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Jawad, Saad N.

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICS



Sa'ad N. Jawad
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Saad N. Jawad BA., Ph. D.,

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Dr. K. J. J. J.

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To Shawki , Kais and Ra'ad

١٥

Dr. K. J. J. J.

PREFACE

المؤلفين العلمية تزود القارئ هذا في الموضوع
 The object of this book is to provide students and interested layman with a simplified account of the complex issues in international politics. For students of politics the book will be a useful background material as well as quick reference to a more detailed and specialised works elsewhere.

المراجع
 This book is divided into six chapters deal ingwith the main topics of international politics. The first chapter discusses the main features of modern international politics. The second and third chapters give a broad study of power and its role in the field of international politics. The fourth and fifth chapters deal mainly with objectives of states in world politics and the means to achieve these objectives. The final chapter surveys the Third World and its increasingly important role in international politics, with special reference to the movement of nonaligned countries.

Needless to say any study such as this cannot satisfy expectations, since it must either omit or accept limitations in dealing with some important aspects of the subject. But it is hoped that readers will find this book a good introduction for more advanced studies in the rapidly changing field of international politics.

Sa'ad N. Jawad
 Baghdad October 1981

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العربية

To Shawkat, Kain and Ra'ad

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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CHAPTER ONE

THE MAIN FEATURES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

1. The Rise of Nationalism:

Nationalism and Patriotism:

The word nationalism appeared in the eighteenth century. Much older than nationalism is the word patriotism. The patriot is defined as "one whose ruling passion is the love of his country". One cannot find the words nationalism and nationality in old dictionaries. However, the adjective "national" did exist in old dictionaries and it was defined "bigoted to one's own country". (1) The idea of nationalism implies that all the members of a people think of themselves as being one, and as being distinct from every other people. A nation regards itself as a racial, social and historical whole, as a unit or group which has a culture, an outlook, a moral standard, spiritual significance that are all its own.

Nationalism in the ancient world:

Greek and Roman "Nationalism":

The ancient Greeks and Romans were not nationally-minded. The city-states among which the Greeks were divided were not national units. The Greeks regarded themselves as being of the same race, and superior to all other peoples, whom they called Barbarians.

1) Mowat, R. B., International Relations, London 1931, p1

As for the Romans, national consciousness was something unknown to them. They knew that there was such a thing as the Roman tribe or tribes; but Roman citizenship was far wider than the Roman tribe, or even than the Latin races of Italy.

The Roman Empire contained hundreds of different races, each with history, language and customs of their own. They might all in time learn Latin and acquire the Roman citizenship, yet they were not as a whole a nation. They were Britons, Gauls, Spaniards, Africans, Greeks, Italians, but they had no passionate conviction of race, no consciousness of nationality. They probably regarded themselves as citizens of the world, the Roman world. Thus cosmopolitanism and not nationalism would best describe their attitude. On the other hand, both the Greeks and Romans, although not nationalists, were devoutly passionately patriotic.

Different from the Greeks and Romans were the Arabs of the Peninsula. Before Islam they were ruled by tribal feeling (assabiyya qabaliyya). This feeling had to give way to a cosmopolitan one after the emergence of Islam, which did not differentiate between Arabs and non-Arabs. Thus, although they possessed all the constituents of nationalism, and of a nationstate, especially after the success of Prophet Mohammed in uniting the different tribes, the religious tie was stronger than their national consciousness at that time.

Nationalism in the Dark and Middle-Ages:

Neither in the Dark nor in the Middle Ages was there any conception of nationality. There were three elements which

resisted the growth of national idea at that time. These elements were:

1. The tradition and memory of the Roman Empire, which was cosmopolitan, a world empire transcending national groups.
2. The Catholic Church which was a universal corporation with its centre in Rome holding the spiritual obedience of all the western peoples.
3. The idea of feudalism and the feudal system which consisted of a mass of laws and customs based upon similar principles throughout all western Europe. (2)

Nationalism in the Sixteenth Century and after:

Actually the national idea seems to have been the product of the Reformation and religious wars. It was through the Protestant challenge to the Catholic system that the different peoples of Europe became self-conscious nations. In other words, Nationalism, which simply meant the claim of "self-expression" or "self-realisation" on the part of a distinct racial group seems to be the product of religious intolerance on the one hand, and of the demand of a whole group of people for religious freedom on the other.

With the advent of the self-conscious nation-state in the sixteenth century, international policy became a real thing, and an international system became possible. Therefore the dangers of war appeared more threatening. This was because the conception of nation-state and of unrestricted state sove-

(2) Ibid, pp. 6-7.

reignty overwhelmed Europe. Every monarch in Europe started to regard himself as the only Sovereign in his own territory who was not ready to accept any power above him but God. As a result the theory of unrestricted state-sovereignty became the product of the modern age.

The Impact of the Theory of Nation-State:

Ever since the French Revolution, and up till the beginning of the twentieth century, nationalism became the major spiritual and emotional force in international politics; and also the main principle of state formation. Yet the advent of the nation state as an accepted fact in the the politics of Europe and of the world, seems to have made war more likely to occur. Each state was ready to go to war, and whenever it chose to do so, because of its belief in its absolute sovereignty. As there was no law regulating the relations between states international anarchy prevailed and resulted in many wars. Yet as nations were never a completely clearcut entities, because the vast majority of nations were composed of two or three nationalities, troubles within nations as a result of differences between the different nationalities furtherly complicated international politics. (3)

II- THE SPREAD OF IDEOLOGIES:

Another source of international conflict was the spread of conflicting ideologies. Nationalism did not remain the only, or most important force at work in contemporary politics or society. Peoples nowadays are motivated by other ideologies.

3) Frankel, *International Politics*, London 1969, p. 99.

The most important international ideologies in today's world are Liberalism, Fascism, Communism and Socialism.

Liberalism:

There are many connotations of this word. "Liberal" people generally support moderate reforms of existing conditions when these are deemed necessary. Liberalism is always regarded as a term close to conservatism. It is not necessarily associated with either the preservation of the present institutions or violent changes. Sometimes a person termed "Liberal" because he supports political ideas in a "broad-minded" manners. Liberals do not regard themselves as narrow-minded, and they are always ready to be sympathetic towards views which differ from their own. Since liberals always welcome new ideas and prefer discussion and voluntary persuasion rather than force as methods of settling problems, they were described as "democratic" rather than "authoritarian" in personality. (4)

Fascism and Nazim:

After a famous march on Rome in 1922 Mussolini and his Fascist Party came to power in Italy. In 1933 Hitler came to power as Chancellor of Germany due to the victory of his Nazi Party. Both movements, Fascism and Nazim originated in the dissatisfaction the people felt at the results of the First World War, and the unstable economic and political conditions which followed. They succeeded through the use of violence and terror employed by their followers, and the charisma and personal magnetism of both, Hitler and Mussolini.

(4) Leeds, C A., *Political Studies* London 1975 p. 112.

Both movements tried to control all aspects of society. Their ideology were opposed to democracy and communism, and were similar in containing few concrete positive ideas of philosophical value.(5)

Fascism and Nazim were nothing more than a strongly centralized system controlling all the affairs of the nation and permitting no opposition or criticism. Both theories spoke out fiercely against the "excessive power of the parliamentary regimes and the irresponsibility of political assemblies".

Communism:

In 1848 the German Karl Marx wrote the Manifesto of the Communist Party, and in 1867 Das Kapital. His writings have greatly influenced the growth of social ideas, and particularly the form known as communism. He claims that his ideas were "scientific" since he believed history developed according to certain fixed principles, having adopted the dialectic process of reasoning used by Hegel. Communism is based upon six major elements: the economic interpretation of history, class struggle, ending exploitive capitalism, the inevitability of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary doctrine. (6)

Socialism:

Socialist theories have gained popularity at particular times in history in various societies. Modern Socialism, however, grew out of the adverse economic and social conditions which existed in nineteenth-century Europe. Both Socialism

(5) Ibid, p 83.

(6) Ibid, pp. 86-87.

and Communism claim similar Marxist origin. Socialism advocates that governments should take over responsibility for the management of economic affairs, for two main reasons:

- a. Through the public ownership of economic resources used in production, distribution and exchange, industries can be operated in the interest of all rather than of few.
- b. Through a fair distribution of the wealth of the state, all can have an equal opportunity to make the most of their special abilities. (7)

Important to note that it is one of the outstanding features of the contemporary world that socialism has become married to nationalism.(8)

III. The Impact of Technology:

Another development of the nineteenth century, which further aggravated the international tension was the application of scientific and industrial technology to the conduct of warfare. Public enthusiasm over diplomatic and military questions enabled governments to conscript large armies, and improvements in military plans more quickly and violently. Starting with the wars of the French Revolution, armed conflicts tended to become increasingly wars of annihilation in which violence could not be confined to military targets. Rising casualty figures, military and civilian, indicate the revolutionary developments in the art of warfare.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, differed markedly from the eighteenth century in the sense that in them major

(7-8) Ibid, and Frankel, p. 107-109.

wars have become a great social undertaking. All this for the aim of imposing political and social institutions upon the defeated nation.

The development of nuclear weapons has been the most revolutionary contribution of science and technology to war. While in the past some strategists argued that the invention of the machine guns, tanks or airplanes made war "Obsolete", the perfection of fission and fusion weapons has indeed made total war irrational, even if nuclear weapons could be used in a limited fashion for specific ends.

Strategic nuclear weapons can destroy the economic capacity of a nation, and most of its population, as well as endanger the lives and health of citizenship in countries not directly involved in the nuclear salvo.

Though there are means to reduce nuclear destruction, the only safety mechanism strategists have yet devised is the deterrent threat to retaliate instantly in case of a first strike.

Nuclear weapons have thus added a new characteristics of vulnerability to international politics. Whatever protection could be afforded in the past by national frontiers or territorial fortresses, such protections are of no significance today if war fought with nuclear weapons should break-out (9).

However, the United States and Soviet Union endeavoured to conclude agreements to restrict the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The first agreement of this sort was signed in 1963, known as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons in

(9) Hosts K. J., *International Politics*, London 1974, P. 68.

Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, (the Test Ban Treaty). In 1968 the United States and the Soviet Union concluded another important treaty called the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet more important agreements were reached by the two powers as a result of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, (SALT), which began in 1969. But none of these agreements succeeded in alienating the threats of nuclear war or in establishing permanent international peace and security.

CHAPTER TWO

POWER IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

1. Definition of Power:

The concept of power is central to politics. It has a wide range of definitions. Most modern definitions agree that **power denotes the capacity to produce intended results**. Specifically, **political power** is not over nature, material, or oneself, but over minds and actions of other people. One may speak about power when its possession or exercise makes a difference to the behaviour of others, whether of individuals or states.

"Power" means something similar to the cognate notion of "influence". It may be used in all kinds or ways, ranging from a demonstration or mild application of force to unrestrained violence (10).

Thus "power" may be simply defined as **"the capacity to produce intended effects"**, or **"the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends"**.

The exercise of a power by a state is to be observed when the government of one state, because of the actions or existence of another, changes its proposed behaviour; the change may involve an alteration of policy or the maintenance of a

(10) Frankel, p. 118.

policy which without the exercise of power would have been changed. The ability of a state to impose its will by military victory is the ultimate measure of power; but it may on the contrary be argued that the need to resort to violence demonstrates a state's lack of power. This argument gains force in an age when nuclear weapons contain the threat of total destruction for their users(11).

II. The new concept of power:

The meaning of power in the contemporary international system differs, in several important aspects from its meaning in the last century.

First, the meaning of military security has completely changed. With the development of modern missiles and nuclear weapons, no state can ensure that its territory will remain immune to attack, however great its military forces may be.

Second, power today means something different in every set of relations, Power suitable for one purpose or for a set of similar purposes, adequate for dealing with one state, may not serve another purpose or relations at all; in fact it may have a negative value, it may become "counter productive".

The third change has arisen from the growing importance of the people as distinct from their governments. This new phenomenon has given rise to a whole range of complications. When a government is unpopular and faces a discontented population, it becomes dependent on outside support. A divorce between the people and their government enhances the

(11) Reynolds, P.A. *Introduction to International Relations*, London 1976, pp. 115-116.

power also of states unfriendly to the regime. Moreover an outside attempt to drive a wedge between the rulers and the ruled can lead to the opposite result by cementing national solidarity (12).

III. Elements of Power:

Apart from its preference, each state has certain elements, which are called sometimes capabilities, that enhance its position. Capabilities could be defined as that part of a nation's resources that is available for the pursuit of foreign policy objectives.

A catalogue of the various elements that constitute a nation's resources could be classified under three general headings:

- a. internal-nonhuman.
 - b. internal-human.
 - c. external.
- A- Internal-nonhuman: resources are the most obvious indicators of national resources; they include all natural and manufactured material, the industrial capacity and the economic and financial status of the country, its geography its size and location. It also includes state's dependence on trade and its level of technology, and its economic structure and stability.
- B- Internal-human resources include the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the nation's population, particularly that section of it which is directly involved in the government and the armed forces. It also involves

(12) Frankel, pp. 122-123.

things as national spirit and morale as well as the size, structure, skills and trends of the population.

- C- External resources are additional to internal resources acquired from other states, especially from allies. This element also includes the nature of the state's international environment, ethically, legally, institutionally, diplomatically and the quality and range of interaction between state's domestic and international environment.
- (13)

Speaking in more details one could make another classification of the elements affecting the strength and security of states. Under this classifications the elements of power could be divided into the followings:

1. Geographic Factor:

One of the most obvious and constant factors of national power is geography. The size of a state implies the existence of a large population base, natural resources and communications networks. In the past, great size taken in conjunction with weapons and strategies enabled states to buy time with space. But size in itself does not necessarily assure power unless a state is able to harness its natural resources, organise its population and create effective political, economic and social organisation.

Power is also dependent on location and on the nature of a state's frontiers conditions.

The close connection between geography and foreign policy has given rise to "geopolitics" or as some writers prefer to

13) Chatterjee P. *Arms, Alliance and Stability*, London p. 46-47.

call it "political geography". Geopolitics is the analysis of state policy in terms of physical space.

However this factor is gradually losing much of its former significance due to development in the fields of technology, communications, transportation and military science.

2. Demographic Factors:

It is difficult to determine the relationship between population and national power. Considered alone, population determines very little. The importance of population as a source of national power lies in its dependence upon other factors, such as education, training, skills and motivation. Moreover, the technological gap between the West and the more populated states of Asia and Africa is narrowing with the spread of education and training, which in turn means that these developing countries could in few years time overcome their technological inferiority.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that powerful nations are the most populous on the earth. It is very difficult to wage limited war and sustain military effectiveness and economic production without reliance on a large population.

3. Natural Resources:

Natural resources contribute significantly to the exercise of national power. Possession of or access to foodstuffs, oil, iron, coal, steel and rubber is particularly crucial as a determinant of national power. The importance of natural resources could rise even highly if it was coupled with technological skill.

A nation may use its resources to reward friends or punish

enemies. Yet the lack of natural resources may push states to acquire them through conquest, or colonialism.

4. Technology:

Technology contributes not only to war but also to science and human welfare. Technology means organised knowledge and know-how. It contributes to the building of military weapons and to the betterment of human life.

5. Military Power:

One of the most obvious dimensions of national power is military capability. All states maintain military establishments in order to cope with threats of outside aggression. The strength of any military establishment depends upon such considerations as the number of people in uniform, the percentage of people of military age and in uniform to the population as a whole, the quality of training and armaments acquired by armies, the morale of personnel and the quality of leadership.

6. National Morale:

By national morale we mean the degree of trust and support which people give to their government in pursuing its policies. In other words it signifies willingness to subordinate personal interests to public welfare.

Willingness to support governmental policies and endure hardships during wartime has a positive effect not only on the armed forces but also on the diplomatic service. Low morale among fighting troops can impair their combat effectiveness.

Signs of disunity within the civilian population can seriously undermine national power and adversely affect foreign policy.

Morale denotes the spirit of sacrifice, courage, loyalty, cohesiveness and respect for leadership. As such, morale is closely related to ideology. Men fight for ideals and to preserve their ideologies or political beliefs. In the end high morale enables the government to devote a greater proportion of national resources to the attainment of foreign policy objectives, particularly during periods of crises.

7. Governmental Organization and Administration:

An effective governmental-administrative system is another important element of national power. What is the attitude of the people towards their government? Are the people loyal to it and willing to support it? Do the various governmental agencies cooperate with each other? Does the government allocate its resources wisely? Are civil servants trustworthy and efficient? Answer to such questions obviously vary from country to country. Many nations are weak because of the lack of specialists and competent administration. They suffer from common weakness such as an apathetic public, official corruption and unskilled personnel⁽¹⁴⁾.

Rules governing the analysis and use of capabilities:

Several general rules should govern the analysis of capabilities.

(14) See Winter, H., and Bellow, T., *People and Politics*, pp. 433-435. And, Abcarian G. and Masanant *Contemporary Political System*, US 322-328.

Most important of them are the followings:

1. States should not always concentrate upon measurable elements and neglect the non-measurable ones. A defect in one element should be overcome by increasing the importance of another and quantity should always be qualified by quality.
2. States should try to benefit from all its capabilities and elements of power by mixing them altogether. A deficiency in one capability may destroy the value of other capabilities depending on it.
3. States should always be ready to mobilize all its resources. A time-lag in mobilization procedures can make crucial differences.
4. Policy makers should always bear in mind the continuing changes in the relative importance of the various elements. An element which is sound today may become extremely precarious if an element, in which a state was weak, rises in importance. (15)

(15) Franke p 129-130.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONTROL OF POWER

I- The Balance of Power:

The balance of power concept is old as that of the state. It was known and employed in ancient Greece, Mesopotamia, Egypt, India and China.

The concept of the balance of power has become a major feature of international relations since the rise of the modern nation-state and especially after the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. Its first application in Europe was in the Italian state system of fifteenth century. Later on it dominated relations among such members of the European state system as France, Britain, Prussia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Germany, and Russia.

What does "balance of Power" mean?

The concept has been defined in various ways by students of International relations. One of them defines it as an "equilibrium" resulting from the formation of "alliances and counter-alliances, treaties of guarantee and neutralisation" which under favourable conditions produces "a certain amount of stability in international relations". Another writer states that whenever the concept is used in its most general sense it means approximately equal distribution of power among sovereign states.

Balance of power in multi-state system may be regarded as the process in which a state seeks to maximize its power

by achieving dominance or preponderance of power over its opponents. Since the Balance of power is never in a condition of exact equilibrium, statesmen have always sought not only to maintain, but also to increase their power:

Balance of Power and Peace:

It has been argued that the balance of power system is conducive to peace. Although there is substantial evidence in support of this argument, the fact remains that a precarious balance of power may keep the peace for a time but in the long run cannot deter an aggressor who sees advantage in changing the status quo. The balance of power could be conducive to peace if several conditions are present. These conditions are:

First, if nations are dedicated to the preservation of the status quo.

Second, If non-expansionist states hold the preponderance of power,

Third, if states which have vested interest in preserving the balance of power are willing to go to war to prevent others from changing the balance and endangering their vital interests.

Fourth, the balance of power can ensure peace if a nation outside the power system is willing to play the role of balancer by throwing its weight behind the weaker bloc of nations in order to check the aggressor (16).

(16) Abcarian and Masannt P. 329.

Methods employed in the Balance of Power:

Essentially, the balance of power is a process of checking power with counterpower. Many states seek to protect their vital interests and to avoid war by pursuing balance of power strategies designed to prevent a would be aggressor from achieving overwhelming strength. These strategies are in fact the modern methods employed in the Balance of power. The most important methods are:

1. Alliances:

The most obvious preventive method is forming alliance system with state pursuing common interests and willing to take concerted action. An alliance is a treaty which provides for combined action on the part of two or more states to repel or to defeat a potential aggressor if the effort to deter fails. Under the alliance system every member binds itself to mutual assistance.

2. Compensation:

Another method of maintaining the balance of power is through compensation. This technique was commonly used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The best illustration was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when European powers agreed on a delimitation of spheres of influence in Africa and Asia.

3. Buffer States Or Zones:

This method sometimes play an important role in maintaining a balance of power system. The rationale behind the creation of a buffer zone is to neutralise, by mutual consent,

a weak but strategic state so that no unilateral control or occupancy will occur.

4. Armaments:

Armaments serve as another factor in the balance of power. The armament race between the United States and the Soviet Union is an illustration of states aiming not only at military parity but also at superiority. An unstable balance of power usually results. Recognition of unstable conditions prompts states to enter into disarmament negotiations in order to establish a balance of power or a stable peace.

5. Divide and rule:

This technique is one of the oldest methods of balancing power. This approach depends on the ability of a nation or a bloc of nations to keep their competitors divided or weak.⁽¹⁷⁾

THE BALANCE OF TERROR:

The balance of power has undergone radical transformation since the end of the Second World War. The United States and the Soviet Union have emerged as nuclear superpowers with power capabilities exceeding all other nations or combinations. What followed was a bipolar system. The balance of terror between East and West gives some assurance of peace and security since mutual deterrence power tends to discourage the initiation of nuclear war. Fear of national destruction and possibly of humanity as a whole constitutes a strong incentive to avert a nuclear holocaust. Indeed the fear that humanity may be brought to the brink of total des-

¹⁷⁾ Ibid pp. 331-332.

truction has prompted the superpowers to take certain steps towards arms control.

As atomic weapons proliferate and nations such as China, India, France, Germany and others join the nuclear club and realise their nuclear capacity, we may see the transformation of the present bipolarity into multipolarity. Such a transformation would add to the risk¹⁸⁾ of nuclear holocaust because the number of states that could trigger nuclear war is vastly increasing. The small powers may not attain great power status, but armed with nuclear weapons they could subject the world to varying degrees of political blackmail. There is danger that a small power might covertly precipitate a war between the great power given the difficulty of pinpointing the source of a surprise nuclear attack. Thus multipolarity is undoubtedly increasing the mathematical prospects of war.⁽¹⁸⁾

II - Collective Security:

Collective security is a system in which aggressive nations will be met by the collective action of the international community. These defensive measures to check aggression may or may not include the use of force. ⁽¹⁹⁾

Collective security is an innovation stemming from the experience of the First World War. It was launched as the basis of a new international system no longer based upon the balance of power. This system was established in accordance with chapter seven of the United Nations' Charter

⁽¹⁸⁾ Ibid pp. 330.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Jordan D. *World Politics in our Time*, USA. 1970 pp. 121-124.

which stated that it will be concerned with "action with respect to threats to peace, breaches of peace and acts of aggression".(20)

Assumptions of Collective Security System:

The idea of collective security rests upon five assumptions that must prove to be correct if the idea is to work out in practice.

These assumptions are:

1. In any armed combat, all nations will agree on which combatant is the aggressor. What's more, they will reach this agreement immediately, since rapid and united action is necessary if aggression is to be brought to a halt before extensive damage is done.
2. All nations are equally interested in stopping aggression from whatever source it comes. Preventing aggression is a value which overrides all other in international relations. Neither friendship nor economic advantage will stand in the way of action against an aggressor.
3. All nations are equally free and able to join in action against an aggressor.
4. The combined power of the collectivity, i.e. of all the nations in the world except the aggressor, will be great enough to overwhelm the aggressor.
5. Knowing that overwhelming power stands ready to be used against it, an aggressor nation will either sheathe its sword or go down in defeat. 21

(20) Frankel P. 209.

(21) Organski A, Collective Security in McWilliam W. *Crisis and continuity in World Politics* (ed) USA 1973 pp. 304-411.

The Collective Security System in Practice:

In examining the historical record of collective security one would notice that the world was never close to developing an effective collective security system. This was because the three historical attempts at collective security, The League of Nations, The United Nations and The Organisation of American States, were not really complete collective security systems.

The League did not meet the required conditions because key powers were not members in it; thus, the basic universality requirement was not met. The United Nations does not meet the conditions because of the veto power which enables any of the permanent members of the Security Council to block the use of collective force. The Organisation of American states also fails to qualify because one of the members of the organization the USA, has sufficient power to successfully resist the combined force of all other member states(22).

III - Disarmament:

Disarmament is another approach to world peace problem. Those who believe in it argue that a world totally free of arms may make war impossible as well as painless. According to this idea one can define disarmament as:

"The reduction or abolition of armaments. It may be unilateral or multilateral; general or local; comprehensive or partial; controlled or uncontrolled; quantitative and qualitative; voluntary or enforced".

(22) Jordan Ibid.

Efforts to achieve complete, or even partial disarmament, still face enormous difficulties. After a long and protracted attempts to achieve complete and general disarmament, it became clear that partial disarmament was the best the world could hope for in the near future. This was not only because of the difficulties to achieve such an objective, but also because of the belief that total disarmament might be undesirable because it would produce great political tension and mutual mistrust. Suspicion of deception and violation would abound, as the assured retaliatory potential of the major powers did not exist. As a result the major powers reversed to the policy of **arms control**. Believers in this method argue that a more realistic way to ease international tension is by the skilful management of arms policy. Thus, arms control has been defined as; **“the restraint internationally exercised upon armaments policy, whether in respect of the level of armaments, their character, development and use”**.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE OBJECTIVES OF STATES IN WORLD POLITICS

States have wide range of objectives. In classifying these objectives there are many methods. One method is to distinguish among military, economic, political and ideological objectives. But we are going to study objectives as divided into three categories, short, middle and long range objectives.

Short Range Objectives:

These objectives are in fact called by some writers as “Core or Essential” values and interests, to which governments and nations commit their very existence, and which must be preserved or extended at all times. These objectives could also be described as those kinds of goals for which most people are willing to make ultimate sacrifices. They usually become the basic principles of foreign policy and articles of faith that societies accept them uncritically⁽¹⁾.

Essential (core) interests and values are usually related to self-preservation of a political unit. They are called short range objectives because other objectives cannot be achieved unless the political units pursuing them maintain their own existence.

Another essential objective of any foreign policy is to ensure defense of the home territory and perpetuate a particular political, social and economic system based on that territory.

(1) Holsti p. 137.

Some governments regard controlling or defending neighbouring territories as an essential objective. This is because they believe that major threats to their own territorial integrity might materialise through adjacent lands.

In the end achievement of favourable strategic frontier has been a traditional short-run policy objective to which states have been willing to commit great resources.(2)

Middle Range Objectives:

There are three types of middle-range objectives. **The first type** of middle range objectives would include the attempts of governments to meet public and private demands and needs through international action. Social welfare and economic development—a primary goal of all governments in our era—cannot be achieved unless states interact with others. To increase social welfare states must cooperate with each other to ensure the flow of trade, foreign aid, access to communications facilities and sources of supply as well as foreign markets.(3)

The second type of middle range objectives is to increase a state prestige in the international system. In the past, as today, this was done primarily through diplomatic ceremonial and displays of military capabilities. But increasingly in our era prestige is measured by levels of industrial development and scientific and technological skills. In fact developing countries usually undertake massive development pro-

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid pp. 139-40.

grammes in order to raise their international prestiges as well as responding to domestic pressures for higher standards of living. Thus development has become one of the great national goals of our time and is sought through committing all national resources.

Industrialised countries and major powers look also to increasing their international prestige through a number of policies and actions, including expansion of military capabilities, distribution of foreign aid, diplomatic ceremonial, industrial and scientific exhibitions and development of nuclear weapons and the capacity to explore outer space.

The third type of middle-range objectives would include the many different forms of self-extension or imperialism, which also means territorial expansion. This objective becomes an end in itself, whether or not it fulfills any strategic, economic, or social needs. This type will be discussed in details later on.

Long-Rang Objectives:

Long-range objectives are those plans, dreams and visions concerning the ultimate political or ideological organisation of the international system, rules governing relations in that system, and the role of specific nations within it. The difference between middle-range and long-range goals relates not only to different time elements inherent in them; there is also a significant difference in scope. In pressing for middle-range goals, states make particular demands against particular states; in pursuing longrange goals states normally make **universal** demands, for their purpose is no less than to

reconstruct an entire international system according to a universal applicable plan or vision. In other words long-range objectives includes the destruction and construction of an established international order, with the hope of creating a new order(4).

Imperialism:

Imperialism, or colonial expansion, denotes the practice, by a country, of acquiring and administering colonies and dependencies after it has achieved national unity and embarked upon commercial or industrial expansion. Thus in its essence it shows the desire to seek additional power. It may also derive from psychological and cultural forces that drive men to seek power, prestige, honour or greatness. But the most dominant motivation of nations seeking territorial expansion is the desire to gain economic advantages, which usually leads to political control, especially in weak and developing countries.

Imperialism, however, does not always mean occupation of foreign territory. It may take the form of seeking advantage, including access to raw materials, markets, and trade routes, which an imperialist state cannot achieve through ordinary trade or diplomacy(5).

Ideological self-extension is also a modern form of imperialism, where agents of a state undertake to promote its own socio-economic-political values abroad (6).

(4) Holsti *ibid.*

(5) Grievess, Fil. ' **Conflict and Order**, USA, 1977, p. 207.

(6) Holsti. p. 141.

The Age of Imperialism:

Although some writers argue that imperialism is as old as human political organisation, one cannot escape the belief that actual imperialism began in the fourteenth century. Imperialism, therefore could be divided into two major periods:

The first period of imperial expansion go back to the time when dynamic states began to develop in Europe and to look outward. The emergence of strong competing governments in England, France, Spain, and Portugal stimulated the "age of discovery". Explorers were followed by settlers, who moved to settle and exploit the new world.

Religion, adventure, and greed were the main factors that motivated European colonisation of the different parts of the world(7). This period of imperial expansion came to an end by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The second period of imperialism could be dated at the late 1800s. Having lost the Americas, the European states turned their attention towards Africa and Asia. As a result many "empires" were created in Europe.

The empires created during this second period were severely shaken by World War I, and after World War II the process of breaking apart which was already under way, proceeded quite rapidly. The main characteristic of this period was the belief of the European states that colonies were essential to the ballance of power system.

7) Grievess pp. 205-206.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEANS OF ACHIEVING OBJECTIVES

1. Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is "the management of international relations by means of negotiation". Through diplomacy, states negotiate military alliances, trade agreements, peace treaties, disarmament, and the establishment of international organizations. Diplomatic success depends as much upon the skill and personality of the diplomat and his understanding of the opponent's ability as it does on his response to promises of rewards or threats of punishment. It also depends upon the flexibility of foreign policy and the range of agreement between negotiators. In short, diplomacy may be described as "the business of communicating between governments".

Formal relationships between sovereign states are effected by the exchange of official diplomatic "missions" composed of ambassadors, ministers, ministers resident, and charges d'affaires. The level of diplomatic representation between two states is a matter upon which both states must agree. Diplomatic officials enjoy certain immunities. They have complete freedom of communication with their home government. On the other hand, they are not permitted to interfere with the internal political processes of the host government.

Diplomatic representatives perform a variety of functions. **First**, they protect and advance the interests of their country.

Second, they gather informations essential to the formulation of foreign policy decisions and evaluate the objectives of other countries and the resources available for meeting them. **Third**, they observe and report events in the country which may be of interest to their government. **Finally**, they provide information and answer questions about their country to the people of the government to which they are accredited.

Prior to World War I diplomacy was mainly secret.

The emergence of open diplomacy in the twentieth century means that the public has come to play a greater role in governmental processes and that public support for major foreign policy decisions is essential.

Diplomacy has increasingly become multilateral. The deliberations of the United Nations, where many nations participate in open discussion of major international problems, is the most visible example.

Another feature of diplomacy is the use of summit conferences attended by heads of state who engage in direct negotiation of international disputes.(8)

2. Propaganda:

By propaganda we generally mean any systematic deliberate attempts to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for public purposes. International propaganda differs from diplomacy that it is directed to the people of other states, its effect on governments is therefore only

(8) See, Van Dyke, *International Politics, USA 1972*, pp. 185-188 And Abcarian and Masannat, pp 336-37.

incidental. Thus international propaganda is a form of verbal intervention in the affairs of other states which was impossible on an extensive scale until the evolution of the modern means of communications, especially the radio(9).

As a result of the revolution in the media of communications the use of propaganda as an instrument of foreign policy has been intensified. The use of information agencies, libraries radio broadcasts, films and newspapers has become universal.

Governments use their cultural attaches abroad to praise their own countries through the use of films, books, slides and lectures. More recently, international fairs, exhibits and sports have been employed by various governments to present favourable images of themselves and their achievements.

In an era in which public opinion can affect diplomacy, propaganda will continue to play an important role in international politics (10).

f. Economic Instruments:

By economic instruments we mean the reliance by states upon economic resources and putting them in the service of foreign policy. This factor gained importance as a result of the fact that modern nations are politically and technologically interdependent, and that they need each others resources and commodities in order to sustain viable economies. Some economic systems are particularly dependent upon external markets and sources of supply and could not func-

(9) Frankel, p. 156-57.

(10) Abcarian and Masannat , pp 2338-39.

tion for more than a few weeks if they were cut off from the rest of the world. Thus such states tend to behave in a way that would keep international markets, as well as sources of materials open to them.

Yet developing countries try to use their possession of rare and raw minerals and materials to wield effective international influence⁽¹¹⁾.

Another important instrument of foreign policy is economic aid. Economic aid, particularly technical assistance, plays a very important role in the policies of the major powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union. Foreign assistance programmes vary from loans and grants to technical and military aid.⁽¹²⁾

4. Military intervention:

State can never remain entirely indifferent to the domestic affairs of other states and occasionally they find it necessary or convenient to interfere in them to obtain their objectives or defend their interests. They are especially prone to do so when they wish to promote social values and ideologies in other countries.

Intervention is extremely broad and loose concept which describes all sorts of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. No precise political definition can be suggested; international lawyers have been concerned mainly with types of cases in which intervention is directed against the government of the country and involves the use of force. Interven-

⁽¹¹⁾ Holsti, pp. 240-41.

⁽¹²⁾ Abcarian and Masannat, p. 339.

tion could therefore be classified according to the amount of force employed and the seriousness of the action, and also according to whether they are undertaken by the superpowers or other states. Thus, intervention is an unfriendly instrument of foreign policy.

Another, and more recent form of intervention is **subversion**. Subversion is more serious, since it involves the use of force, although only by proxy, through others. It denotes the support for any rebellious activity aiming at replacing local government or breaking up the unity of the state⁽¹³⁾.

⁽¹³⁾ Frankel, P. 160.

CHAPTER SIX
THE ROLE OF THE THIRD WORLD IN
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

1. Concept of the Third World:

The concept of the Third World is widely used to differentiate it from the the First World and the Second World. In general when we speak about the First World we refer to Western Europe and the United States. This world is characterised by competitive capitalism. The term The Second World refers to the Soviet Union and the Communist countries. The Third World appears as a new entity, recently emerged from a colonial past, seeking its own path to development. Facing similar development problems, these nations have evolved a sense of common identity and unity of purpose. These new nations, which are scattered in latin America, Asia and Africa, have development as their main objective.

The Third World is in fact more a state of mind than a substantive political unit. Political diversity and differing foreign policies have combined to frustrate sttempts to achieve unity within this World. In general most countries of this World are suffering from overpopulation, hunger, shakey economies, and lack of resources.

Yet in some countries progress has been achieved through development programmes and the wide use of valuable resources (14).

(14) Grievs, pp 202-203.

2. The main characteristics of the new developing political systems:

In the world today there are more than eighty states which are regarded as new ones, generally gaining independence after World War II. These new developing political systems share certain characteristics:

- a. Their formal independence is relatively recent. Most are less than thirty years old.
- b. The government and constitutional structures are new and still evolving.
- c. Many political organisations, such as political parties, have weak organisations and are searching for an effective style of participation in the government.
- d. The per capita income is low and the distribution of technology is limited.
- e. The societies of these countries are predominantly rural, with about 80 percent of the population living in rural areas.
- f. Limited educational opportunities which results in relatively low literacy, often below 50 percent.
- g. Inadequate communication and transportation systems.
- h. Agrarian economy and lack of heavy industry⁽¹⁵⁾.

However, not all of these eighty countries have all of these problems. This is a summary of some characteristics common to most of them.

(15) Winter and Bellows, pp. 339-40. And Abcarian and Masannat, pp. 291-95.

3. The Third World Since 1945:

The colonial empires created during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were severely shaken by World War I. After World War II the process of breaking apart proceeded quite rapidly. The post - World War era was characterised by the spread of national and modernising revolutions throughout the economically developing states of Asia and Africa. Not surprisingly, colonial subjugation had given rise to resentment of foreigner and a new sense of nationalism. The drive for independence and self-government was logical reaction to colonial control. In these circumstances, the new states strove not only for political independence: They also sought to modernize themselves, to become a twentieth-century nations that would possess the national strength and status necessary to give their people a sense of self esteem and to gain the respect of the older nations. The anticolonial revolution was therefore two fold—both a nationalistic and a social revolution. Its aim was to convert the colonised nations into a modern and progressive welfare states.⁽¹⁶⁾

After many confrontations between the newly born nations and the old colonial powers, in which the former were the victorious, international politics began to witness an increasing role of the developing nations. Undoubtedly, the nonalignment movement was the best example of the effective role the new developing countries could play in international politics.

(16) Spanier, J.W., *Games Nations Play*, London 1972, pp. 269-70.

NON-ALIGNMENT

The refusal of the new developing nations to comply with the international bipolar system resulted in the emergence of non-alignment movement.

Ever since their first collective deliberations in Belgrade in 1961, the non-aligned nations have been espousing the cause of change. And through Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo and Havana conferences these nations have effectively influenced the course of events in international relations in favour of economic justice, national independence social progress and World peace.

Though the first conference of non-aligned nations took place in 1961, the idea of non-alignment stirred the minds of statesmen and political thinkers much earlier. In fact immediately after the Second World War and the establishment of the UN the idea of non-alignment began to emerge.

ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

Under the critical international conditions which followed the Second World War the first Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi in March, 1947. This was followed by second conference, at the same venue, in January, 1949. Promoted by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru both conferences denounced imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, demanded early transfer of power to national liberation movements in the colonies in Asia and Africa, called upon the Dutch and

French authorities to withdraw forthwith from Indonesia and Indo-China respectively and lent unqualified support to the Chinese national liberation struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek reactionary clique backed by the imperialists.

An independent voice was heard at the international theatre and the idea of future Non-aligned policy was taking its shape.

AFRO-ASIAN BANDUNG CONFERENCE

Asian and African leaders who felt the imperative need for consolidating and coordinating the struggles of the peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for peaceful co-existence of nations with different political systems, sponsored an Afro-Asian Conference which was held in Bandung (Indonesia) on April 18, 1955, under the patronage of President Sukarno. The Conference, attended among others, by Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai, Indian Prime Minister Jawharlal Nehru and Egyptian President Jamal Abdul Nasser brought the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces of the two continents much closer. The conference incorporated in its Declaration the Chou-Nehru Panchashilla. These five pillars of peaceful co-existences of principles were:

- a. Respect for the fundamental human rights and the purpose and principles of the UN Charter.
- b. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- c. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

- d. Recognition of the equality of all races and the equality of all nations, large and small; and.
- e. Abstention from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force.

In a Declaration on Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation the Conference urged the nations to live together in peace, "Free from mistrust and fear and with confidence and goodwill towards each other".

THE CONFERENCE AND COLONIALISM

The Conference branded colonialism as an evil which should speedily be brought to an end, deplored the policies of racial segregation and discrimination, and declared itself in favour of general disarmament and the prohibition of manufacture, testing, and use of nuclear weapons. The Conference condemned the conclusion of the South East-Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact.

The concept of the future of Non-aligned movement was taking its roots.

POSITIVE NEUTRALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT

The alarming development in international relation between 1950-1960 brought many independent heads together. President Tito of Yugoslavia, President Nasser of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia, and Prime Minister Nehru of India held series of consultations. They agreed that under the existing international conditions marked by acute rivalry between East-West Power blocs, the best course for the newly emerging countries to pursue was an independent foreign policy which would be neutral in form, but positive in content.

The independence of action in foreign affairs would allow them to keep from joining any military alliance. And the positive content of the policy would enjoin upon them to keep alive the Bandung spirit and follow more vigorously the path of struggle against imperialism, colonism, neocolonialism, interference, big Power rivalry and for a lasting peace.

THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

The Non-aligned nations held their first conference in Belgrade in 1961 where only 28 countries and provisional government were represented as full-fledged participants or observers. Since then adherents to the policy have steadily been increasing. The number of the two categories of participants was 77 at the Algiers Summit, and at the Lima Foreign Ministers Conference the number rose to over one hundred including "guests". The number of full-fledged participants alone was 81 at Lima. This situation has added a new dimension to the policy which has now developed into a movement of universal significance. The success of the movement lies in the fact that it has substantially contributed to the relaxation of tension by creating public opinion against the threats of war and division of the world into opposing blocs, strengthened the principle of peaceful co-existence among states regardless of social systems, acted constructively on the maintenance of peace in all crisis situations and initiated a number of measures through the United Nations and its appropriate agencies, with a view to establishing a new international economic order based on justice, equality and self-determination.

The Role of Oil and the Non-Aligned Countries

The oil-exporting countries among the Non-aligned nations effectively applied oil-embargo with a view to isolating the Zionist enemy and her accomplices. Threats held out by the US imperialists to use force to break the boycott failed to cow down the OPEC. The Non-aligned countries backed them unflinchingly at that hour of crisis.

The decision of oil-exporting countries to raise the price of crude oil was the most significant event of the period. This was for the first time that the producers of raw materials exercised their sovereign rights over their produce without submitting to the dictates of international price manipulators. This independence of action of OPEC set an example before other raw material producing countries of the Third World to take appropriate measures for securing fair export price of their primary products. A firm foundation between the members of OPEC and other Third World countries was also laid, when the latter wholeheartedly supported the former of the issue, even against heavy odds.

The Non-Aligned countries and the Palestinian question:

The Algiers Summit lent total support to the cause of the Palestinians. During the post-Algiers period the struggle of the people of Palestine for the restoration of their national rights reached new height. The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was admitted into the UNO as an observer. With the full backing and active cooperation of the Non-aligned and other developing countries the Palestinians succeeded in

isolating 'Israel' and unmasking zionism, The General Assembly of the UN determined zionism as a form of racism. Besides, on bilateral level, a large number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America severed their diplomatic relations with 'Israel'. The Palestinian people's armed struggle, which scored one victory after another during the period, prepared the ground for radically changing the international public opinion for the better. A number of developed nations also supported the initiatives of Non-aligned countries at various stages of Palestinian diplomatic offensive. Thus, the Colombo Conference was in a much better position to draw up a programme of action for the final phase of struggle of the Palestinians.

Iraq for stronger Non-Aligned Movement

On the occasion of the Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Countries which was held in Sri Lanka Iraq proposed that the agenda of the conference should include, in addition to its contents, the following:

"1. The establishment of a general secretariat at a permanent headquarters to be decided by the conference to supervise the progress of the activity of the movement, to pursue its resolutions, recommendations and to preserve and distribute its documents. Iraq also emphasises the establishment of an effective information organ for the movement to undertake the dissemination of its aims among the peoples and developing consciousness among their coming generations.

2. It must be pointed out that Iraq reaffirms the call for encouraging communication between the popular institutions

of the Non-aligned countries such as the labour organisation, student unions, and the intelligentsia, and to enable them to participate actively in promoting solidarity and in creating the widest base for the masses who believe in non-alignment.

3. Iraq attaches great importance on debating the issue considering the Indian Ocean an area of security and peace and the convocation of a conference of the Ocean countries in the near future with the aim of realising this aim.
4. Iraq believes in the necessity of drawing attention to the Arab-Zionist conflict since it is a conflict between the Arab countries and the unholy alliance between zionism and imperialism and since this conflict is now passing through a phase of serious transformation which ultimately contains within its folds sharp repercussions on the movement of non-alignment and its future.
5. Iraq also proposes that the Colombo Conference adopt clear-cut policies backing liberation movements throughout the world so as to enable them to intensify their struggle for freedom and independence.
6. Finally, the conference must give great importance to the economic aspects in the Non-aligned countries. Because of the direct bearing they have on the future of the movement and its effectiveness, Iraq lays stress on the necessity of bolstering economic relations among these countries, enhancing the status of the raw material producing countries in the Third World, and the forma-

tion of a self-propelling force by way of establishing qualitative organisations, similar to OPEC in order to ward off the dangers of imperialist domination and the hegemony of the monopolies and multi-national companies". (17).

The Sixth Summit was held in Havana in 1979, and have witnessed a great successes of the movement. the determination of the Non-aligned countries to score one victory after another against the forces of war and aggression prompted Iraq to offer to host the Seventh Summit Conference in Baghdad in 1982. The forward movement of the Non-aligned nations will certainly further weaken imperialism and all its accomplices and strengthen the forces of peace, justice and progress. (18)

(17) Iraq Today, 15 February 1976.

(18) Iraq Today, Vol. 1, mo. 24 September 1-15 1976

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