Lecture 19  
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# Discuss Final Exam

## Use examples to illustrate points

## Cover major tenets of all theories but focus on most important elements, not necessarily all of them. Try to build strength of argument through comparing ability of different theories to explain different aspects of issue areas you choose to focus on.

## Goal is to see how well you can apply the theoretical insights of theories to understanding empirical reality of issues

## No outside reading required

## If have come to lecture and have done readings and listen should be fine.

# Complete climate change lecture

# Ethics and international relations

## Ethics of war - what ethical responsibilities do we have to people of other nations during war?

## Logic of war - inherently unlimited. Clausewitz’s notion that once go to war, placing limits is simply a sure way to lose.

### Limit of consent - soldiers must have consented

#### Draft vs. all-volunteer army? What if all-volunteer army is recruited "from among desperately impoverished men, who can find no other way of feeding themselves and their families except by signing up" (Walzer).

#### Soldiers as victims of war

## Ends - just/moral reasons for going to war - Jus Ad Bellum "Justice of War"

### Self-defense against overt aggression

### Preemptive intervention

### Balancing prior intervention

### Rescue people threatened with massacre

### Assist self-determination movements when they have demonstrated representative character.

## Means - just/moral methods of fighting war - Jus In Bello "Justice in War"

### How do we distinguish war from murder and massacre?

### Last resort

### Directed by competent authority

### Has at least probability of success

### Proportionality - amount of force proportionate to threat, and good outweighs damage

### Discriminate - Combat between combatants - can only attack other soldiers, not civilians, inhabitants of neutral states, captured soldiers - those who do not or can not fight.

### Self-defense - imminent peril of being killed - therefore can’t shoot a soldier after surrenders

### Soldiers not responsible for war itself, but are considered responsible for how war is carried out. My Lai massacre

## Can have a just war fought by unjust means - freeing Kuwait or helping Bosnians by killing civilians

# The future of the world: Zakaria article in theoretical context of the course

## Contra realism:

### Military power is of less concern today than it was because states use other means to pursue goals

### “Today's rising great powers are relatively benign by historical measure. In the past, when countries grew rich they've wanted to become great military powers, overturn the existing order, and create their own empires or spheres of influence. But since the rise of Japan and Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, none have done this, choosing instead to get rich within the existing international order. China and India are clearly moving in this direction.”

## Interdependence leads to peace, as institutionalists argue:

### “Russia and China are more integrated into the global economy and society than at any point in at least 100 years.” Note this is from 2008 – is it still true?

### “If China, India, Russia, Brazil all feel that they have a stake in the existing global order, there will be less danger of war, depression, panics, and breakdowns. There will be lots of problems, crisis, and tensions, but they will occur against a backdrop of systemic stability. This benefits them but also us. It's the ultimate win-win.”

## Actors:

### Much about terrorists in the article

### “I spoke with a senior member of the Israeli government, a few days after Israel's war with Hezbollah …. He was genuinely worried about his country's physical security. Hezbollah's rockets had reached farther into Israel than people had believed possible. The military response had clearly been ineffectual: Hezbollah launched as many rockets on the last day of the war as on the first.”

### Non-state actors are important and military force is not as fungible, even in Israel.

## Trade:

### “Global trade has grown by 133 percent in the same period. The expansion of the global economic pie has been so large, with so many countries participating, that it has become the dominating force of the current era. Wars, terrorism, and civil strife cause disruptions temporarily but eventually they are overwhelmed by the waves of globalization.”

### Unmentioned by Zakaria – much of this due to international institutions and the actions and pressures of multinational corporations (nonstate actors)

## Nationalism

### Nationalism matters – as realists predict. Nation-state is a major allegiance of people.

### BUT also, this nationalism expresses itself in relationship to disenfranchisement

### Feminist / standpoint theory and constructivism:

#### “By tradition, the IMF is always headed by a European and the World Bank by an American. This "tradition," like the segregated customs of an old country club, might be charming to an insider. But to the majority who live outside the West, it seems bigoted.”

### And institutions matter too: “The fact that newly rising nations are more strongly asserting their ideas and interests is inevitable in a post-American world. This raises a conundrum—how to get a world of many actors to work together. The traditional mechanisms of international cooperation are fraying. The U.N. Security Council has as its permanent members the victors of a war that ended more than 60 years ago.”

## The future agenda of international relations: Need for exceptional caution in making predictions.

### Focus - short term more cooperation through interdependence; long term, who can say.

### Goals - most important will remain survival, but, more states likely to feel secure about survival and those states likely to begin seeking ways to achieve other, secondary goals. Compare Israel to Germany, and Israel today to Israel if gains peace treaty. Issues - likely to broaden, at least in immediate future. Ecology, human rights, other social issues.

### Actors - MNCs, NGOs, IGOs will play important roles in many aspects of international affairs but more in some areas than others.

### Means - power and force will still be used; power redefined to include economic, moral, institutional, and environmental power

### Organizing principle - likely to remain essentially anarchic and self-help, but increasing levels of mitigation by formation of cooperative regimes.

# Dynamics - still a struggle for power, but means by which conduct this struggle will include seeking of cooperation as well.Review of post-midterm classes and integrating them a bit more into the class

## European Union: in review, look at in light of regime theory and institutions, and the extent to which states within the EU are behaving differently than they would have in the absence of the EU

## Institutional / regime theory: what institutions/regimes are; problems they arise to solve (coordination, collaboration, upstream/downstream); how they arise (imposed, negotiated, organic); what they do (manage complexity, reduce transaction costs, create rules, increase reciprocity, improve information, create/strengthen norms); how effective are regimes (review graphs).

## Economic development: why levels of development vary so much and the failure of international institutions to remedy this problem -- continues to exist but we can at least ask whether the institutions that have been set up (WB, IMF, GATT, regional development banks, NGO efforts, Grameen Bank, etc.) have made the continuing decline of developing countries be somewhat slower than it would have been otherwise (i.e., counterfactually).

## Human Rights and genocide: numerous institutions created to address human rights since WWII; two types of human rights (1: civil and political, 2: economic, cultural, and social); NGOs play a much bigger role in human rights than in other issue areas; genocide arising at least in part due to disenfranchisement and notions of identity that are NOT based on nationalism

## International environment lectures: humans are having a huge impact on the earth; all environmental problems are not alike; five perspectives on why we face the environmental problems we do (scientific, ecological/philosophical, legal, economic, political); Tragedy of the Commons