties, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

All human beings are born with equal and inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms. (...) Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

— United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a UN declaration that does not in form create binding international human rights law. Many legal scholars cite the UDHR as evidence of customary international law. More broadly, the UDHR has become an authoritative human rights reference. It has provided the basis for subsequent international human rights instruments that form non-binding, but ultimately authoritative international human rights law.

On March 15, 2006, recognizing the need to update its human rights organizations, the General Assembly of the UN created the Human Rights Council. The Human Rights Council was created with the specific intention to address the heavy criticism that The Human Rights Commission had received for allowing far too many states with poor human rights records into the delegation.

A sophisticated system of agreements and monitoring organizations exists to promote respect for the rights enshrined in these documents, both on international and regional levels, as with the European Convention on Human Rights and its Court of Human Rights, and the American Declaration and American Convention on Human Rights and their Inter-American Commission and Inter-American Court on Human Rights.

Environmental Law

International Environmental Law (IEL) is concerned with the attempt to control pollution and the depletion of natural resources within a framework of sustainable development. It is a branch of public international law – a body of law created by states for states to govern problems that arise between states.

IEL covers topics such as population, biodiversity, climate change, ozone depletion, toxic and hazardous substances, air, land, sea and trans-

boundary water pollution, conservation of marine resources, desertification, and nuclear damage.

The UN Environment Assembly – the highest-level UN body ever convened on the environment – opened on 23 June 2014 at the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) headquarters in Nairobi. UNEA feeds directly into the General Assembly and has universal membership of all 193 UN member states as well as other stakeholder groups. With this wide reach into the legislative, financial and development arenas, the new body presents a ground-breaking platform for leadership on global environmental policy.

The major declaration on international environmental law is the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (the 1972 Stockholm Declaration): This declaration represented a first major attempt at considering the global human impact on the environment, and an international attempt to address the challenge of preserving and enhancing the human environment. The Stockholm Declaration espouses mostly broad environmental policy goals and objectives rather than detailed normative positions.

The protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all Governments.

— Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment

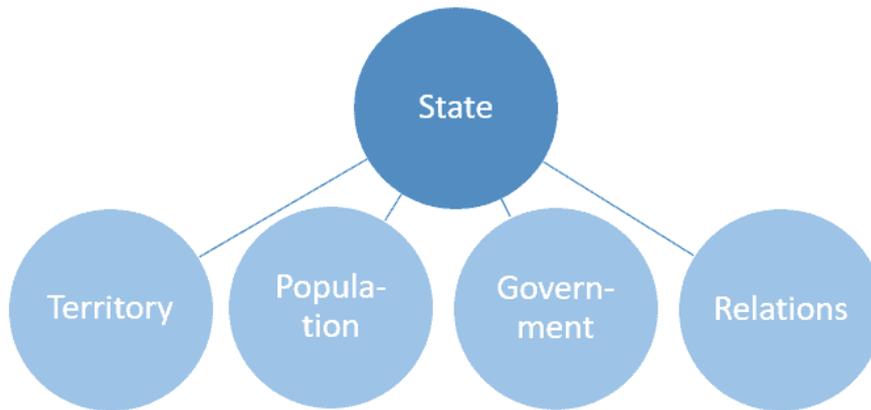
5. Relevant Actors



Traditionally, international law dealt only with the relations between states – and states were the only creators and subjects of the law. Today that has changed, with new actors like NGOs, public organizations and private stakeholders joining as both creators and subjects.

States

States play the central and undisputed leading role in the creation of international law. However, the determination of whether an entity is actually a state can present a challenge.



The generally agreed-upon criteria for statehood are:

- Possesses a defined **territory**
- Inhabited by a permanent **population**
- Controlled by an independent **government**
- Engages in formal **relations** with other states

The application of criteria is often subject to political considerations, however. Breakaway regions of countries often meet or are on the way to meeting these criteria, such as Kosovo, the Albanian-majority province of Serbia, or Chechnya, part of Russia, but are not recognized as states by the international community. Another issue in statehood that has been highly controversial for many years is the recognition of the State of Palestine. In such an instance this region is internationally recognized by many states (*de jure*), however, controls little to no portion of their claimed territory (*de facto*).

State representation, where more than one government tries to represent a single state, is also an important consideration. For example, even though the Taliban religious movement effectively controlled Afghanistan prior to the U.S. invasion in 2001, Afghanistan was represented in the UN by the government that had been deposed by the Taliban, but still claimed to be the country's legitimate rulers.

International Organizations

International organizations, otherwise known as intergovernmental organizations, or IGOs, are formed between two or more state

governments. Some IGOs operate by making decisions on the basis of one vote for each member-state, some make decisions on a consensus or unanimity basis, while still others have weighted voting structures based on security interests or monetary donations.

In the **General Assembly of the UN**, each state has one vote, while in the **Security Council**, five states are permanent members and have a veto over any action. The **World Bank** arranges its voting according to the Member State’s shareholding status, which is roughly based on the size of the state’s economy. This is often thought of as the “one dollar = one vote” approach to representation.

There are more than **2,000 international organizations** that deal with a wide variety of topics requiring international cooperation, such as the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Universal Postal Union, the International Organization for Standardization, and the International Organization for Migration. The following table lists some of the most important and most influential international organizations and groups:

						
African Union	Antarctic Treaty Secretariat	Arab Maghreb Union	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation	Assembly of European Regions	Association of Southeast Asian Nations	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America
						
Caribbean Community	Central American Integration System	Collective Security Treaty Organization	Commonwealth of Independent States	Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf	Council of Europe	Council of the Baltic Sea States
						
East African Community	Economic Cooperation Organization	Eureka	European Free Trade Association	Eurocontrol	European Organization for Nuclear Research	European Southern Observatory
						
European Space Agency	European Union	Global Environment Facility	Indian Ocean Commission	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	International Atomic Energy Agency	International Union for Conservation of Nature
						
Nordic Council	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	Organization of American States	Pacific Islands Forum	Partnerships in Environmental Management for the Seas of East Asia	Secretariat of the Pacific Community	South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone
						
Southern African Development Community	Union of South American Nations	United Nations	Western European Union	World Association of Nuclear Operators		

Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), also called **civil society organizations**, are groups formed by individuals working across national borders to affect public policy. Recent progress in technology, coupled with globalization's emphasis on international cooperation, has allowed the effectiveness of these organizations to grow drastically. Individuals living in different countries can now network with one another, and the Internet has permitted NGOs to both obtain and publish information on an extensive level, previously only available to states.

NGOs have had significant impact on environmental affairs, such as Greenpeace's advocacy work on climate change, Amnesty International's advocacy of human rights, and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, which won a Nobel Peace Prize for its work in shaping a global treaty to prohibit use of landmines. However, as the influence of NGOs has grown, more questions are being raised regarding their accountability. Essentially, NGOs are special-interest groups on an international scale, which means that they are unelected and unaccountable to any public oversight, even though they claim to speak for the "public" as a whole. Failure to deliver adequate or promised results, coupled with little to no structural oversight has proven to be a large obstacle, which many NGOs still currently face scrutiny for.

Individuals

The position of individuals under international law has evolved significantly during the last century. Now, more than ever, under international law **individuals are being given more rights** and are being held responsible for their actions. Human rights law, for example, has tried to establish that every person around the world has certain basic rights that cannot be violated.

At the same time, **individual accountability** under international law has been established, first at the Nuremberg trials and recently at the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the dawn of the International Criminal Court, the first permanent international institution to hold individuals responsible for violations of the laws of armed conflict.

This issue of individual accountability in the international system can be seen with the actions carried out in June 2011, when the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant for Libyan dictator Moammar Gadhafi for “Crimes against humanity” that were purportedly carried out while trying to quash a growing rebellion within the Libyan Borders. However, Gaddafi was eventually captured by National Transitional Council forces and subject to extra-judicial killing along with his son and close advisers in October 2011.

Multinational Corporations

Multinational corporations (MNCs), also sometimes called **transnational corporations (TNCs)**, also are playing an increasing role in the development of international law. MNCs are commercial entities whose interests are profit-driven.

Transnational corporations lobby states and international organizations in a manner similar to NGOs, with the hopes of having their interests protected under international law. Many of the same doubts related to NGO accountability and legitimacy can also be raised in the context of MNCs. For these reasons, the UN has sought both to regulate and to work with MNCs. At the Millennium Forum in May 2000, a proposal was put forth to regulate MNCs. A Draft Code of Conduct was reviewed and debated by various UN bodies for years, with no results. MNCs also have been sued in U.S. courts for violating international law in the way they affect the human rights of people in countries where they operate.

In 2005, in another attempt to regulate a code of conduct for transnational corporations, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed John Ruggie as the UN Special Representative for Business and Human Rights. In 2008, Ruggie created the concept of “Protect, Respect, and Remedy,” which was presented in concrete form in 2011 and became known as the “UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.” The Human Rights Council unanimously endorsed these principles and quickly established a group to focus on their implementation. The group first met in Geneva, Switzerland in December 2012, and found that much progress had been made in recent years.

6. The United Nations



The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization and complex network responsible for international peace and security. Just as any government may be divided into branches – such as the judiciary, legislative, and executive – the UN also has various bodies with different functions.

The United Nations System

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization founded in 1945. It is currently made up of 193 Member States. Due to the powers vested in its Charter and its unique international character, the United Nations can take action on the issues confronting humanity in the 21st century, such as peace and security, climate change, sustainable development, human rights, disarmament, terrorism, humanitarian and health emergencies, gender equality, governance, food production, and more.

The UN also provides a forum for its members to express their views in its bodies and committees. By enabling dialogue between its members, and by hosting negotiations, the UN has become a mechanism for governments to find agreements and solve problems together.

The overarching framework of the United Nations incorporates five principal organs, but a vast array of underlying specialized agencies, programs, funds, and related organizations maintain ties with the UN while operating under differing levels of independence. The five principal organs of the UN operate as the political base of the United Nation:



1. General Assembly:

The General Assembly (GA), which is made up of the 193 member states, is the main deliberative body of the UN that meets annually in New York. In the plenary sessions of the GA, the member states address issues of international concern and debate resolutions. These resolutions hold no legally binding authority, but since each member-state gets one vote, GA resolutions represent the beliefs of the international community and are often considered “soft” law. The GA is composed of different committees (e.g. Disarmament and International Security Committee; Economic and Financial Committee; Legal Committee; etc).



2. Security Council:

The Security Council has the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.” As such, the Security Council is the only UN body that can pass resolutions and it is also the only part of the UN that can authorize the use of force. The Security Council has 15 members, including five permanent members (China, France, Russia, the U.K., and the U.S.), and ten non-permanent members selected on a regional basis by the GA. The five permanent members can veto any substantive issue. The Security Council has previously established peacekeeping operations, international tribunals, and sanctions.



3. Economic and Social Council:

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is composed of 54 member-states elected by the GA according to fair regional representation standards. As its name suggests, ECOSOC is charged with making reports and recommendations in the fields of “economic, social, cultural, educational, health and other related matters.” As such, ECOSOC oversees the work of 14 UN Specialized Agencies and 14 specialized commissions, which deal with issues such as drugs, crime prevention, and the status of women.



4. Secretariat:

The Secretariat, headed by the Secretary-General, offers administrative and substantive support to all of the programs of the UN, ranging from translation services to preparing studies on any topic the UN considers. Individuals working within the Secretariat are international civil servants, meaning that they pledge they will not follow the orders of their home state, but will instead work for the good of the international community.



5. International Court of Justice:

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), as the principal judicial organ of the UN, resolves disputes among States and gives advisory opinions to the UN. Judges of fifteen different nationalities make up the body of the

ICJ, which meets in The Hague. In its 68 years of existence, the ICJ has been presented with about 200 cases, including both contentious, i.e., between states, such as the legality of U.S. involvement in Nicaragua, and advisory, i.e., on questions from the UN and its agencies.

UN Agencies

When the UN was founded, a deliberate decision was made to keep it decentralized. Thus, the political operations of the UN are kept separate from the cooperative and technical branches of the UN's specialized organizations. The specialized agencies are organizations with varying degrees of independence that agree to coordinate their work through agreements with ECOSOC. Each specialized agency negotiates its own agreement with ECOSOC, which leads to a very intricate system in which different organizations maintain different types of relationships with ECOSOC. This system has led to some severe criticism. Agencies, when not competing for resources, may duplicate one another's work.

Lacking true coordination, the policies of one agency may directly conflict with the policies and, collectively, the agencies often fail to put forth a comprehensive and coalesced approach to complicated international problems. On the other hand, having specialized agencies often allows the international community to address specific problems without specifically entering into political debates. This approach ideally allows for more coordination among States on common technical concerns.

Two of the most influential UN agencies are the ILO and the WHO:



International Labor Organization:

The International Labor Organization (ILO) was established in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles, which also created the failed League of Nations, the predecessor of the UN. The ILO continued, despite the demise of the League of Nations, and in 1946, it became the first specialized agency of the UN. State Governments have one vote each, but Workers and Employers from every State also each have a vote to cast. The ILO

concentrates on establishing labor standards on issues like working conditions and child labor.



World Health Organization:

Established in 1948, the goal of the World Health Organization (WHO) is the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health. Their program of work includes monitoring and publicizing disease outbreak information, supporting vaccination drives, and educating health workers. Of all the specialized agencies, the WHO has the largest budget and perhaps the most authority within its specified field.

UN Related Organizations

Related organizations are similar to specialized agencies, but they have more independence. They do not report to the UN political bodies, though their work may be the subject of UN debates, and they are run under the rules of their own founding documents.



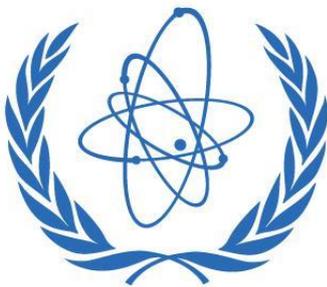
WORLD TRADE
ORGANIZATION

World Trade Organization:

When the UN was first created, along with the World Bank and the IMF, the member states wanted to create a third organization dealing exclusively with trade. Unfortunately, even though the states drafted a charter for an International Trade Organization (ITO), several states, including the U.S., refused to ratify the charter and the ITO was dead before it was even properly started. While all of this was playing out politically, some states adopted the several rules of the ITO in a provisional agreement, expecting these rules to serve as a makeshift measure until the ITO came into existence. When the ITO failed, their

'provisional' agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, became the prevailing multilateral international trade agreement until the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created in 1995. While this makes the WTO a relatively young international organization, its history stems from the trade negotiations handled previously under GATT. The WTO currently describes its duties as:

- Administering and acting as a forum for trade agreements;
- Settling trade disputes;
- Reviewing national trade policies; and
- Assisting developing countries in trade policy issues, through technical assistance and training programs.



IAEA IAEA:

Inspired by U.S. President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech to the UN General Assembly, work drafting the statute of the International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA) began in 1955. When the statute was concluded in 1957, the IAEA assumed its role as the world's forum for cooperation in the field of nuclear science. The IAEA defines its work in three pillars: nuclear verification and security, safety, and technology transfer. It works not only to ensure that nuclear weapons are not proliferated among states, but it also assists in the peaceful uses of nuclear technology, such as nuclear medicine and energy projects. A key document of international law operating under the auspices of the IAEA is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). The NPT holds stable the number of "legal" holders of nuclear weapons to five declared States, which coincides with the permanent seat holders of the UN Security Council – China, France, Russia, the U.S., and the U.K.

UN Programs and Funds

There are eight different UN programs and funds, which are financed through voluntary contributions rather than assessed contributions. Here, we want to present two of them:



UNICEF:

Seeing the devastation to Europe following the Second World War, the UN General Assembly created the UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in 1946 to care for the needs of children in the post-conflict situation. Though it originally was intended to be a short-term program, in 1950, the UN decided to extend the mandate of UNICEF permanently, and in doing so, shortened its name to the UN Children's Fund (still called UNICEF). UNICEF works to promote the welfare of children, including efforts in the areas of child health, education, and protection. One of its guiding documents is the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is the most widely accepted human rights treaty in history.



UNHCR:

Similar to UNICEF, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was originally created to last only three years and address the problem of European refugees following World War II. However, as different conflicts around the world continued to create refugees, the mandate of the UNHCR was continually renewed. Today, UNHCR claims more than 7,000 personnel working in 123 countries, participating in a wide range of operational activities including legal protection, public affairs, logistics,

and health. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines what a refugee is and what rights are accorded to them. While the UNHCR primarily works to safeguard these rights, its work also extends to reach internally displaced people who have been forced to move within their own country, and promoting the skills of refugees supporting themselves.

7. Regional Organizations



We will now discuss some of the more prominent regional organizations. States often share common regional interests and therefore find it easier to collaborate within a single region. Each organization tends to be distinct according to the desires of its constituents.

Some regional organizations, like the European Union (EU), have such binding authority that they can overrule the national laws of one of their member states, while others, like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), have based their organization on the principles of non-intervention in domestic affairs.



European Union (EU):

The European Union (EU) is perhaps one of the most fully integrated and functioning regional organizations. It has its own judicial system, own currency, and has the ability to create a cohesive foreign policy. The EU includes the European Parliament (elected directly by the citizens of member states), the Council of the EU (representing governments of member states), the European Commission (serving as the executive body of the EU) and the Court of Justice (adjudicating matters under EU laws).



Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN):

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), founded in 1967, currently counts ten Southeast Asian states as its members. The twin goals of ASEAN are to accelerate economic growth, social progress, and cultural development and to promote regional peace and security. ASEAN has played a critical role within the Southeast Asian region in establishing understandings related to free trade, nuclear weapons, and relations with other regional organizations.



Organization of American States (OAS):

All 35 States of the American Hemisphere have ratified the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS). The OAS was officially established in 1948, though its foundation is based on a long history of cooperation within the Americas region. While the OAS has some similar institutional features to the EU, the American region has chosen not to integrate their political and economic systems as closely as the EU. While there is an Inter-American Court of Human Rights, an Inter-American Development Bank, and a Permanent Council, the OAS has not been given as much authority over domestic policy as the EU member states have vested in the EU.

8. Conclusion



As discussed earlier, international law has traditionally been based on the notion of state sovereignty. Recently, however, interactions between states have become more complex and require them to give up some of their sovereignty to have effective relations with each other.

Similarly, international law has begun to deal with issues traditionally inside the borders of individual states, such as human rights. These developments have become very controversial, however. International law is often criticized for a lack of legitimacy.

For example, the law is shaped to a large degree by politics within the international system. An action, though clearly illegal in terms of international law, may go unpunished due to overriding political considerations. Since the UN Charter gives veto authority to five Security Council members, who would presumptively veto any measures to enforce international law against their own state, the legitimacy of an organization with such unequal application of the law must be questioned to a certain degree. When the most powerful players determine the rules of the game, how legitimate can these rules be? Furthermore, many countries routinely and clearly violate international human rights law. Why are they allowed to help set what the law is?

Indeed, unelected bodies wield significant power in the formulation of international law, from the UN Security Council to the dispute settlement body of the WTO. They make decisions and implement policies that can affect people around the world, but if those people are unhappy with these decisions, or if the choices made fail to reflect their interests, when the actors are in the international system, the people affected rarely have the power to hold them accountable. How can people trust international law and international organizations when there is no direct connection between them?

These questions are central to the question of whether the current rules of international law – the way they are made, and the way they are implemented – are a fair means of governing the world.

Welcome to International Politics!

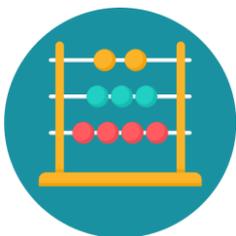
This course deals with political systems, forms of government, political behavior, and power. After this course, you will be able to examine a wide range of topics – from how laws get made to how political parties develop.

Because power takes many forms, political science often overlaps with economics, psychology, sociology, and the other social sciences. The overall field of political science includes several major subfields. The most important fields are comparative politics, international relations, political economy, and political theory.

- **Political Theory** includes all political philosophies from Plato to the present. This subfield tries to answer questions about such abstract issues as ethics, the nature of liberty and freedom, and how governments should function.
- **Comparative Politics** compares systems of government in other countries. For example, a comparative political scientist might compare the political systems or constitutions of the USA and Brazil.
- **International Relations** scholars examine the ways in which nations interact. International relations focuses on how states *relate* to one another, such as why and how states trade, cooperate, and fight.
- **Political Economy** is the study of how economics and politics affect each other. Political scientists might look at the impact of economic power on international relations or how different economies develop within similar political systems.

In this course, we will touch all of these major subfields to provide you with a solid overview.

2. Political Theory

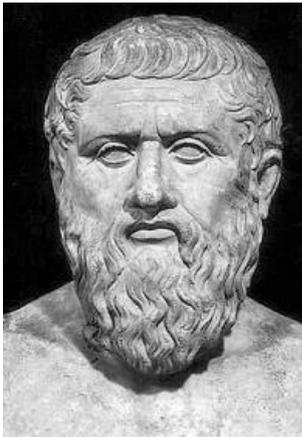


For as long as humans have formed communities, people have debated and analyzed **politics** – the way groups of people, particularly governments, reach agreements and make decisions that will affect

society. In this chapter, we present the most important political theories from three different eras:

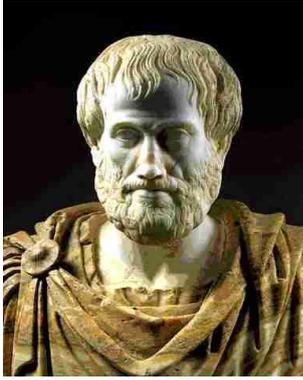
Ancient Times

In **Ancient Times**, the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle were two of the most influential political thinkers:



The philosopher **Plato** (427-347 BC) wrote numerous dialogues about politics, asking about the nature of justice, what constitutes good government, and what is truly best for humanity. As the first philosophical examination of “justice” in Western literature, he seeks to discover justice in the individual by defining justice in the state. In his famous writings *The Republic*, *The Statesman*, and *The Laws* he outlines the ideal state and explores “corrupt” or “deviant” regimes (timarchy, oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny) through an analysis of their leading symptoms.

While often denounced as an enemy of the “open society,” Plato suggests that ruling is a kind of science or craft and concludes that only those trained in this craft should be permitted to govern. He introduces a new element – *adherence to law* – which becomes the basis for evaluating good and bad forms of regime types. Those regimes which follow the law are far better than those that do not. He also prefigures the famous “mixed” or “balanced” constitution, observing that democracy should be tempered with monarchy. Plato’s political philosophy has been the subject of much criticism. He was highly critical of democracy and believed in an aristocracy ruled by philosopher-kings. However, Plato’s interest in existing institutions and appreciation for imperfect regimes serves as a bridge to the more empirical and realistic politics of Aristotle.

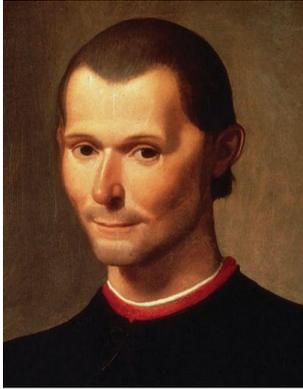


Plato's student **Aristotle** (384-322 BC) worked in a more scientific way, observing and describing types of governments systematically. He declared in his work *The Politics* that "man is by nature a political animal." However, there is a tension between two forces which move us; the Greeks termed them *ethos* (morality) and *kratos* (power). Is doing the politically prudent thing compatible with doing the moral thing?

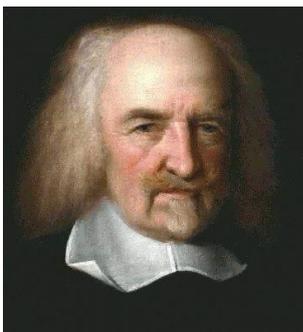
Aristotle, like Confucius much further east, believed in the continuity between moral character and political interests. He deemed politics as well as morality to be based on knowledge. While Aristotle's remarks on slavery, women, and laborers are often embarrassing to modern readers, his analysis of regime types (including the causes of their preservation and destruction) remains of perennial interest. His discussion of "polity" - a fusion of oligarchy and democracy - has been of particular significance in the history of popular government. Finally, his contention that a constitution is more than a set of political institutions, but also embodies a shared way of life, has proved a fruitful insight in the hands of other political thinkers.

European Enlightenment

During the **European Enlightenment**, philosophers like Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau started to break away from tradition and forge new ways of understanding the world.

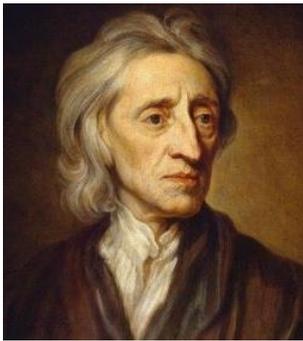


Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) finally drove a wedge between the unequal siblings of politics and virtue: A statesman should only be concerned with being powerful, not with being kind or good. His work *The Prince* is at once the most famous and infamous work in the canon of political thought. Instead of considering questions of justice and the ideal state, Niccolo Machiavelli proposed to advise a “new” prince on how to successfully **maintain power**. Given the realities of human nature and politics, it is sometimes necessary for a prince to “do evil,” including acts of violence and cruelty, in order to survive. For Machiavelli, the capacity for such acts is an essential part of a ruler’s “skill set.” Such stark realism has led many to denounce Machiavelli as an “advisor to tyrants” and a “teacher of evil.” Others have defended the *Prince* for its author’s realistic appraisal of politics and tough-minded advice for a dangerous world. This “little book” (as Machiavelli called it) will undoubtedly continue to provoke highly varied responses.

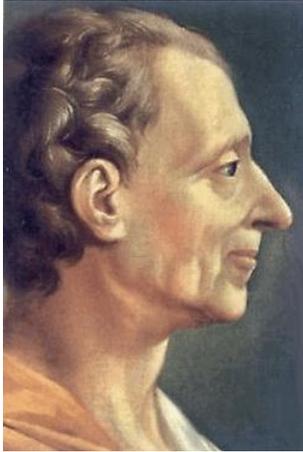


Best known as the “father” of modern absolutism, **Thomas Hobbes** (1588-1679) is also credited as the “father” of modern political science. In *Leviathan*, his principal work, the English philosopher endeavored to establish a new “science of politics” on the basis of the first principles of human nature. While his conclusion — that without an all-powerful Sovereign life would be a “war of all against all” — was largely rejected by his contemporaries, his reliance on natural law inaugurated a new era in political thinking. His use of the “social contract”

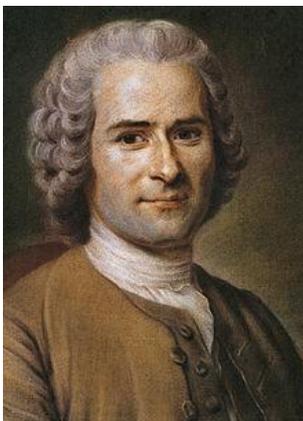
as a method of explaining the origin and legitimacy of public authority would be adopted to more liberal ends by thinkers such as Locke and Rousseau. Moreover, Hobbes's contention that men possess "natural" rights — that by nature individuals are free, equal, and autonomous — readily lent itself to theories of limited government. For this reason, Hobbes is often identified, paradoxically, as the "father" of modern liberalism. In simple terms, Hobbes states that **man is evil**. Therefore, a government is needed to protect the public. The government should be all-powerful and the power should be centralized.



Few political thinkers have had such a profound and lasting influence as **John Locke** (1632-1704). His *Second Treatise*, written against the backdrop of political crisis and revolution, contains classic arguments against despotic government. Drawing on the tradition of natural law, Locke developed a theory of natural liberty that placed limits on civil authority. For Locke, government is founded in human need and arises from "inconveniences" in the "state of nature." Like Hobbes, he finds the origins of political authority in the "social contract," a voluntary agreement to enter into civil society. Unlike Hobbes, however, the sovereignty of the people is not permanently transferred to an absolute "Sovereign," but is temporarily delegated to a government of limited power. Locke also made important contributions to the concepts of equality, rule of law, separation of powers, majoritarianism, and the right to revolution. Along with its theory of (private) property, the *Second Treatise* remains the seminal text of classical liberalism. In simple terms, Locke states that **man is good**. However, a government is wanted to benefit the public. The government should be conditional and the power should be shared.



Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) focused on the relations between law, liberty, and government. His attention to the influence of social factors on law and government has led modern scholars to call him the “father” of sociology. He is best known for his discussion of the English constitution, his model of a modern free government. For Montesquieu, English liberty is the product of a **balanced constitution**, and specifically the separation of legislative and executive power. These reflections, as well as his observations on the conditions which support republics, would exercise a powerful influence on the American Founders, who appealed to Montesquieu — “that great man” — with considerable frequency.

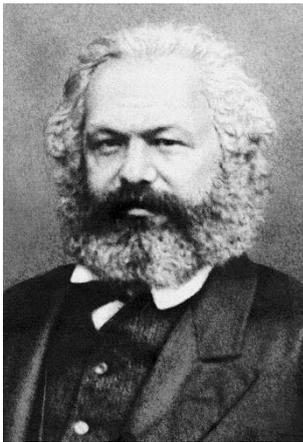


“Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains.” Thus begins the *Social Contract*, the principal work of **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** (1712-1778). Like Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau used the “social contract” to explain the origins of civil society, but in his version sovereignty is not transferred to the government, but remains with the people. In Rousseau’s ideal republic, the **citizens legislate directly** in accordance with the “general will,” the common good. To recognize this good, citizens must be trained in virtue. Only then will they be fit for self-government; only then will they be truly free. His model of a small city-

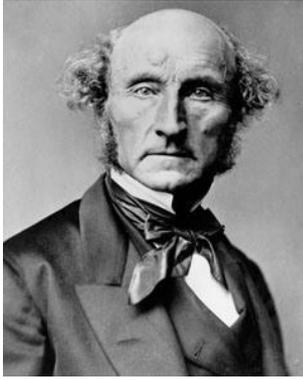
state was out of step with the times, but his general ideas on liberty and democracy were highly influential.

Industrialization and Modernity

As **Industrialization** overtook Europe and the United States in the 19th century, social theorists began to change their political approaches. The most significant modern thinkers include Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, Max Weber, and John Rawls.



The theories of **Karl Marx** (1818-1883) about society, economics and politics – the collective understanding of which is known as Marxism – hold that human societies progress through **class struggle**: a conflict between an ownership class that controls production and a dispossessed laboring class that provides the labor for production. States, Marx believed, were run on behalf of the ruling class and in their interest while representing it as the common interest of all; and he predicted that, like previous socioeconomic systems, capitalism produced internal tensions which would lead to its self-destruction and replacement by a new system: socialism. Marx argued that class antagonisms under capitalism between the **bourgeoisie and proletariat** would eventuate in the working class' conquest of political power and eventually establish a classless society, communism, a society governed by a free association of producers. Marx actively fought for its implementation, arguing that the working class should carry out organized revolutionary action to topple capitalism and bring about socio-economic change. His books *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* spurred the Russian Revolution of 1917.

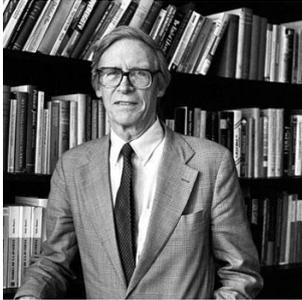


On Liberty of **John Stuart Mill** (1806-1873) remains the classic defense of individual freedom and the open society. For Mill, human happiness — the “greatest good” — is only possible in a free society where individuals are at liberty to make decisions about their lives. These decisions, including what to think, say, read, and write, should be free from state interference and left to the discretion of individuals. Believing that discussion, debate, and diversity were essential to the progress of society, Mill called for the widest degree of latitude for individual expression and even encouraged “experiments in living.” Fostering individuality would, in turn, benefit society as a whole, because fewer people would feel restricted or marginalized. As long as people respect the rights of others, they should be allowed to think and live as they choose. Some beliefs and ways of living might be better than others, but it was not the proper role of the state to regulate such matters. Unlike classical liberals, Mill did not base his argument for liberty on natural right, but on utility or the “greatest happiness” principle. His strong defense of **individual liberty** and self-determination place him in the vanguard of liberal thinkers.



Economist and sociologist **Max Weber** (1864-1920) argued that **religion**, not economics, is the central force in social change. According to Weber, Protestants seeking an outward affirmation of their godliness brought

about the birth of market-driven capitalism in the Western world. Against Marx's "historical materialism", Weber emphasized the importance of cultural influences embedded in religion as a means for understanding the genesis of capitalism. Weber defined the state as an entity that successfully claims a "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory". His analysis of **bureaucracy** emphasized that modern state institutions are increasingly based on rational-legal authority.



Professor **John Rawls** (1921-2002) was one of the most important political philosophers of the 20th century. His work in political philosophy takes as its starting point the argument that "the most reasonable principles of justice are those everyone would accept and agree to from a fair position". He argued that we should strive to develop a society based on **equality**.

3. Political Science



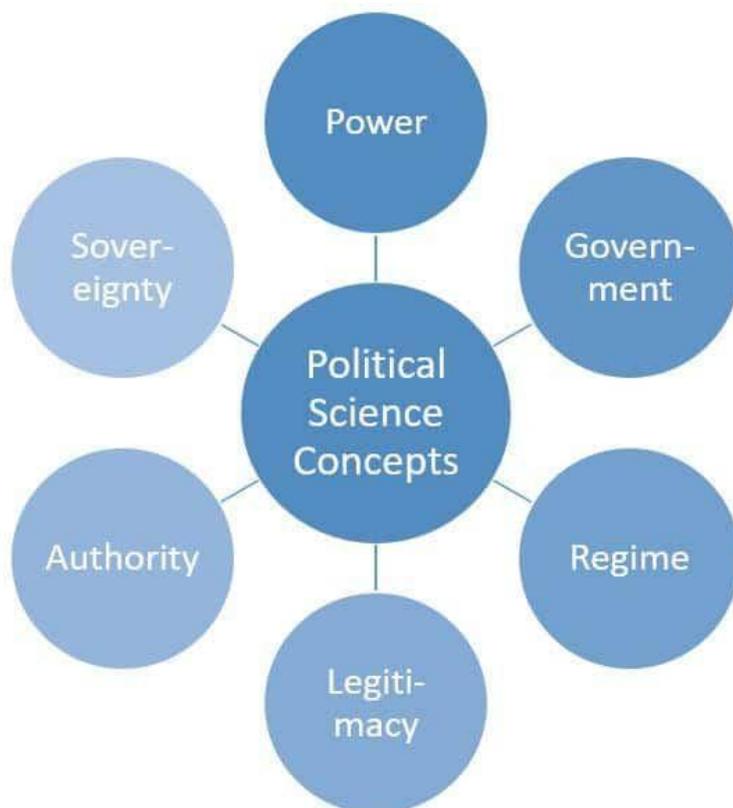
Throughout history, there have been many different systems of government. Political science is the attempt to study politics in a systematic way in order to learn how power works. As an academic discipline, political science is fairly new, but people have studied and discussed politics for thousands of years.

What is Political Science?

Political science is the systematic study of politics or the process by which governmental decisions are made. As a famous definition puts it, politics is **determining who gets what, where, when, and how**. The political scientist is an objective observer who asks questions about and studies the effects and structures of different systems of governments.

In the last few decades, political science has become more solidly established. Political professionals work on campaigns (as well as news shows) at all levels to help sway voters, and many elected officials analyze data to help make policy choices. Today, many political scientists use statistics and other quantitative methods to study a variety of issues.

Political scientists rely on several important concepts:

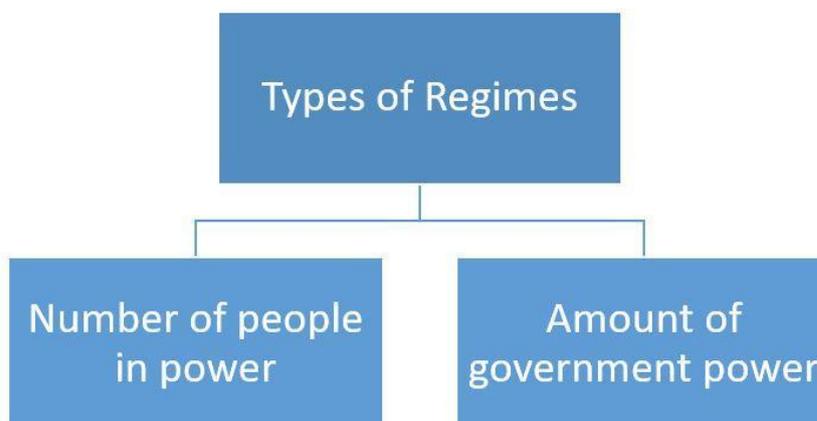


- **Power:** The ability to get others to do what you want. Power can take many forms, from brute force to articulate persuasion.
- **Government:** The organization of power within a society, specifically how power is divided and used.
- **Regime:** The form of government or the set of rules, cultural or social norms, that regulate the operation of a government or institution and its interactions with society.

- **Legitimacy:** Occurs when citizens accept the political decisions made by the governing body. A government is considered legitimate if its citizens think it right, lawful, and proper that the government should hold power. A threat to legitimacy seriously undermines the power of the government.
- **Authority:** The ability of the government to exercise power without resorting to violence. A government with a high level of legitimacy tends to have a high level of authority. Its citizens usually obey the law because they think it is the right thing to do, not because they are afraid of punishment.
- **Sovereignty:** The right to exercise political power over a group of people or a geographical area. A government is considered sovereign if it has the final word on political decisions within its boundaries. When citizens can appeal to a higher body, the government is not sovereign. (Example: Regional governments have often a great deal of power, but ultimately they are not sovereign because the federal government can overrule them)

Types of Regimes

Political scientists refer to **regimes** using many different terms. In politics, a regime is the **form of government or the set of rules, cultural or social norms**, etc. that regulate the operation of a government or institution and its interactions with society. Which term political scientists use often depends on two factors: the number of people with political power and the amount of power the government itself exerts.



1. Number of people in power:

The first table below organizes regimes by the number of people who hold political power.

Regime:	Number of people in power:	Examples:
Monarchy	One	Saudi Arabia, Jordan, medieval England
Dictatorship	One	North Korea, Nazi Germany
Aristocracy	A few (small ruling class)	Ancient Sparta
Oligarchy	A few (small group of wealthy individuals)	Renaissance Venice
Democracy	Many or all	USA, Germany, France, ancient Athens

A wide variety of regime types exist. For example, the United Kingdom has a constitutional monarchy, in which Queen Elizabeth holds a limited amount of power. Theoretically, the queen is the English head of state, but over time the English monarchy has become largely ceremonial. Real governmental power now rests with the Parliament, the legislative, lawmaking body. In contrast, the Third Reich of World War II was a totalitarian dictatorship. Adolf Hitler controlled the government and the citizens of Nazi Germany.

Regime:	Amount of power:	Examples:
Totalitarian	Absolute power; controls every aspect of its citizens' lives	Soviet Union, North Korea, Nazi Germany
Autocratic	Regime controls most aspects of its citizens' lives; often associated with a single ruler.	Iraq before 2003
Authoritarian	Regime controls most aspects of its citizens' lives; regime often outlasts its rulers.	China, Egypt

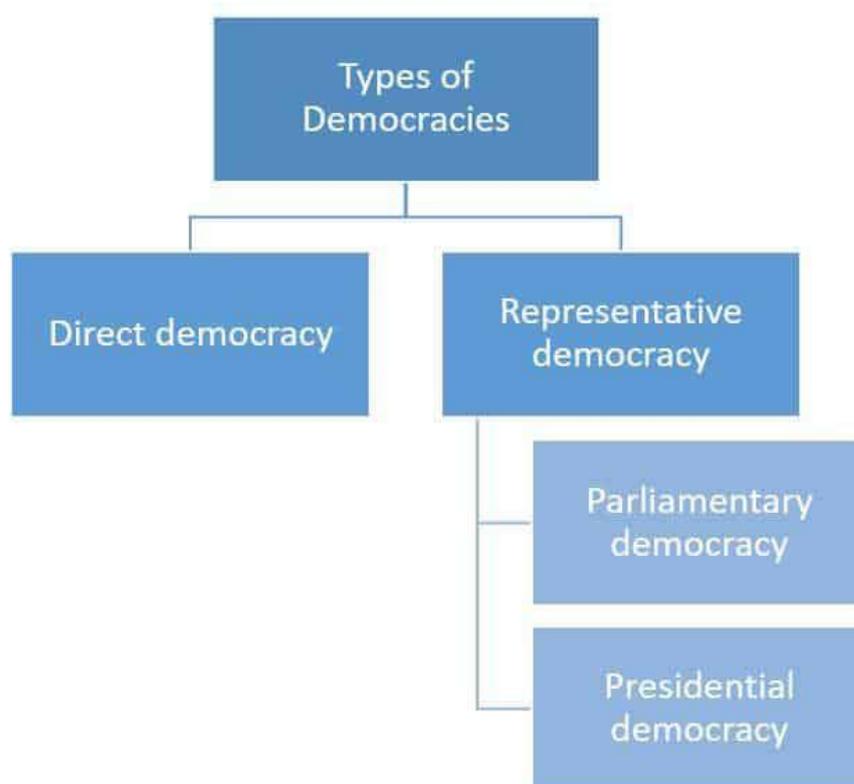
Constitutional	Limited by specific rules, such as the citizens' right to free speech or freedom of religion.	United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Japan
Anarchist	No power, or simply no government; can occur when a government loses its power.	Somalia

2. Amount of government power:

The second table organizes regimes by the amount of power the government possesses.

Democracy

The word democracy comes from the Greek words **demos**, which means “the people,” and **cracy**, which means “rule by.” Today, we call a regime a democracy when many or all of its people share political power. There are two main types of democracies:



Direct democracy: Citizens make all the decisions. They gather frequently to vote on laws, regulations, and appointments. There are no elected representatives. Direct democracy was common in ancient

Greece; today, it exists at a local level in town hall meetings held throughout the United States.

Representative democracy: Citizens elect officials to act on their behalf. If the officeholders disappoint or anger them, the citizens can choose new officials at the next election. A regime that runs by representative democracy is known as a republic. In a republic, citizens hold the power. There are two sub-types of representative democracies:

- **Parliamentary democracy:** Citizens elect officials to act as legislators. The legislature then elects the executive (frequently called the prime minister) from its members. Many European democracies use a parliamentary system. One advantage of this type of democracy is its ability to quickly respond to public opinion. If the prime minister loses the confidence of voters, new elections can be held immediately. But parliamentary governments can be unstable. Perhaps the classic example is Italy, which changed governments about once a year for fifty years following World War II.
- **Presidential democracy:** Citizens elect the legislators and executive separately. No one can be both a legislator and the executive at the same time. The United States is a presidential democracy. Although a presidential system can be slow to respond to changes in public opinion, it is likely to be more stable than a parliamentary system.

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Strengths and Weaknesses

Direct Democracy

Representative Democracy

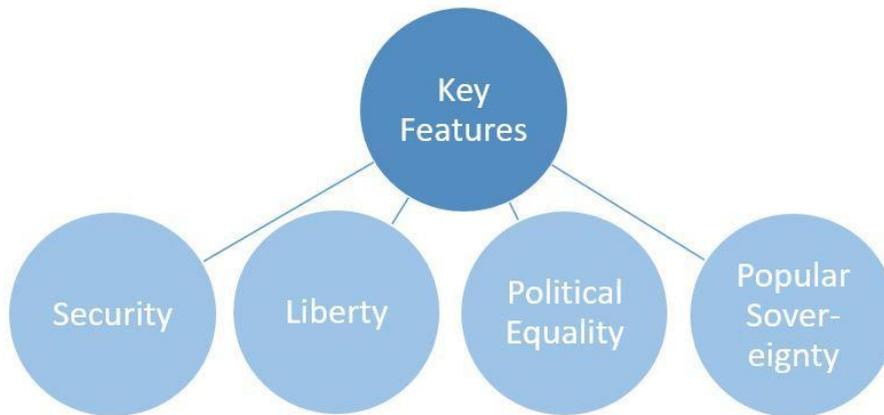
Strength: Purest democratic form of government because the people literally rule.

Strength: Can take place in a much larger country; grants citizens much more time to pursue private interests.

Weakness: Difficult to form except in small communities; demands constant attention from its citizens.

Weakness: Can be slow to respond to public opinion; sometimes defies public opinion.

Key Features of a Democracy



All democracies, in theory, should provide four things:

- **Security:** Like all governments, a democracy should protect its citizens from danger and threats, both national and abroad.
- **Liberty:** A democracy bestows on its citizens the right to do certain things without interference. The most common liberties are freedom of speech, thought, religion, and assembly. Most democratic governments are limited—that is, there are fundamental rights that the government cannot take from its citizens.
- **Political Equality:** All citizens should be treated the same way. Each person gets one vote in elections, and the law is the same for all people.
- **Popular Sovereignty:** In a democracy, supreme power rests with the people. The people choose their government, and the people can change the government when they see fit. In return, the government should do what the people want.

In reality, these features do not always fit together well, and democracies must work to create a balance. But the balance changes as the people decide they want to emphasize one feature over another. Sometimes strengthening one feature causes another feature to decrease or to disappear. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, Americans (who traditionally tend to value liberty more than anything else) have become more concerned with issues of security. In response, the government has increased security by limiting some freedoms—making it easier for the government to investigate its citizens, for instance.

Power and Legitimacy

Where does political power come from? Political scientists have developed two models to explain the source of political power:

Percolation-Up Model

Political power rests with the citizens. In turn, citizens grant political power to their leaders through elections. This view appeals to our democratic sensibilities. However, throughout human history strong and stable governments ignored their citizens.

Drip-Down Model

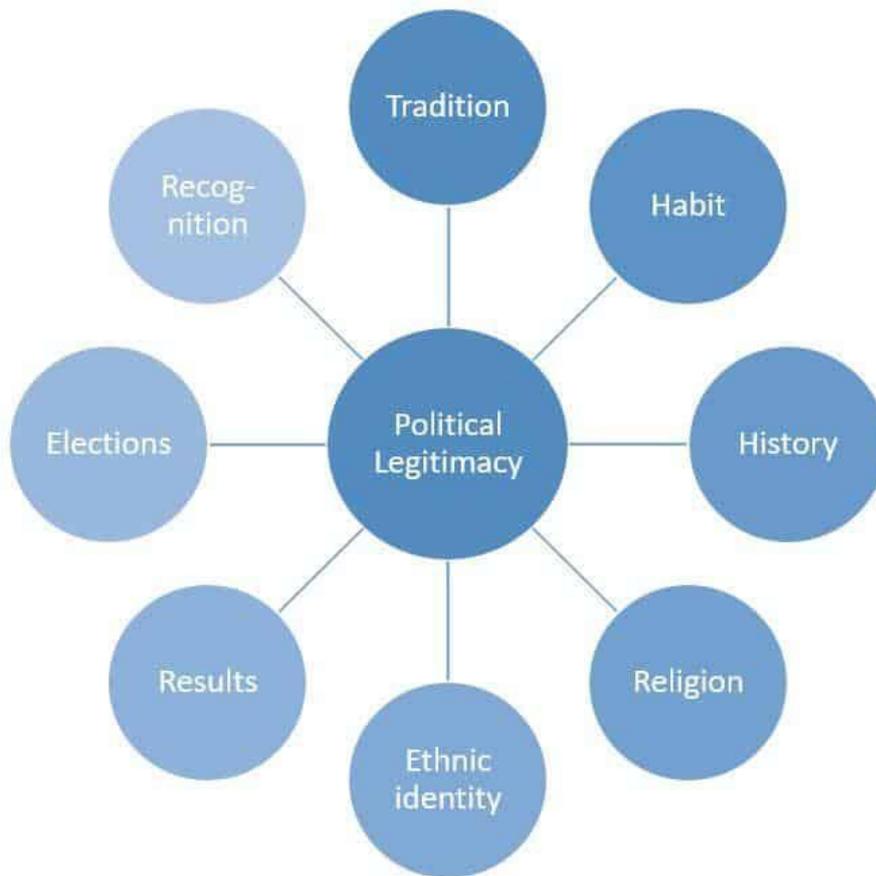
Political power rests with the leaders, who organize society and impose order. Nevertheless, citizens retain the power to overthrow the government by electing new leaders.

Political scientists use both of these views in different circumstances. Sometimes change happens in a society because of a genuine grassroots effort. In other cases, government leaders create a policy and impose it on the people. And sometimes both happen.

The civil rights movement in the United States had elements of both percolation-up and drip-down models of power. Much of the original push for the movement came from African Americans, who were angry about their status as second-class citizens. They organized and staged a variety of protests to bring about change—an example of the percolation-up model in action. After it became apparent that many state governments (especially, but not only, in the South) would resist giving African Americans equal rights, the federal government began asserting its power to enforce laws and court decisions—an example of the drip-down model in action.

Political Legitimacy

All governments need legitimacy to survive. But how do governments attain authority? What makes citizens obey or feel loyal toward their governments? Political scientists have answered these questions by concluding that political legitimacy comes from several sources:



- **Tradition:** The government has authority because its citizens have a long tradition of giving it authority and respect. This source mostly comes into play with governments that have been around for a long time.
- **Habit:** Most people are raised to obey the laws, and they thereby acquire the habit of obeying. Citizens give their government legitimacy and authority because that is what they have always done.
- **History:** People remember great deeds and events in the country's history, and they obey the government out of a sense of historical pride.
- **Religion:** In some places, obedience to the government is seen as a religious obligation. (Example: Iran is a constitutional Islamic republic. Some of its governing bodies are elected, whereas others are put into place for religious reasons.)
- **Ethnic identity:** Countries composed of exclusively one ethnic group or whose regime is strongly connected to one ethnic group can inspire obedience through ethnic identity. Members of that ethnic group respect the government because of its link to their ethnicity. (Example: Saddam Hussein's Sunni regime in Iraq once inspired a great deal of loyalty in Sunni Arabs.)

- **Results:** If a government succeeds in some way—for instance, through a military victory or a thriving economy—citizens may feel loyalty because of that success.
- **Elections:** A government that holds elections gains legitimacy because citizens believe that the government, composed of elected officials, represents them.
- **International recognition:** A government gains legitimacy when other governments recognize it and welcome it to the international community. (Example: Taiwan still has not received formal recognition as a nation-state to this day by most countries.)

4. Political Ideologies



An **ideology** is a set of beliefs that affects our outlook on the world. These beliefs are often so close to us that we do not realize that they are there. Over the millennia, political philosophers have expounded on a variety of political ideologies. Today, we generally talk about **six major political ideologies**:

Anarchism

The belief that the best government is absolutely no government is known as **anarchism**. This ideology argues that everything about governments is repressive and therefore must be abolished entirely. A related ideology known as **nihilism** emphasizes that everything—both government and society—must be periodically destroyed in order to start anew. Nihilists often categorically reject traditional concepts of morality in favor of violence and terror. Anarchism and nihilism were once associated with socialism because many anarchists and nihilists supported the socialists' call for revolution and the complete overhaul of government and society in the early to mid-twentieth century.

Russia has had a long association with anarchism and nihilism. Many prominent members of both movements were Russian, including Mikhail Bakunin, considered the father of anarchism. Russian nihilists engaged in a number of terrorist attacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881.

Anarchism is an anti-authoritarian political philosophy that advocates self-governed societies based on voluntary, cooperative institutions and the rejection of hierarchies those societies view as unjust. These institutions are often described as stateless societies, although several authors have defined them more specifically as distinct institutions based on non-hierarchical or free associations. Anarchism holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary and harmful.

Absolutism

Much of Western civilization's history was dominated by **absolutism**, the belief that a single ruler should have control over every aspect of the government and of the people's lives. Absolute rulers had a variety of titles, including chieftain, king, shah, pharaoh, emperor, sultan, and prince. In some cultures, the absolute ruler was seen as a god in human form. Other peoples believed that their ruler had the divine right of kings, meaning that God had chosen the ruler to govern the rest. As a result, many cultures with absolute rulers practiced some form of **caesaropapism**, the belief that the ruler is head of both the governmental authority and the religious authority.

A number of political philosophers have advocated absolutism. The Greek philosopher Plato, for example, firmly believed that the best government would be run by a benevolent absolute ruler who would have the people's best interests at heart. English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, meanwhile, was perhaps the most persuasive proponent of absolutism. He argued that life without governments was "nasty, brutish, and short" and that people must willingly submit to absolute rulers—even tyrannical ones—in order to live longer, more stable lives.

Absolute monarchy is a form of monarchy in which the monarch holds supreme authority and where that authority is not restricted by any written laws, legislature, or customs. In contrast, in constitutional monarchies, the head of state's authority derives from and is legally bounded or restricted by a constitution or legislature.

Absolutist beliefs:

- **A strong sense of order:** Everything should be carefully structured, including society. Disorder and chaos are generally considered to be dangerous.
- **A clear-cut law of nature (or law of God):** This law must be obeyed. According to this law, some people are inherently better

than others. A natural hierarchy (a power structure in which some people have authority over others) exists. Therefore, the superior should rule the inferior. This general view is called elitism, or elite theory.

- **The wisdom of traditional values and institutions:** New ideas are considered dangerous to the order of things.

Liberalism

In the early modern age of the Western world, a number of changes occurred that led to new ideologies: The European discovery of the Americas, the rise of Protestantism, the beginnings of the free-market economy, and the early stages of the scientific revolution fundamentally altered Europe. People began developing different ways of thinking to take account of these changes.

Perhaps the most important of the new ideas is **liberalism** (also known as **classical liberalism**), which began in England in the 1600s. Classical liberalism developed when such thinkers as John Locke rethought the relationship between the individual and society, as well theorized about the rights and responsibilities of the individual. These ideas formed the foundation for many political systems still operating today.

Liberal beliefs:

- **Individualism:** The individual takes priority over society.
- **Freedom:** Individuals have the right to make choices for themselves. This freedom is not absolute, and some behaviors, such as murder, are prohibited. Freedom of religion is a particularly important freedom to come out of liberalism because so many governments at the time were very closely tied to a particular religious creed.
- **Equality:** No person is morally or politically superior to others. Hierarchies are rejected.
- **Rationalism:** Humans are capable of thinking logically and rationally. Logic and reason help us solve problems.
- **Progress:** Traditions should not be kept unless they have value. New ideas are helpful because they can lead to progress in the sciences, the economy, and society.
- **The free market:** Liberalism and capitalism go hand in hand. Liberals like the free market because it more easily creates wealth, as opposed to traditional economies, which often have

extensive regulations and limits on which occupations people can hold.

These basic characteristics of liberalism have led liberals to argue in favor of a limited government, which draws its power from the people. In practice, this has meant favoring a democratic government.

Classical liberalism has profoundly influenced the modern world, so much so that we do not even realize how controversial its ideas were in early modern Europe. Back then, liberal ideas were considered dangerous and inflammatory by traditional European governments, and liberals were frequently persecuted. Even after liberalism took hold in England, the rest of Europe was hostile to liberal ideas for another century (and even longer in some cases).

Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty and equal rights. Liberals espouse a wide array of views depending on their understanding of these principles, but they generally support limited government, individual rights (including civil rights and human rights), capitalism (free markets), democracy, secularism, gender equality, racial equality, internationalism, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of religion.

Conservatism

Conservatism (also known as **classical conservatism**) began as a reaction against the liberal ideas taking hold of Europe during the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century. Edmund Burke, a British member of Parliament, observed the early stages of the French Revolution with great distress and predicted the violence and terror that would ensue. Burke and other conservatives attacked liberalism for many reasons. They argued that liberalism destroyed tradition. In its rush to overturn the old and bring in the new, liberalism and capitalism ruthlessly attacked traditional institutions and beliefs.

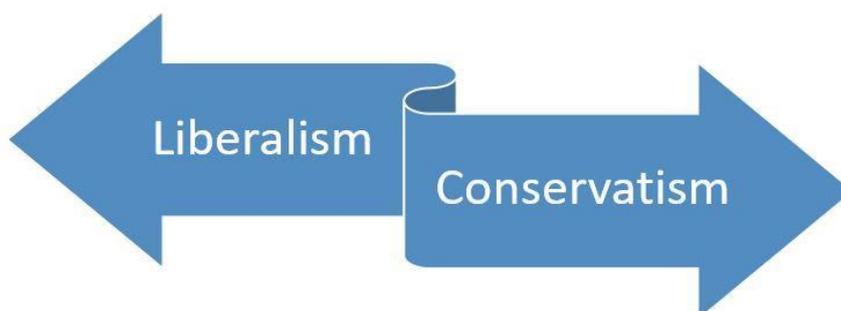
Conservative beliefs:

- **Stability:** Stability is a precious thing, and change must be made gradually in order to preserve it. Undermining stability is very dangerous because societies can easily fall into chaos and violence. Classical liberals frequently called for revolution, which opens the door to great turbulence, according to the classical conservative view.

- **Concreteness:** Liberalism is too abstract. It focuses on freedom and equality, not on the concrete way people live every day.
- **Human fallibility:** Liberalism overestimates human beings. Humans are frequently ignorant, prejudiced, and irrational. By ignoring these defects, liberalism becomes unrealistic.
- **Unique circumstances:** There is no universal answer to the problems of society; the circumstances are unique in each country.

Many early conservatives favored authoritarian government. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars (roughly 1792–1815), for example, most European governments actively worked to stop the spread of liberalism and democracy. Nevertheless, conservatives were not necessarily hostile to democracy. Generally, these conservatives argued that some sort of monarchy was necessary, but some were more open to popular government. Burke, in particular, thought that limited democracy was a good form of government for England, as long as it maintained the customs and mores it inherited from its predecessors.

Conservatism is a political and social philosophy promoting traditional social institutions in the context of culture and civilization. The central tenets of conservatism include tradition, hierarchy, authority, and property rights.[1] Conservatives seek to preserve a range of institutions such as religion, parliamentary government, and property rights, with the aim of emphasizing social stability and continuity.



Liberals believe that tradition is only valuable if it serves a purpose and we should not be afraid to overturn tradition. Freedom is essential for human flourishing and all people are free to do as they please as long as they do not hurt others. The free market is valuable because it unleashes tremendous economic growth and efficiency.

Conservatives, on the other hand, believe that tradition is a collection of best knowledge from many years of practice. Excessive freedom is bad because it lets people ignore societal responsibilities and overlook social

customs. A free market can also be dangerous since it breaks down traditional economic roles.

Socialism

Socialism arose as a response to the Industrial Revolution, which was the emergence of technologies such as the steam engine and mass production. The Industrial Revolution started in England in the last years of the eighteenth century and had spread to much of Europe and America by the end of the nineteenth century. It caused major upheavals: In a very short time, many people were forced to abandon agricultural ways of life for the modern mechanized world of factories. Karl Marx is the best-known theorist of socialism. Along with Friedrich Engels, Marx wrote *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) as a call to revolution.

Socialist beliefs:

- **Collectivism:** Human beings are social by nature, and society should respect this. Individualism is poisonous.
- **Public ownership:** Society, not individuals, should own the property.
- **Central economic planning:** The government plans the economy; there is no free market.
- **Economic equality:** All citizens have roughly the same level of prosperity.

According to socialists, liberalism fails to live up to its promises of freedom and equality. Socialists blame the free market for liberalism's failings. Under a capitalist system, money and means of production are the measures of power. The haves (the bourgeoisie, in Marx's terms) and the have-nots (whom Marx calls the proletariat) are locked into a fight that Marx called class warfare. Because they control the money and means of production, the bourgeoisie has the power and thus are winning the fight. The rich use the government to further their control and to increase their power over the lower, poorer classes, so people are neither free nor equal.

Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterized by social ownership of the means of production and workers' self-management, as well as the political theories and movements associated with them. There are many varieties of socialism and there is no single

definition encapsulating all of them, with social ownership being the common element shared by its various forms.

Socialism evolved in a variety of ways. **Communism** and **democratic socialism** are the two most prominent evolutions of socialism.

Communism is an authoritarian and revolutionary approach to achieving socialism. As an ideology, communism emphasizes a **classless society** in which all members jointly share the means and output of production. The regimes of the Soviet Union and communist China embody this ideology. Communists such as Vladimir Lenin, who became the first premier of the Soviet Union in 1917, argued that people can and must make the transition to socialism quickly rather than waiting for it to evolve. Authoritarian and violent measures are often required because the defenders of capitalism will fight ferociously to stop socialism from coming into being. With the fall of communist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe, communism has been in retreat for most of the 1990s and 2000s. But there are still several major communist regimes, including the governments of North Korea and Cuba.

Democratic socialism is a peaceful and democratic approach to achieving socialism. As an ideology, democratic socialism also emphasizes a classless society in which all members jointly share the means and output of production. But unlike communism, democratic socialism attempts to achieve its goals peacefully via the **democratic processes**. Democratic socialists reject the need for immediate transition to socialism in favor of a gradualist approach, achieved by working within a democratic government. Economic inequalities should be remedied through a **welfare state**, a system that provides aid to the poor and help to the unemployed. Democratic socialism has been quite successful in western Europe and Scandinavia. Many governments there have extensive welfare systems that have remained largely intact even when democratic socialists are voted out of office. Germany's Social Democratic Party, the French Socialist Party, and Britain's Labor Party are contemporary examples of successful political parties heavily influenced by democratic socialism.

Nationalism

Nationalism, a strong belief that one's nation is great (and, usually, better than others), also arose during the modern era. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nationalism emerged as a powerful force that caused a number of revolutions. People began to identify with and take

pride in their particular nation-state. The French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars helped spread nationalism throughout Europe because many nations rallied together to defeat Napoleon.

Nationalists believe that being a member of a particular nation is wonderful and worthy of celebration. For example, one should honor one's "Frenchness" if from France or "Americanness" if from the United States. This belief is not tied to any one political system. Nationalists favor behavior, governmental systems, and other values or behaviors that promote a strong nation, including a powerful economy, a strong military, and unity among citizens. Threats to the nation are taken very seriously and need to be addressed. Historically, there have been many authoritarian regimes, in which governments may do whatever they want, that were strongly nationalist in character, but there are plenty of democratic nationalist states as well. The means of promoting a strong nation vary greatly from one nationalist state to another.

Nationalism is a political, social, and economic ideology and movement characterized by the promotion of the interests of a particular nation. It further aims to build and maintain a single national identity – based on shared social characteristics such as culture, language, religion, politics, and belief in a shared singular history.

5. Nations and States



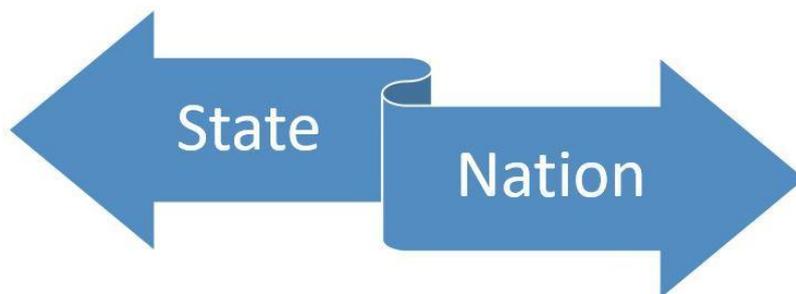
Like an ideology, our nationality frequently determines how we behave and how we view politics. For much of the last 500 years, the nation-state has been the dominant political unit. But nation-states did not always exist. Other political forms dominated the world for most of world history.

Nations and States

A nation is a large group of people who are linked by similar culture, language, and history. Members of some nations share an ethnicity,

whereas other nations consist of ethnically diverse groups of people. However, the members of a nation see themselves as connected. Many members of a nation take pride in being a part of something bigger than themselves as individuals, and they celebrate their nation.

People disagree about what counts as a nation. Nationhood sometimes transcends geographical boundaries. Some groups consider themselves to be nations, even though much of the world does not consider them that way. Kurds, for example, live in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, but many Kurds believe they belong to a Kurdish nation. In the end, determining what constitutes a nation is somewhat subjective. To put it crudely, the moment that an ethnic group starts to view itself as a nation, it becomes a nation. The Kurdish people, for example, became a nation when they started thinking of themselves as an ethnic group with a common language, history, and culture.



A **state** is a **political unit that has sovereignty over a particular piece of land**. Sovereignty is the ultimate power within a territory. So the state has the power to make laws, defend its borders, and enact policies. The state also exercises a monopoly on the legitimate use of force: No group within its borders can use force legally without the permission of the state. Political scientists use the word state as a synonym for sovereign governments.

A state is the ultimate authority within a territory. Smaller political units—such as city governments—exist within a state, but ultimately the supreme power rests with the state. The government of the city of London, for example, has some power to enforce rules within Greater London. However, these governments do not have the final say: Local governments are not sovereign because they are subordinate to the government of Great Britain and must abide by the government's rules.

Political scientists use the term **nation-state** to refer to modern countries and their political apparatuses. A nation-state is a **state that rules over a single nation**. France, for example, is a nation-state, as is Japan. The

people in both countries overwhelmingly share a common language, history, and culture. The term nation-state reflects the situation in which the boundaries of a state coincide with the geographical area occupied by a nation.

In many nation-states, the government actively promotes the idea of common nationality. Children learn the same language and history in state-sponsored schools, and public events frequently invoke cultural heroes and icons. Citizens are often encouraged to work for the betterment of the nation. These practices, among others, are known collectively as nation-building. Foreign governments also participate in nation-building. Sometimes a government will give money and advice to another country to help nation-building.

Rise of the Nation-State

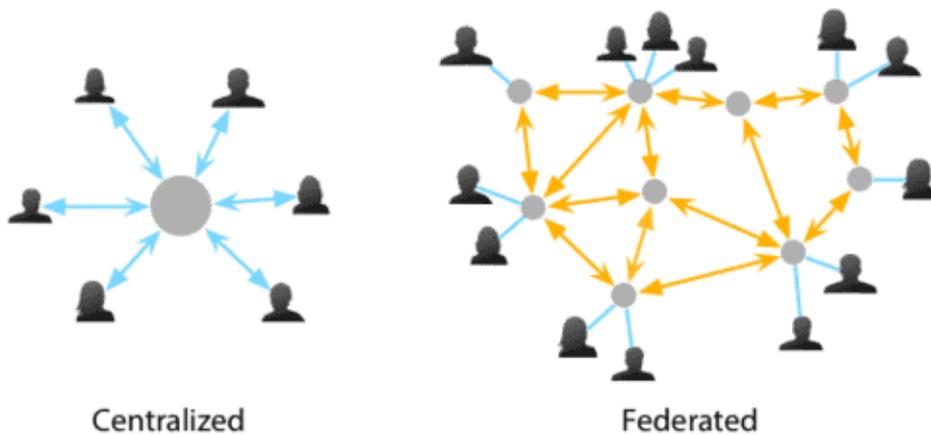
The nation-state developed fairly recently. Prior to the 1500s, in Europe, the nation-state as we know it did not exist. Back then, most people did not consider themselves part of a nation; they rarely left their village and knew little of the larger world. If anything, people were more likely to identify themselves with their region or local lord. At the same time, the rulers of states frequently had little control over their countries. Instead, local feudal lords had a great deal of power, and kings often had to depend on the goodwill of their subordinates to rule. Laws and practices varied a great deal from one part of the country to another.

In the early modern era, a number of monarchs began to consolidate power by weakening the feudal nobles and allying themselves with the emerging commercial classes. This difficult process sometimes required violence. The consolidation of power also took a long time. Kings and queens worked to bring all the people of their territories under unified rule. Not surprisingly, then, the birth of the nation-state also saw the first rumblings of nationalism, as monarchs encouraged their subjects to feel loyalty toward the newly established nations. The modern, integrated nation-state became clearly established in most of Europe during the nineteenth century.

The Thirty Years' War, fought throughout central Europe from 1618–1648 between Protestants and Catholics, laid the legal foundation for the nation-state. The war involved many nations of Europe, including many small German states, the Austrian Empire, Sweden, France, and Spain. Despite a brutal war, the Catholics were unable to overturn

Protestantism. The treaty that ended the war, called the Peace of Westphalia, decreed that the sovereign ruler of a state had power over all elements of both the nation and the state, including religion. Thus, the modern idea of a sovereign state was born.

Centralization, or the process by which law- and policy-making become centrally located, helped spur the development of nation-states. Final power rested with the central government, which made the laws and practices more uniform across the country.



A single centralized authority, rather than many diverse local authorities, allowed nation-states to quickly develop their economies. Merchants could trade throughout the nation without worrying about local taxes and regulations. Also, the nation-state was much stronger militarily than the feudal state. Rulers were able to create national armies, which were not dependent on the nobility. The armies could receive consistent training so that all units could work well together. In many cases, the newly emerging nation-states dominated the older forms of political organization.



Napoleon Bonaparte was a key figure in the development of the nation-state. Amid the chaos of the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, most remaining medieval and feudal laws were overturned and a truly national law code was established. Similarly, a national military

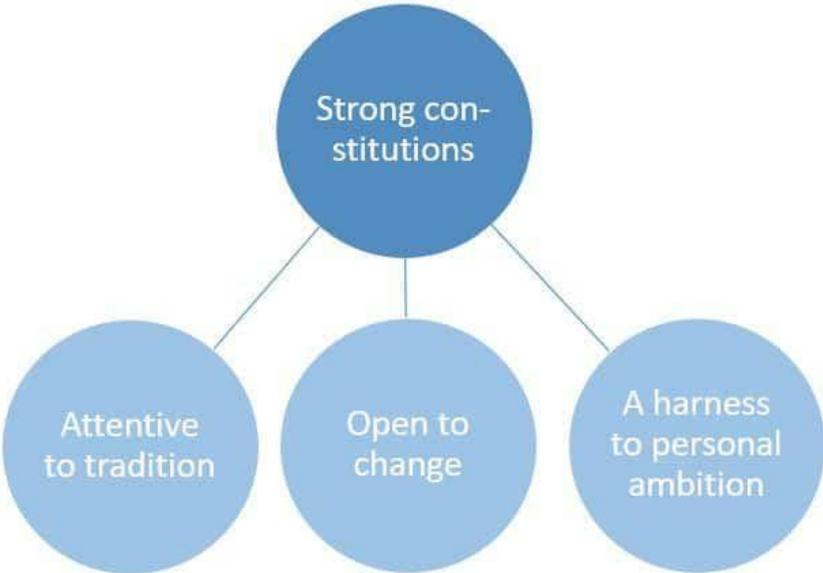
was created. Although not the only reason, France’s status as a nation-state was a key factor in its ability to dominate feudal neighbors in Italy and Germany. Napoleon’s military victories also paved the way for the emergence of nation-states in the rest of Europe: In many places, the people rallied together as a nation in order to defeat Napoleon.

Constitutions

Every country has a constitution of some sort that outlines the government’s structure. A **constitution** is simply the set of rules that govern how power is distributed and exercised. In other words, these rules structure the government of a state. Without such a set of rules, the state could not function and anarchy would reign. Although no constitution can cover every possible question or issue, all states need to spell out at least the fundamental matters of the distribution and use of power.

Some constitutions – such as that of the United States or the Basic Law of Germany – are codified into written documents. In other states, such as the United Kingdom, the constitution consists of many documents, laws, court rulings, and traditional practices that have never been compiled into a single document. But in every case, custom, history, and tradition play an important role.

Strong constitutions share three characteristics, or principles, of constitution design:



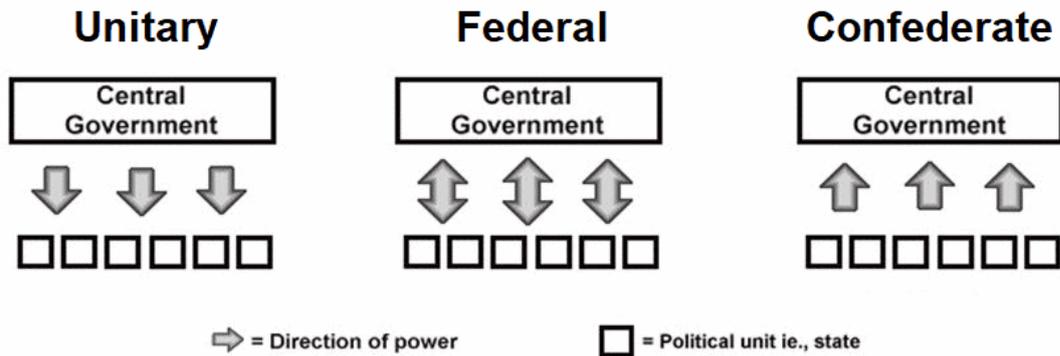
- **Attentive to tradition:** People prefer rules that resemble past rules. They are unlikely to follow a new set of rules if it differs widely from what they are used to doing. This principle holds particularly true for customs that have existed for a long time.
- **Open to change:** A constitution should be amendable. Although it should not be too easy to change, making a constitution too rigid may straitjacket future leaders, who may deal with dramatically different circumstances.
- **A harness to personal ambition:** In a good government, the leaders have a strong incentive to prioritize the country over personal ambition. A good, strong constitution creates a situation in which the leaders' ambition leads them to work for the public good, not for personal gain. Without such incentives, rulers, elected or otherwise, may very well ignore the public good.

Although these three principles of constitutional design help ensure solid governmental structures, ultimately they are merely guidelines. Some successful constitutions do not include them, and a number of states have succeeded in imposing governments that differ greatly from tradition. Unfortunately, any radical departures from tradition or history usually require violence.

Some constitutions are short documents. The U.S. Constitution, for example, covers only a few pages. Others are lengthy. The Basic Law of Germany, for example, is roughly five times as long as the U.S. Constitution. As a general rule, older constitutions are shorter than newer constitutions.

Systems of Government

A **system of government** distributes power among different parts and levels of the state. Political scientists study the uses of power, including how power is distributed within a state. The amount of power held by the central government determines the system of government a state has. There are three main systems of government used today: unitary systems, federal systems, and confederate systems.



Unitary Systems

A **unitary system** has the highest degree of centralization. In a unitary state, the central government holds all the power. Lower-level governments, if they exist at all, do nothing but implement the policies of the national government. In a purely unitary state, the same set of laws applies throughout the nation, without variation.

Unitary states create national policy, which is then applied uniformly. This uniformity sometimes serves as an advantage because people and businesses know exactly what to expect from the laws, regardless of geographical location. At the same time, to maintain its uniformity, a unitary government must overlook local differences that might call for different rules or policies. In France, for example, the central government makes virtually all of the decisions. China, Japan, and the United Kingdom are other examples.

Federal Systems

A **federal system** has a mix of national and state or local governments. The federal government usually trumps local governments in matters of defense and foreign policy, but local governments have a great deal of say over most other policy areas. Sometimes local governments administer national policies, which means that, in practice, the “national” policy varies a great deal from place to place.

Often, the boundary between national and local power is blurred. Federal systems have the opposite strengths and weaknesses of unitary systems: They excel at factoring in local circumstances but often fail to have a coherent national policy. The United States, Germany, and Canada operate under federal systems. These states have a mix of national and state governments that share power and policymaking responsibilities.

Confederate Systems

A **confederate system** sits at the other extreme in terms of centralization. A confederacy is a loose relationship among a number of smaller political units. The vast majority of political power rests with the local governments; the central federal government has very little power. Local governments have a great deal of freedom to act as they wish, but this freedom often leads to conflicts between states and the federal government. In some cases, a confederacy is little more than an alliance between independent states. Today, Belgium is basically a confederacy between two largely independent states, Flanders in the north and Wallonia in the south.

The Future of Nation-States

Although the nation-state has been the predominant unit of political organization for most of the last few centuries, its future is uncertain. Two trends point to the nation-state as receding in importance, but these trends sometimes contradict each other.

The first major trend is **globalization**. Over the last few decades, national boundaries have broken down in a variety of ways, including economically. In today's truly global economy, money and goods travel across borders in huge quantities and at great speed. Many corporations build parts in a variety of countries, then assemble them in yet another country. Most goods are no longer "made in America," for example, because much of the manufacturing often happens in other places, whereas final assembly occurs in the United States. The rapid growth of international investing has further globalized the economy. Globalization often leads to transnationalism, so should this globalizing trend continue, the nation-state might give way to the transnational government.

Transnationalism has occurred at the political level. International organizations, such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization, play an ever-increasing role on the political stage, and nations join them for such benefits as military protection and economic security. In the case of the European Union, national boundaries have very little meaning. All citizens can travel, live, and work freely throughout the European Union, and all internal tariffs and trade restrictions have been abolished. Some residents see themselves as citizens of a new European Union nation, not of their smaller countries. Transnational governments and groups literally transcend geographical and political boundaries.

The second trend that marks the recession of nation-states concerns the increase in political power being given to local governments, sometimes to the point of autonomy. This trend is sometimes called **devolution** because states are said to devolve power back to local governments. In the United Kingdom, for example, Scotland has been granted a great deal of autonomy, as has Catalonia in Spain. Should this trend continue, local governments would replace national or central governments.

Accompanying devolution has been **subnationalism** – an increased identification with and interest in subnational groups. The prefix sub means “below” or “beneath,” so the term subnational indicates a smaller division of a larger national group. Many people are working to preserve the language, culture, and history of subnational groups. Some in France, for example, are learning to speak Breton, a language that had largely disappeared. In a number of countries, local dialects that were suppressed under dictatorial governments have reemerged after a transition to a more democratic government.

The future of nation-states is unclear. As trends, globalization and devolution contradict each other, so it seems unlikely that both will continue in significant ways. On the one hand, if globalization continues, then transnational governments or allegiances such as the European Union may eventually replace traditional nation-states. On the other hand, if devolution continues, powerful regional governments and subnational groups may come to dominate the political landscape. Then again, the nation-state has proven itself to be very durable throughout history. As the cliché goes, time will tell what the future holds for the nation-state.

6. Political Culture and Public Opinion



Different nations have different languages, faiths, ethnicities, traditions, histories, and worldviews. As a result, the government created by each nation is distinct and unique. Countries may create similar governments but no two political systems are exactly identical.

What Is Political Culture?

Political culture is a set of attitudes and practices held by a people that shapes their political behavior. It includes moral judgments, political myths, beliefs, and ideas about what makes for a good society. Political culture is a reflection of a government, but it also incorporates elements of history and tradition that may predate the current regime.

Political cultures matter because they shape a population's political perceptions and actions. Governments can help shape political culture and public opinion through education, public events, and commemoration of the past. Political cultures vary greatly from state to state and sometimes even within a state. The United States and Great Britain, for example, are both democracies, but each has a distinct political culture.

Political culture changes over time, but these changes often happen slowly. People frequently become set in their ways and refuse to alter their attitudes on significant issues. Sometimes it can take generations for major shifts to occur in a nation's political culture.

Citizenship:

Political culture is connected to notions of **citizenship** because political culture frequently includes an idea of what makes people good citizens. A **citizen** is a legal member of a political community, with certain rights and obligations. Because each country has its own requirements for citizenship and attendant rights, the definition of "citizen" varies around the world. Not surprisingly, different countries have different criteria for citizenship. France automatically bestows citizenship on anyone born in French territory via *jus soli* (Latin for "right by territory"). Germany grants citizenship via *jus sanguines* (Latin for "right by blood") to people who have a German parent. Israel's Law of Return, meanwhile, allows any Jew to move permanently to Israel and become a citizen. The United States grants citizenship rights both to people who are born in American territory and to people who have an American parent.

Aristotle and Citizenship:

The Greek philosopher Aristotle was probably the first person to puzzle over what makes someone a citizen. He reasoned that living in a particular place does not automatically make a person a citizen because, in his day (as in ours) resident aliens and immigrants often lived in a country without becoming citizens. In the end, Aristotle defined a citizen as one who shares in the offices and power of a regime (even if only in a

small way). So, a tyranny has one citizen, whereas a democracy has many citizens.

Characteristics of Good Citizens:

A good citizen lives up to the ideals of the regime and embodies much of what a particular political culture considers important. Someone who lives an exemplary life but who does not work to help the community will probably be viewed as a good person but not as a good citizen. Instead, people expect good citizens to help others and to make the community a better place through active participation in public life. A good citizen is often expected to vote in elections, to obey all laws, to be informed about political issues, to volunteer to help less fortunate people, and to help the community when needed.

Political Socialization

People acquire political culture through a process known as **political socialization**. Although the bulk of political socialization occurs during childhood, adults continue to be socialized. Political socialization occurs in many ways:

- **Family:** Young children usually spend far more time with their families than with anyone else and thus tend to acquire the family's habits, beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes. For this reason, the family tends to be the most important source of political socialization. Families mostly impart political culture unintentionally by acting as examples for the children. Very often, people end up with political beliefs similar to those of their parents.
- **School:** Most children learn about their country at school, usually through a curriculum known as civic education. This curriculum trains young people to be good citizens, often via history, government, and social studies. Although these lessons are usually basic, many of the key ideas and values of a society are imparted through school.
- **Peers:** At all ages, friends and acquaintances will influence one's beliefs.
- **Religion:** Different religious traditions have very different values, and one's faith often significantly influences one's political views.
- **Social and economic class:** The social class to which one belongs shapes one's views.
- **Minority status:** Members of a minority group sometimes feel like outsiders, and this feeling of isolation and alienation affects

their attitudes toward society and government. This is particularly true when the minority group is treated either better or worse than others in society.

- **Media:** The power of media is increasing with the spread of 24-hour cable news networks, talk radio, the Internet, and the seeming omnipresence of personal audio and video devices, so the influence of the media on political socialization is no longer confined to the young.
- **Key events:** A major political event can shape an entire generation's attitudes toward its nation and government. World War II, for example, defined the attitudes of many people around the world.

The government plays a role in political socialization in a variety of ways. It determines the policies and curricula, including what books students may read, for public schools. The government also regulates the media, which affects what we see and hear. In authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, the government often takes active measures to inculcate loyalty, especially in younger people. The Nazis, for example, created the Hitler Youth, which instilled allegiance to Adolf Hitler in young people in Germany during the Third Reich. Similar programs existed in the former Soviet Union.

Plato writes about the creation of a **good aristocratic regime**. But most of the work describes the educational system and discusses what will be taught to the young. This emphasis shows Plato's understanding of the importance of socialization: He argued that raising a generation indoctrinated with the values of the regime was essential to the regime's survival. In fact, Plato even claims that, in order for the good republic to succeed, the city founders must expel everyone over the age of ten because their attitudes have already been shaped and cannot be changed.

Social capital is the mutual trust and cooperation that arises from the web of connections among people involved in organizations and community groups. For the most part, private activities, not government ones, foster social capital. The term civil society is sometimes used as a synonym for the relationships that create social capital. In a **civil society**, social capital flows easily between people.

Activities that can build social capital include the following:

- Participating in the local parent-teacher association

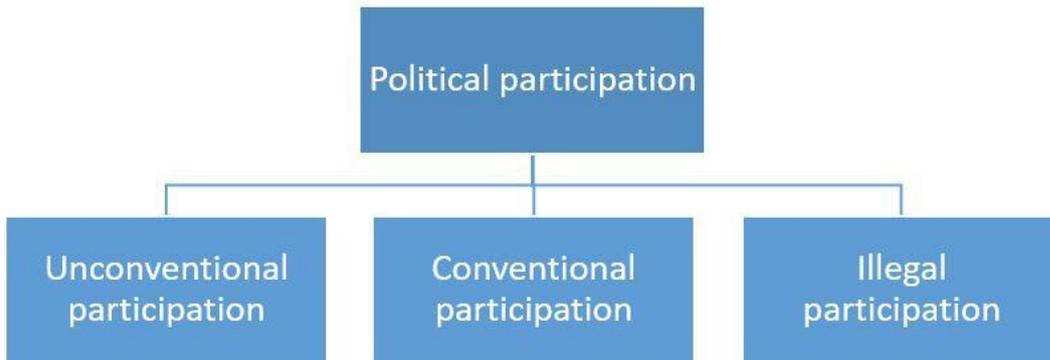
- Joining a civic organization, such as the Elks or the Kiwanis Club
- Volunteering in the neighborhood or around the community
- Forming a neighborhood watch
- Donating old clothes or goods
- Contributing to a food bank
- Joining a church or synagogue group
- Belonging to a bridge team, craft club, or other type of common-interest group

In a democratic society, people must be willing to trust others and tolerate those with whom they disagree. Without these attitudes, democracy can fail, because democracy is ultimately a cooperative form of government. Many political scientists regard social capital as essential to democracy because social capital forges bonds between members of the community. These bonds enable people to readily join together. Also, working with others helps build a sense of community and trust among citizens, which, in turn, creates more social capital.

One of the most difficult tasks for any democratizing country is the building of civil society. Authoritarian regimes discourage civil society because civil society can form the basis of resistance to the government. These governments instill fear and mistrust within their citizens, often turning groups and individuals against one another. New democracies sometimes have trouble building community trust and tolerance because their citizens are not used to working together in civil society. For this reason, nations that seek to help other nations democratize must focus much energy on creating social capital and building civil societies.

Political Participation

Political participation is any activity that shapes, affects, or involves the political sphere. Political participation ranges from voting to attending a rally to committing an act of terrorism to sending a letter to a representative. Broadly speaking, there are three different types of participation:



- **Unconventional participation:** Activities that are legal but often considered inappropriate. Young people, students, and those with grave concerns about a regime's policies are most likely to engage in unconventional participation. Unconventional political participation includes signing petitions, supporting boycotts, and staging demonstrations and protests.
- **Conventional participation:** Activities that we expect of good citizens. For most people, participation occurs every few years at election time. People strongly committed to politics are more likely to participate on a regular basis. Conventional political participation includes voting, volunteering for a political campaign, making a campaign donation, belonging to activist groups, and serving in public office.
- **Illegal participation:** activities that break the law. Most of the time, people resort to illegal participation only when legal means have failed to create significant political change. Illegal political participation includes political assassination, terrorism, and sabotaging an opponent's campaign through theft or vandalism.

Most democratic citizens feel that some level of political participation, particularly conventional participation, is admirable and acceptable. But political participation can be hard: One must find the time, and perhaps money, in order to participate. So why do people do it? People participate in politics out of a sense of the following:

- **Idealism:** Some participate because they believe strongly in a particular idea.
- **Responsibility:** For many, participation is a responsibility of democratic citizenship.
- **Self-interest:** A person might work to promote issues and causes that personally profit that person.

- **Enjoyment:** Some simply enjoy the public activity, either because of the activity itself or because of the friends they make while politically engaged.

Public Opinion

Public opinion consists of the views held by the population of a state that influence those in power. In a democratic state, politicians must listen to public opinion if they wish to keep their jobs. Dissatisfied constituents can vote out those who ignore their views. But regimes with other types of governments also need to pay attention to public opinion. If the public overwhelmingly opposes the government, the regime could be in serious danger of revolution or collapse.

We learn about public opinion through **polling**, which asks people their views and then compiles the results. Politicians and pundits in many countries rely on public opinion polls, and the media frequently reports on polls. **Sampling** a subset of the population allows **pollsters**, or the people who create and take the polls, to get a sense of overarching concerns and interests within a large population. Rather than polling every citizen, an expensive and time-consuming process, polls use **samples**. Pollsters hope that the opinions of the sample accurately reflect the population as a whole. Just as one does not need to taste every bite of stew to know that it needs more salt, one need not poll every person to learn public opinion.

To make sure that their poll results are accurate, pollsters seek good samples. The most obvious way to get a good sample is to include lots of people. But including more people does not guarantee that the poll will be accurate. Instead, a sample must be **representative**—that is, the sample must have the same basic characteristics as the population. If the population has a 15 percent poverty rate, for example, the sample should have a roughly equal portion of poor people. Pollsters have a number of techniques to ensure a representative sample, and they rely on statistical methods to measure the probability that a poll is accurate.

Pollsters rely heavily on probability and randomness to increase the chance of getting a good sample. In a **probability sample**, each person in the population has a known chance of being chosen as part of the sample. When pollsters assign each person an equal chance of being selected, they are using **random selection**. **Sampling error** results from bad samples. A poll that falls prey to sampling error will inaccurately measure public opinion. A common source of sampling error is

a **skewed sample**, one that does not match the population. Some popular types of polling—asking people as they walk down the street, for example, or online polls—produce very skewed samples and are therefore unreliable.

One of the most notorious examples of a bad sample is the 1936 US presidential election poll conducted by the Literary Digest, a notable magazine of the era. The sample numbered more than a million people, but it ended up very wrong: The poll predicted that Alfred Landon would defeat Franklin Roosevelt, but Roosevelt won easily. The poll was wrong because its sample was skewed. Pollsters contacted people in phone books, as well as people with registered automobiles. But during the Great Depression, rich people were the only ones with phones and cars. Thus, the poll contained responses from far too many rich people and not nearly enough from other social classes.

Many factors affect public opinion. Five of the most important factors are:

Politicians

Media

Socioeconomic status

Major events

Opinion leaders

- **Politicians:** Many officials actively campaign to generate support among the public. They give speeches and interviews, stage rallies, and listen to constituents.
- **Media:** The news media covers all major political events extensively. Indeed, sometimes it seems that the media creates important political events by choosing to cover them so much. Because the vast majority of people get their political information from the media, it has a huge impact.
- **Socioeconomic status:** Most political and economic events affect people unevenly, so one's social and economic status naturally affects one's views. Wealthy people are more likely

than poor people to support a budget that cuts taxes on capital gains, for example, because they would benefit more from the tax cut.

- **Major events:** Any significant event—a war, an economic downturn, or a diplomatic success, for example—can influence people’s views. In the United States, for example, whenever a foreign crisis arises, support for the president shoots up dramatically. Political scientists call this increase in popularity the rally ’round the flag effect. The effect might not always last a long time, but in the short run, the president’s popularity goes up.
- **Opinion leaders:** Political scientists call a person whose views on an issue can affect the views of others an opinion leader. Often, opinion leaders are prominent members of the community and pay more attention to politics than most people. The Internet, for example, has created a new type of opinion leader called a blogger (short for weblogger). Many people read the same political blogs every day and are strongly influenced by what they read. Politicians have begun to court bloggers, going so far as to invite them to conventions and to grant them interviews in an attempt to win the opinion leaders over to their side.

7. International Relations



Governments do not only interact with their people but also with other governments – to trade, to share ideas, to work together. Political scientists have been analyzing these relations between states for centuries, but never more so than during the aftermath of the World Wars and the Cold War.

History of the International System

States engage with one another in an environment known as the **international system**. All states are considered to be sovereign, and some states are more powerful than others. The system has a number of

informal rules about how things should be done, but these rules are not binding. International relations have existed as long as states themselves. But the modern international system under which we live today is only a few centuries old. Significant events have marked the milestones in the development of the international system.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648)

In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War between Catholic states and Protestant states in western and central Europe, established our **modern international system**. It declared that the sovereign leader of each nation-state could do as she or he wished within its borders and established the state as the main actor in global politics. From that point forward, the international system has consisted primarily of relations among nation-states.

Shifting Balances of Power (1600–1800)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nation-state emerged as the dominant political unit of the international system. A series of powerful states dominated Europe, with the great powers rising and falling. Weaker states often banded together to prevent the dominant power from becoming too strong, a practice known as preserving the **balance of power**. Frequent wars and economic competition marked this era. Some nations – notably France and England – were powerful through most of the modern age, but some – such as Spain and the Ottoman Empire – shrank in power over time.

The emergence of Nationalism (1800–1945)

In the nineteenth century, **nationalism** emerged as a strong force, allowing nation-states to grow even more powerful. Italy and Germany became unified countries, which altered the balance of military and economic power in Europe. The problems raised by the unification of Germany contributed to World War I (1914–1918). In the aftermath of the war, the international system changed dramatically again. The major powers of Europe had suffered greatly, whereas the United States began to come out of its isolation and transform into a global power. At the same time, the end of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires created a series of new nations, and the rise of communism in Russia presented problems for other nations. These factors contributed to the Treaty of Versailles, the rise of Nazism and communism, and World War II (1939–1945).

New World Orders (after 1945)

The end of World War II marked a decisive shift in the global system.

After the war, only two great world powers remained: the United States and the Soviet Union. Although some other important states existed, almost all states were understood within the context of their relations with the two superpowers. This global system was called **bipolar** because the system centered on two great powers.

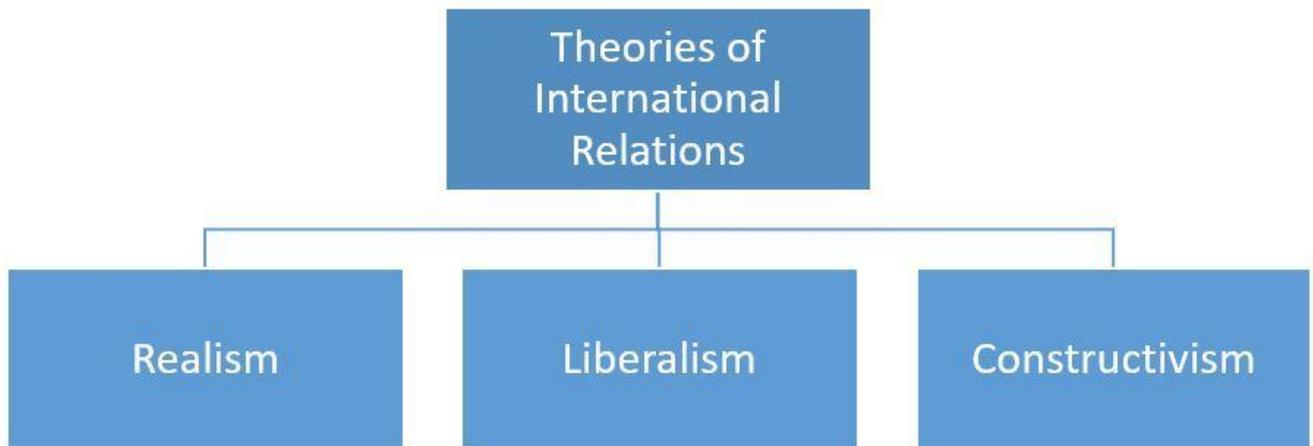
Since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the nature of the world has changed again. Only one superpower remains, leading some scholars to label the new international system **unipolar**. Others point to the increasing economic power of some European and Asian states and label the new system **multipolar**. To some extent, both terms are accurate. The United States has the world's most powerful military, which supports the unipolar view, but the U.S. economy is not as powerful, relative to the rest of the world, lending credence to the multipolar view.

Theories of International Relations

A **theory of international relations** is a set of ideas that explains how the international system works. Unlike an ideology, a theory of international relations is (at least in principle) backed up with concrete evidence.

Most theories of international relations are based on the idea that states always act in accordance with their **national interest**, or the interests of that particular state. State interests often include self-preservation, military security, economic prosperity, and influence over other states. Sometimes two or more states have the same national interest. For example, two states might both want to foster peace and economic trade. And states with diametrically opposing national interests might try to resolve their differences through negotiation or even war.

The three major theories of international relations are realism, liberalism, and constructivism:



Realism defines the world as a harsh and dangerous place. The only certainty in the world is power. States work only to increase their own power relative to that of other states. A powerful state will always be able to outdo – and outlast – weaker competitors. The most important and reliable form of power is military power.

Realism also claims the following:

- A state's primary interest is self-preservation. Therefore, the state must seek power and must always protect itself.
- There is no overarching power that can enforce global rules or punish bad behavior. Also, international organizations and law have no power or force; they exist only as long as states accept them.
- Moral behavior is very risky because it can undermine a state's ability to protect itself.
- The international system itself drives states to use military force and to war. Leaders may be moral, but they must not let moral concerns guide foreign policy.

Politicians have practiced realism as long as states have existed. Most scholars and politicians during the Cold War (like *Hans Morgenthau*, *Kenneth Waltz*, *John Mearsheimer*, and *Henry Kissinger*) viewed international relations through a realist lens. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union trusted the other, and each sought allies to protect itself and increase its political and military influence abroad.

Liberalism emphasizes that the broad ties among states have both made it difficult to define national interest and decreased the usefulness of military power. Liberalism developed in the 1970s as some scholars

began arguing that realism was outdated. Increasing globalization, the rapid rise in communications technology, and the increase in international trade meant that states could no longer rely on simple power politics to decide matters. Liberal approaches to international relations are also called theories of complex interdependence. Liberalism claims the following:

- The world is a harsh and dangerous place, but the consequences of using military power often outweigh the benefits. International cooperation is therefore in the interest of every state.
- Military power is not the only form of power. Economic and social power matter a great deal too. Exercising economic power has proven more effective than exercising military power.
- Different states often have different primary interests.
- International rules and organizations can help foster cooperation, trust, and prosperity.

Relations among the major Western powers fit a model of complex interdependence very well. The United States has significant disagreements with its European and Asian allies over trade and policy, but it is hard to imagine a circumstance in which the United States would use military power against any of these allies. Instead, the United States relies on economic and diplomatic incentives to achieve its policy aims. Important liberal thinkers in international relations include *Adam Smith* and *Immanuel Kant*.

In addition to realism and liberalism, a new theoretic approach appeared: **Constructivism** takes beliefs and values as crucial elements in determining a reality that is socially constructed – as supposed to liberalism and realism which take such things for granted. Thus, social practice, discourse, and interaction among the participants of the international realm (both state and non-state actors) are the fundamental drivers of this ongoing and maieutic process in which the emerging norms and values shape their own interests and identities.

Without offering any predictions, but focusing on an attempt to explain the reasons for political change, the constructivist perspective looks at power not as an irrelevancy but as a subjective product of ideas and identities. The definition of “power” – according to the constructivist interpretative framework – is influenced by the cultural and the historical context in which it is analyzed. Similarly, constructivists argue that the realist conception of anarchy does not adequately explain why conflict

occurs between states. The real issue, in fact, “anarchy is what states make of it”.

International Law

In order to make the global system less chaotic and unpredictable, states often make agreements with one another to modify their behavior. **International agreements** are treaties signed by a number of states that establish global rules of conduct. Some agreements focus on single issues, whereas others cover many areas. Theoretically, international agreements benefit the states that sign them. States that break these rules—sometimes called **rogue states**—are usually treated with wariness by the rest of the world.

International law is the collection of rules and regulations that have evolved over the past few centuries. These rules define the rights and obligations of states. Sometimes treaties codify and formalize international law, but just as often, international law arises from custom and habit. The International Court of Justice, in the Netherlands, is the judicial body of the United Nations and is responsible for resolving disputes among states.

A key dispute among political scientists concerns the **effectiveness of international law**. Realists argue that because there is no international police force to enforce international law, the law has no real power. States only obey international law when it is in their interest to do so. Liberalists, however, dispute this idea, contending that there are real consequences to breaking international law—such as sanctions and even military occupation—and that international organizations have a measurable impact on global relations.

International treaties serve as an important part of international law. States sign treaties to end wars, protect their interests, and make international law. Significant international treaties include the United Nations Charter (1945), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1947), the North Atlantic Treaty (1949), the Warsaw Pact (1955), the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (1972) and the Kyoto Protocol (2005).

International Organizations

Some international agreements create **international organizations**, which are institutions that set rules for nations and provide venues for diplomacy. There are different types of international organizations:

international governmental organizations (IGOs) and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). In recent years, multinational corporations (MNCs) have also had a significant impact on the international system.

IGOs and NGOs exist for a variety of reasons, such as controlling the proliferation of conventional and nuclear weapons, supervising trade, maintaining military alliances, ending world hunger, and fostering the spread of democracy and peace.

- **International Governmental Organizations.** IGOs form when governments make an agreement or band together. Only governments belong to IGOs. The United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the European Union (EU) are all examples of IGOs.
- **Nongovernmental Organizations.** Unlike governmental organizations, NGOs are made up of individuals, not businesses or governments. NGOs serve a variety of functions and represent numerous interests. Not all NGOs have a positive impact on global politics. Although Amnesty International has helped defend human rights and Greenpeace has protected the environment, for example, the international terrorist organization al Qaeda has killed civilians in an effort to cripple economies and topple governments. Since the end of World War II, nongovernmental actors have become more important in the global arena.
- **Multinational Corporations.** MNCs, or businesses that operate in more than one country, are another type of nongovernmental actor in the international system. Although MNCs are nongovernmental actors, they are not NGOs. Their primary aim is to make money. In the twenty-first century, MNCs dominate the global economy. Some MNCs—such as Coca-Cola, Microsoft, and IBM, to name a few—are worth more than many small countries, which means that they have the power to be major players in international politics.

8. Conflicts and Peace

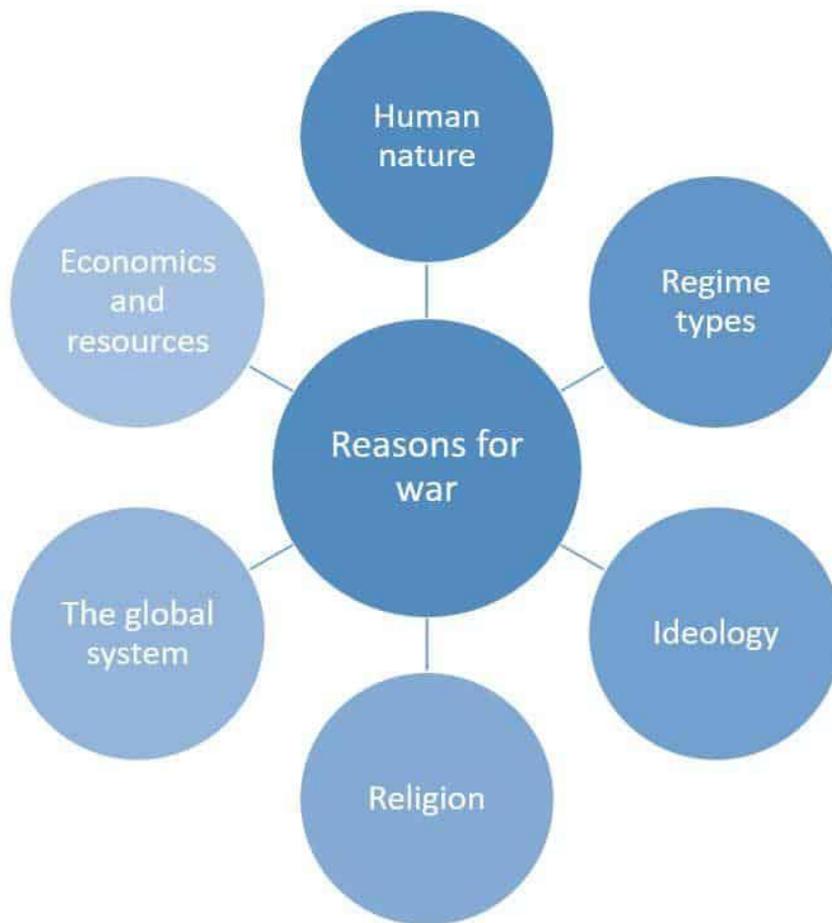


Although numerous international agreements exist to facilitate smooth relations between countries, international politics can still be violent. Identifying causes and consequences of political violence, as well as thinking about the impact, has become an important part of political science.

War

War has been far too common in human history and thus is the central problem of international relations. Many political scientists and foreign policymakers view war as the continuation of politics: When diplomacy fails, some states decide to use force. Others see war as the result of a breakdown of the modern international system because so many of the rules of international institutions were designed to reduce conflict among states.

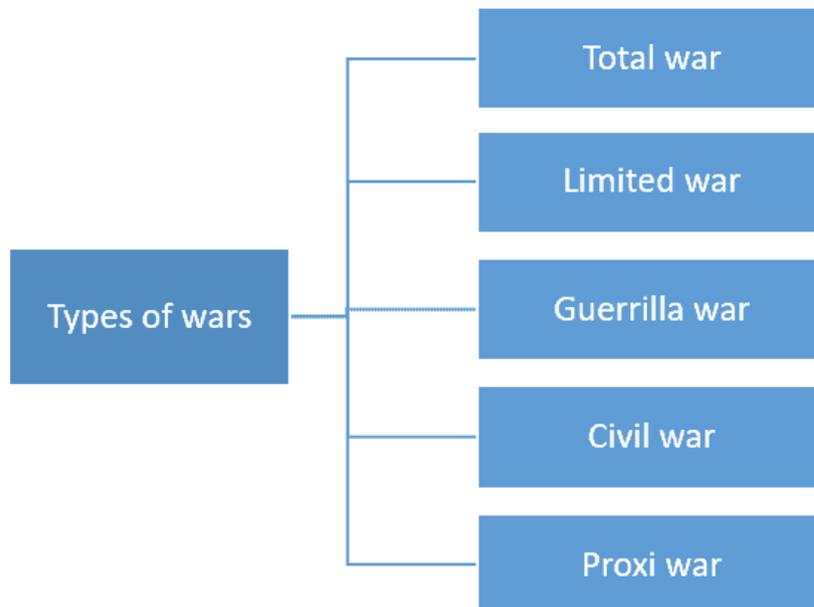
The most common reasons that lead to war are:



- **Human nature:** Humans are naturally violent and aggressive, making war inevitable.
- **Regime types:** Some regimes are more prone to waging war than others. Overall, it appears that democracies are less likely to fight other democracies, a phenomenon scholars refer to as the “democratic peace”. Democracies are, however, just as likely as other types of regimes to fight nondemocracies.
- **Ideology:** Some political beliefs favor war more than others. Some scholars blame fascism, for example, for World War II.
- **Religion:** Religious belief has driven many states to war, either to spread the faith or to eradicate heretics. During the early modern era, for example, nearly every European country experienced numerous wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants.
- **The global system:** Because the global system is anarchic, states must engage in war to protect themselves.
- **Economics and resources:** Disputes over resources often lead to war.

Although all wars are violent, not all wars are the same. In fact, there are many different types of wars, which can be classified according to which

people actually fight, the intensity of the conflict, and the extent of combatants' use of violence, among other factors. Scholars generally describe five types of war:



- A **total war** is a war in which combatants use every resource available to destroy the social fabric of the enemy. Total wars are highly destructive and are characterized by mass civilian casualties because winning a total war often requires combatants to break the people's will to continue fighting. World Wars I and II were total wars, marked by the complete destruction of the civilian economy and society in many countries, including France, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Great Britain, and Japan.
- A **limited war** is a war fought primarily between professional armies to achieve specific political objectives without causing widespread destruction. Although the total of civilian casualties may be high, combatants do not seek to completely destroy the enemy's social and economic frameworks. The Persian Gulf War of 1990–1991 was a limited war in which the United States and its allies forcibly removed Iraqi troops from Kuwait.
- A **guerrilla war** is a war in which one or both combatants use small, lightly armed militia units rather than professional, organized armies. Guerrilla fighters usually seek to topple their government, often enjoying the support of the people. These wars are often very long but also tend to be successful for the insurgents as evidenced by Mao Zedong's victory over Chiang Kai-shek in China in the 1940s, the Vietcong's victory over the

- United States in the Vietnam War, and the Mujahideen's victory over the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980s.
- A **civil war** is a war fought within a single country between or among different groups of citizens who want to control the government and do not recognize another group's right to rule. Civil wars are almost always total wars because each side feels compelled to destroy the enemy's political support base. Regional rifts, such as the American Civil War between the North and the South, characterize some civil wars, whereas other civil wars have been fought among ethnic rivals, religious rivals, and rival clans. Revolutions can spark civil wars as well.
 - A **proxy war** is a war fought by third parties rather than by the enemy states themselves. Many of the militarized conflicts during the Cold War, such as the Korean War and the Vietnam War, can be interpreted as proxy wars between the United States and the Soviet Union, neither of which wanted to fight each other directly.

A war can often be a limited war, a guerrilla war, and a civil war all at the same time. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 is a great example. The United States sent trainers, money, and weapons to Afghan rebels to fight against the invaders, making it a low-intensity, limited conflict from the U.S. point of view. The Afghan resistance mostly relied on guerrilla tactics. And the war split Afghanistan, so it was also a civil war.

Intervention is a fairly common way for a third-party state to get involved in a civil war or a war between two or more other states. A state intervenes when it sends troops, arms, money, or goods to help another state that is already at war. During the Cold War, the term **intervention** was used to describe one of the superpowers becoming involved in a smaller country's war (often a developing country).

But states sometimes intervene in order to bring peace. This type of intervention occurs when a country sends military forces into another state to act as **peacekeepers** or to block other forces from attacking. Sometimes these interventions are organized or conducted by the United Nations or another international organization. The NATO, for example, sent troops into the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s on a number of occasions to protect people from war.

In 1864, several states created the **Geneva Conventions**, an international agreement that regulated acceptable behavior during armed

conflicts. Since then, the Geneva Conventions have been amended a few times as the nature of war has changed. The agreements prohibit torture, rape, genocide, mutilation, slavery, and other crimes against humanity. The conventions also state that prisoners of war must be treated humanely and that civilians may not be used as hostages.

Revolution

A **revolution** is any fundamental change in the social or political aspects of a state. Most revolutions are political, occurring when the citizens of a country try to oust the existing government and replace it with a new one. Political revolutions tend to be tumultuous, violent events. There is no clear-cut explanation as to why people revolt, but scholars believe that some or all of the following factors lead to revolution:

- **Injustice:** Aristotle argued that the cause of revolution was the perception of injustice. If the underclasses feel that they are being treated unjustly, they will revolt.
- **Relative deprivation:** Some scholars have argued that revolutions occur after a period of good times has ended. The citizens begin to expect a higher quality of life and feel cheated when they perceive a stagnation or decline in the quality of their lives.
- **State of the government:** Revolutions are more likely to happen in countries with corrupt governments. If citizens believe in the efficacy of their government, then revolution is unlikely. But if a regime appears to exist solely to enrich the rulers, then revolution is more likely.
- **The military:** As the strongest power in most states, the military frequently determines whether a revolution will occur and be successful. If the military backs the government, then revolution is unlikely. A turning point in many revolutions occurs when soldiers decide to stop obeying the government and decide to fight alongside the revolutionaries.

Although people have always rebelled against their rulers and governments, the modern era witnessed many significant revolutions. Since the sixteenth century, most revolutions have been attempts to overthrow traditional regimes in the name of liberty. In the twentieth century alone, there were important revolutions in Russia, China, Egypt, and parts of communist Eastern Europe, as well as countless others in smaller countries. Revolutions, and countering revolutions, were a driving force of foreign policy in the twentieth century. However, three

revolutions in particular have served as models for most of the world's revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:



American Revolution (1776–1783): Leaders of the American Revolution overthrew British colonial rule to establish an independent republic. These colonial leaders considered the revolution to be a necessary evil and restricted the use of violence. Although the revolution affected the lives of most Americans, there was little social upheaval.



French Revolution (1788–1799): The French Revolution began much as the American Revolution had but quickly turned violent. Tens of thousands of French citizens were executed during Maximilian Robespierre's so-called Reign of Terror. Order was restored only when Napoleon Bonaparte seized control of the government.



Russian Revolution (1917): Russian revolutionaries sought both the removal of the monarchy and the complete restructuring of civil society in accordance with Vladimir Lenin's version of communism. The second

phase of the Russian Revolution served as the model for dozens of other communist revolutions.

Not all revolutions are political. A social revolution is a revolution that transforms society or the economy without drastically altering the existing political system. The Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had a major impact on every country in the world. Beginning around 1780 in England, industry started to replace agriculture, and machinery started to replace manual labor. By the mid-nineteenth century, new forms of production and transportation—including the invention of the steam engine, mechanical typesetting, and movies—had fundamentally altered the modern world. Consequently, the lives of Europeans changed drastically within just a couple of decades.

Terrorism

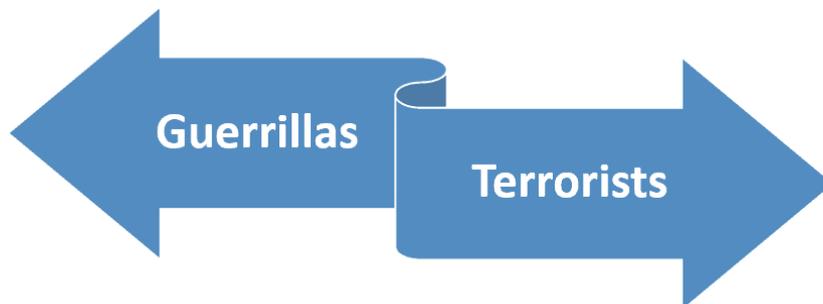
Terrorism is the use of violence (often against civilian targets) to instill fear, generate publicity, and sometimes destabilize governments. Generally speaking, small groups fighting against powerful states practice terrorism, but governments also have the ability to practice terrorism. Throughout history, terrorism has taken many forms. Just in the last two centuries, for example, terrorism has been used by Russian nihilists, nationalists in Israel, Nazi forces, left-wing guerrillas in Europe, discontented radicals in the United States, Latin American death squads, and Islamic fundamentalists. Terrorism is not tied to any one particular ideology or group.

Scholars generally classify terrorism into two types: terrorism practiced by governments and terrorism practiced by groups not affiliated with a government. Ideological terrorism aims to promote a particular belief system through acts of violence; it may be practiced by both governments and groups.

- **Terrorism Practiced by Government:** A government commits acts of terror against its own citizens (state terrorism) or a government supplies and trains terrorists to make attacks in other countries. (international terrorism; also known as state-sponsored terrorism).
- **Terrorism Practiced by Groups:** Any terrorist act not committed by a government (antistate terrorism) or a group with no ties to another country or government commits terrorist acts within its own country (domestic terrorism)

Some types of terrorism fit into more than one of these categories. Suicide bombings in Israel, for example, are ideological (promoting a Palestinian state and sometimes also promoting Islamic fundamentalism), state-sponsored (a number of Arab governments fund the bombers), and domestic (many are carried out by Arabs living in Israel).

Although guerrillas have been known to practice terrorism, guerrillas are not terrorists.



Guerrillas fight against their governments, particularly against the military, in order to provoke a regime change. Terrorists, in contrast, target civilians and members of the military in order to create a social and political crisis of international proportions. Of course, those fighting a guerrilla group might label their opponents as terrorists, and some terrorists may see themselves as guerrillas.

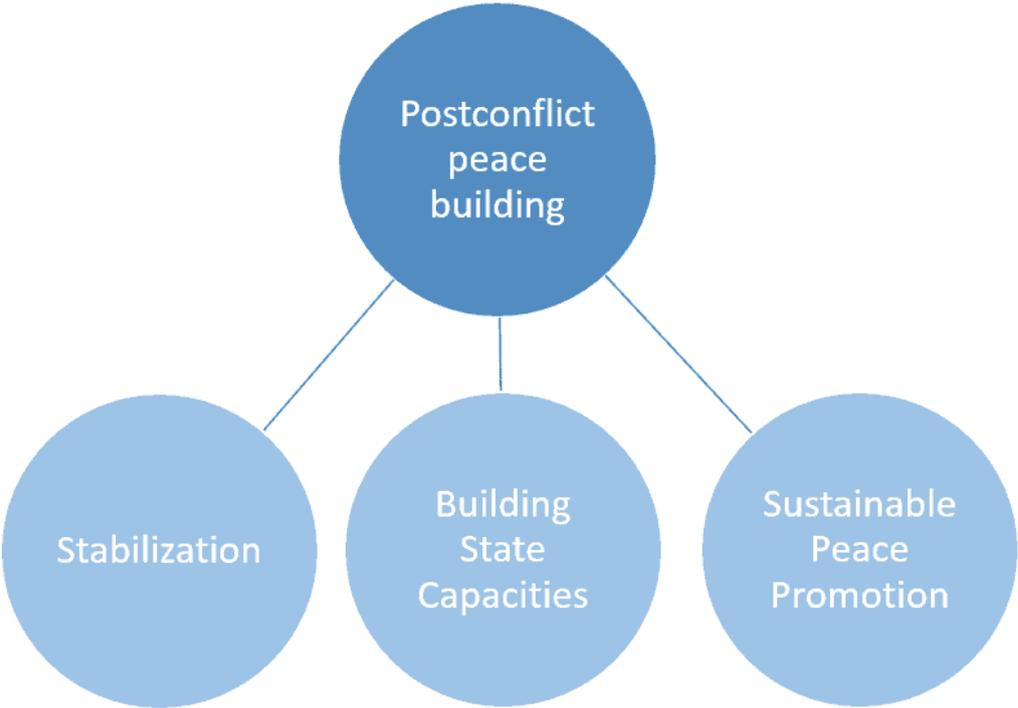
Terrorist acts ultimately aim to undermine governments and disrupt societies. Many terrorists are young, frustrated men who feel that they have been treated unjustly. Sometimes terrorists try to destabilize a government directly, via assassinations, kidnappings, and the bombing of government buildings. Terrorists can also work to undermine governments indirectly by showing people that their leaders are too weak to prevent the attacks and that an active resistance movement exists. Sometimes, terrorists attack in order to provoke a strong response from the government, hoping that the response will alienate more people from the government and foster even more political discord.

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is an intervention that is designed to prevent the start or resumption of violent conflict by creating a sustainable peace. Peacebuilding activities address the root causes or potential causes of

violence, create a societal expectation for peaceful conflict resolution and stabilize society politically and socioeconomically.

The tasks included in peacebuilding vary depending on the situation and the agent of peacebuilding. Successful peacebuilding activities create an environment supportive of self-sustaining, durable peace; reconcile opponents; prevent conflict from restarting; integrate civil society; create rule of law mechanisms; and address underlying structural and societal issues. Postconflict peacebuilding can be divided into three dimensions:



1. Stabilization:

Activities within the first dimension reinforce state stability post-conflict and discourage former combatants from returning to war (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, in short: DDR). Taking away weapons and re-integrating former combatants into civilian society are essential parts.

2. Building State Capacities:

Second dimension activities build state capacity to provide basic public goods and increase state legitimacy. This step includes:

- Rebuilding basic facilities, transportation and communication networks
- Developing rule of law systems and public administration
- Building educational and health infrastructure

- Creating legitimate (democratic, accountable) state institutions

3. Sustainable Peace Promotion:

Programs in the third dimension build a post-conflict society's ability to manage conflicts peacefully and promote socio-economic development. Essential elements are:

- Trauma counseling, transitional justice, and restoration
- Building bridges between different communities
- Promoting human rights and economic development
- Developing a civil society and private sector that can represent diverse interests peacefully

A mixture of locally and internationally focused components is key to building long-term sustainable peace. Although international support is in almost all cases essential and irreplaceable, peacebuilding practices arise from local communities, they are tailored to local context and culture in a way that generalized international peacebuilding approaches are not.

9. Good Governance



Good Governance has become a widespread buzzword in political discussions and it is used in development strategies around the globe. Today, international organizations (like the World Bank, the United Nations, and the EU), as well as many national states, support good governance principles.

The term “governance” describes how decisions are taken in a state, how a political framework is formulated, and how it is implemented. But what does “good governance” mean? Good governance is often described as transparent, effective and accountable. It involves the whole population and considers the opinions and needs of minorities and disadvantaged groups. However, there is no single and exhaustive definition of “good governance.” The term is used with great flexibility; this is an advantage, but also a source of some difficulty at the operational level.

It is important to distinguish good governance from other concepts that look similar, such as development and economic growth. Instead of considering them as equal, many scholars refer to them as features that are likely to be related in different ways. In fact, many authors claim good governance may have an impact on development and economic growth.

According to the United Nations, Good Governance is measured by eight factors:

Participation	Participation requires that all groups, particularly those most vulnerable, have direct or representative access to the systems of government. This manifests as a strong civil society and citizens with the freedom of association and expression.
Rule of Law	Rule of Law is exemplified by impartial legal systems that protect the human rights and civil liberties of all citizens, particularly minorities. This is indicated by an independent judicial branch and a police force free from corruption.
Transparency	Transparency means that citizens understand and have access to the means and manner in which decisions are made, especially if they are directly affected by such decisions. This information must be provided in an understandable and accessible format, typically translated through the media.
Responsiveness	Responsiveness simply involves that institutions respond to their stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.
Consensus Oriented	Consensus Oriented is demonstrated by an agenda that seeks to mediate between the many different needs, perspectives, and expectations of a diverse citizenry. Decisions need to be made in a manner that reflects a deep understanding of the historical, cultural, and social context of the community.
Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness depend on ensuring that all the members of a community feel included and empowered to improve or maintain their well being, especially those individuals and groups that are the most vulnerable.
Effectiveness and Efficiency	Effectiveness and Efficiency are developed through the sustainable use of resources to meet the needs of a society. Sustainability refers to both ensuring social investments carry through and natural resources are maintained for future generations.

Accountability

Accountability refers to institutions being ultimately accountable to the people and one another. This includes government agencies, civil society, and the private sector all being accountable to one another as well.

It is important to highlight that the promotion of good governance goes beyond the government sector and includes all relevant actors from the private sector and society. The aims: To balance interests and focus on common goals, particularly reducing poverty and providing access to state services for all. To make administrative structures participative, efficient and solution-oriented.

Good governance is always linked to a set of specific values: It is participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and follows the rule of law.

Good governance assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.

As you can probably guess, good governance is an **ideal** which is difficult to achieve in its totality. Very few countries and societies have come close to achieving good governance in its totality. However, to ensure sustainable human development and to protect human rights, actions must be taken to work towards this ideal with the aim of making it a reality. Today the importance of good governance and human rights for sustainable development is recognized around the globe.



This course provided a broad introduction to the range of topics covered in political science, from authoritarian to democratic politics, from local

governance to international relations, from formal rules and institutions to the psychology and behavior of individuals who participate in political processes.

Politics has an impact on us all – whether or not we choose to be politically active. An understanding of the key elements of politics is essential if we want to understand how political decisions are made, how governments work, and how their actions affect the world.