

Sixth Edition

The Theory and Practice of International Relations

William C. Olson David S. McLellan
Fred A. Sonderrmann



SIXTH EDITION

the theory and practice of international relations

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**the theory and practice
of international relations**

Dedication to Professor Fred A. Sondermann

In the pages which follow, the spirit of our beloved colleague lives on. This sixth edition is still his book as much as it is ours. Fred's spirit, more importantly, lives on in the values and vocations of a generation of his former students, in the lives of the community where his professional career began and ended, and in the esteem of scholars and practitioners of international relations in his adopted land.

The two of us worked with Fred from 1960 through five editions of this book, but our association began as post-World War II students attracted to the Yale Institute of International Studies, then the finest institution of its kind. There one of our most revered teachers was Arnold Wolfers, whose essay once again takes its place as the book's first selection. The three of us never forgot that we were first of all students together and that students we remained.

We dedicate this edition to Fred, with love, with deep professional regard, and with fond nostalgia for a friend who never forgot how to study a grim subject with an unfailing sense of humor. Fred never took himself over-seriously, preferring instead to illuminate the importance of his subject by reminding his students of the presumptuousness of man in unleashing the forces that now have him in their cosmic grip.

Perhaps the fact that Fred had come to America at a time of torment for those of his faith in his native Germany gave him a respect for the virtues of America that never wavered and found their expression in his devotion to his family, to the college that he so nobly served for a quarter of a century, and to the community where he lived and served as Councilman.* He was the quintessential public man who cared, a political scientist and devoted religious leader who practiced what he preached.

*Colorado Springs, Colorado, which in gratitude for his public services to the city named a town park after him; this growing city is where the distinguished New England-type liberal arts institution, The Colorado College, is located.

preface

How to Use This Book

First of all, do not think of *The Theory and Practice of International Relations* as a textbook. While a well-organized professor presenting comprehensive, basic lectures may use it as such, it is designed as a *second* book, a supplement to shed a little different light on basic knowledge which the good student will already have at his or her command before reading these 39 carefully chosen selections.

In the second place, we have tried to locate some of the most interesting recent pieces (even though the British state paper is about 75 years old) from sources not readily available otherwise. In the next edition, we hope to accomplish even more in this regard by bringing literature from all over the world.

Third, a new feature has been added to make the book more useful as a basis for discussion, either within or beyond the regular classroom teaching plan. You will find several questions ending each chapter's text. These are meant to be challenging, even provocative, and (like the selections and text themselves) avoid any "line" or doctrinaire approach.

In keeping with our previous practice, over 4/5 of the selections have never been used before (actually 86.6% are new in this edition), and the textual material is either completely or largely rewritten. We have added one chapter on international order, another on alliances, and a concluding one on the field or study of international relations itself.

Finally, it is hoped that the textual material opening each of the sixteen chapters will prove illuminating. While Professor McLellan wrote certain of these and Dean Olson others, most of them profit from what we and Professor Sonderrmann have thought and exchanged views about for two decades or more in all of the categories of "I.R." as we see it. Not all textbooks divide the subject in exactly the same manner, but one is encouraged by the high degree of consensus which characterizes the literature of "international relations" today, both in this country and abroad, as a *field of study*. Not so questions of policy and polemics; and yet as members of a free society, we cherish our *differences of opinion*. Long may we all enjoy the privilege of disagreement.

It is customary at this point to acknowledge the assistance of those without whose help and patience this sixth edition would never have seen the light of midnight oil. First, we unabashedly thank one another and continue to marvel that our friendship not only survives but thrives on this quadrennial exercise. Then we want to express our special gratitude to staff, colleagues, and friends who did a lot of the dirty work of typing, proofing, editing, checking, searching, and sometimes even questioning what we were up to; especially Kate Peaslee, Carol DeRaefelo, Professors Ted Couloumbis and Nick Onuf, Tom Mueller, Rohan Narraine, and Tina Taylor of the School of International Service; Stan Wakefield and Audrey Marshall of Prentice-Hall; Professor William D. Jackson of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio; Ann McLellan, and in the final stages, a budding publisher, my son-in-law Christopher Laxton and his devoted wife, Annie Olson, a cartographer of future note.

William Clinton Olson
Washington, D.C.
October 1, 1981

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PART I

the participants
in the
international
system

CHAPTER 1

the nation, sovereign states, and nationalism

Nationalism is a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old phenomena—nationality and patriotism. There always have been, so far as historians and anthropologists know, human entities that can properly be called nationalities. There has been from ancient times the love of country or native land, which is patriotism. But nationalism is a modern, almost a recent, phenomenon. This point is so impressive in itself and so fundamental to our study as to merit and require some detailed explanation.

Carlton J.H. Hayes
Professor and Ambassador
Essays on Nationalism (1937), p. 3

Over the past 330 years or so, there have been at least four great periods in the development of the fundamental feature of modern world politics: the nation-state. The first involved the birth pangs of the new system which emerged from the Thirty Years' War, when the nation-state began to dominate. Prior to that the expression "international relations" was not even appropriate. The second brought twenty or so Central and South American countries, formerly colonies of Spain and Portugal, onto the stage as separate actors early in the nineteenth century. The third great moment followed in the wake of the First World War, mainly because of the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into its smaller national elements in the center of Europe but also because of the appearance of states throughout the world which wanted a voice in the new League of Nations. The fourth is still going on, heralded by what British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan called "the winds of change" sweeping across old colonial territories, principally in Africa but also in Asia and the Middle East. Hence today there are some 155 of these legalistically equal but politically and economically very unequal states whose spokesmen regularly address that beleaguered forum of international relations, the United Nations in New York.

The basic unit in international relations still remains the national state, despite spectacular shifts as well as routine adjustments in the configuration of

world politics in recent years. Its designation as the most fundamental entity in contemporary world politics does not imply, however, that this is the only factor to be observed by anyone seriously endeavoring to make sense out of the politically confusing global environment in which we live. One could, for example, decide to focus upon organizations within states, such as powerful political movements and interest groups inside and outside the formal governmental structure which comprise the political entity to which we attach the shorthand label "nation-state." Or one could even focus on individuals, some of whom exert considerable influence upon the course of events, both for good (as in the case of Mother Teresa) and for evil (as the wave of international terrorism shows).

On the other hand, one might concentrate upon certain international supranational or other-than-national bodies, such as world organizations (both public and private) which have made and continue to make an impact upon world affairs. Movements such as Zionism and institutions such as the Catholic Church, international labor unions, multilateral corporations or professional organizations—and literally hundreds of others—all participate in and to some degree alter the character of international relations. The selection in this chapter by the late Arnold Wolfers takes many of these options into account. Concentrating upon one of them—the state and its government—does not render the others irrelevant, as the remainder of this book will make quite apparent. The state is the central entity simply because it is, at this stage of human history, where the most power and human loyalty is centered. But it has been different in the past, and it is bound to be different again in the future.

To understand the nation-state, one must begin by making some important distinctions. The first of these is the difference between the two elements "nation" and "state."

The term *nation* is essentially an ethnic one. It is, as Professor Coulombis shows in this chapter, based upon a common heritage, language, culture, and sense of identity among the people who make up a nation. *State* is a legal and territorial expression involving a population politically organized under one government with sovereign rights. Sovereignty refers to the exclusive jurisdiction that a state possesses within its territory and to its freedom to act in international affairs without being subject to the legal control of another state. From a number of perspectives, a state may encompass more or less than one nation, just as a nation may or may not possess statehood; but taken together nations and states form the units or bases of power whose interrelationships dominate the international system in which we live. It is the organization of man's activities and loyalties into national communities that gives international relations in our time its distinctive character. This may not always have been so, nor is it likely always to remain so, but for present purposes this is the heart of the matter.

A second distinction is between the state and the government. This can perhaps be explained most easily by observing that while governments come and go frequently, states come and go very infrequently. Normally, analysts of international affairs can depend upon the continued existence of a given state as

a politically viable entity with infinitely more assurance than they can depend upon the continued existence of a given government or administration of that state. The old saying "The King is dead; long live the King" emphasized the idea of the continuity of the state, despite a change in its leader. In fact, today most monarchies are gone, but the states which they controlled (France, for example) still exist. In the United States, the term *the Administration* is used to describe the changing of the guard every four or eight years.

Third, it is most important to distinguish between states as they are organized for purposes of domestic government and internal politics, and states as they are organized for purposes of external relations or foreign policy. Among states, there are very nearly as many varieties of internal organization as there are states themselves. There are federal states and unitary ones, dynastic states and republican ones, democratic states and authoritarian states, totalitarian states and states in which the government performs only a very limited function. It is the outward focus of a state, its ability to organize itself for purposes of conducting external relations, to formulate and pursue national goals abroad, and to enter into engagements with other states, that concern those who would understand world politics, though they must increasingly take domestic influences into account.

As Professor Coulombis emphasizes in his contributions to this chapter, the ethnic quality of the nation-state is a fundamental fact and one which is too often overlooked. Many of the new states are artificial entities created in the last century by colonial governments in their rivalry to carve up Africa. They often contain within their boundaries as many as three, four, or more tribes or linguistic-cultural entities. Borders were drawn in such a way as to divide a people, putting part in one European country's colony and part in another's colony. In Asia, societies have been composed of several different ethnic or religious groups for many centuries (as, for example, in India or Indonesia); but as the central government attempts to exert its control, it makes ethnically and regionally different people conscious of each other as rivals, thereby stimulating severe tensions and even civil wars. Minority nationalism has led to the breakup of Pakistan (Bangladesh) and the attempted breakup of Nigeria (Biafra). The border wars that have broken out between India and Pakistan, between Ethiopia and Somalia, and between Cambodia and Vietnam are all examples of the unsettled relationship of nationalism to government in many countries of the Third World. These conditions contribute markedly to the tension and instability of the modern era, not only because of the breakdown of peace and order but also because the superpowers are often drawn into choosing sides in these contests, with dangerous and costly implications for world peace and security. It is one of the great dilemmas of the modern world that many governments still lack the means of establishing their authority peacefully, because they are not regarded as legitimate by some part of the population or because they cannot meet the economic needs fast enough to allay the fear and suspicion that different groups have for one another. But it would not do to say that minority nationalism exists