

Hans J. Morgenthau

- Power Politics (*Politics Among Nations*, 1948)
 - Human nature is egoistic and selfish
 - Importance of **relative** power
 - Continually increases one's own power and innately seeks power over others
 - The goal of the state in international politics is to maximize power
 - 'International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power,' and 'whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim (Morgenthau 1955, 25)'
 - Continuous competition and conflict for power
 - **Relative** power because of self-interested human nature
 - How about cooperation?
 - Alliance and joint military operations only if they lead to more power at the expense of other states

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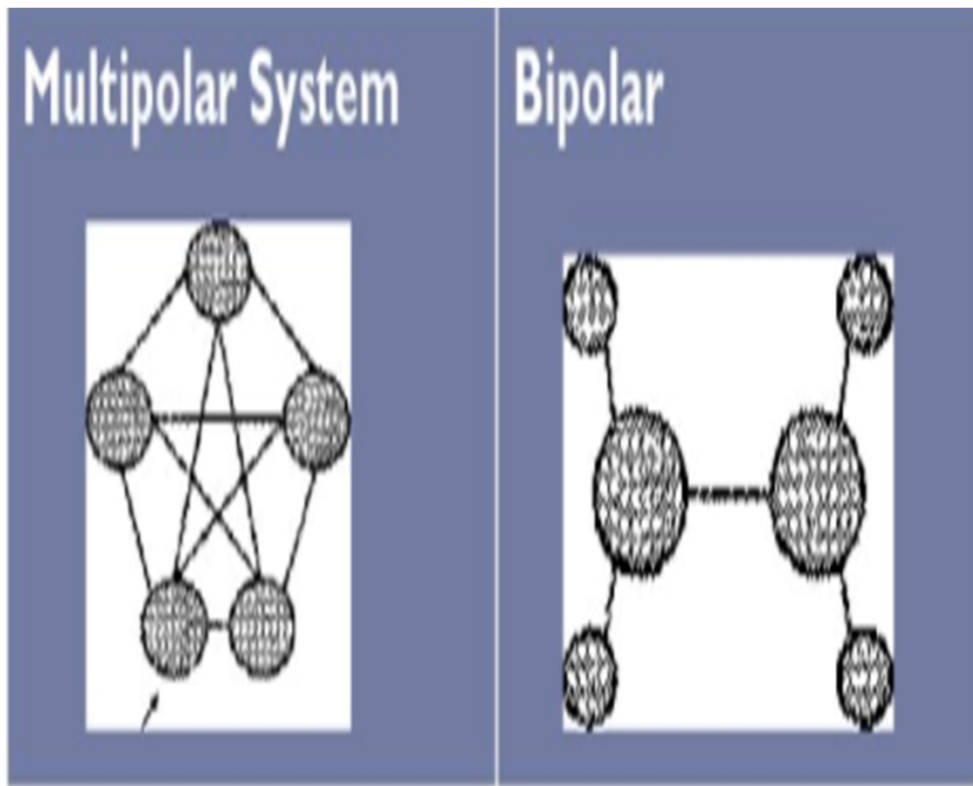
- Security dilemma
 - Everyone's power maximization
 - Counterbalancing against rising power and influence
 - Rising power becomes not powerful
- Foreign policy recommendation: Balance of Power
 - Mechanisms for maintaining an equilibrium of power so that no state or coalition of states overwhelms other states and dominates world politics
 - US vs. SU during the Cold War

Neorealism/Structural Realism

Kenneth Waltz

- 3 elements of the structure of the international system to explain International Politics (*Theory of International Politics*, 1979)
 - Organizational principles
 - Hierarchy: each member having different ranks and degrees of authority
 - Basis of domestic politics
 - Anarchy: each member having equal ranks and degrees of authority
 - Decentralized realm of International Politics
 - Differentiation (different status) of individual unit
 - Sovereign state: Unit level variation is insignificant because states are fundamentally similar
 - Distribution of (major states') power
 - The number of major states: change over time
- ➔ The distribution of power among units (states) is an important factor in understanding key international outcomes such as war and peace, alliance politics

Distribution of Power in International System



- **Multipolarity**
 - Three or more states or groups of states have equal power and influence
 - E.g.: UK, France, Russia, US during Interwar period
- **Bipolarity**
 - Two major states or groups of states have equal power and influence
 - E.g.: US (Western bloc) – SU (Eastern bloc) during Cold War

Distribution of Power and Peace/Stability

- Which system is better for stability and peace?

(1) Bipolarity and stability

- Polarity and uncertainty
 - Under bipolarity, uncertainty is minimal: higher clarity and easier to control
 - Lower the possibility of misjudgment and miscalculation
- Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer

(2) Multipolarity and stability

- Polarity, uncertainty and caution
 - Uncertainty leads states to make cautious decision
- Karl Deutsch and J. David Singer

Defensive Realism

- Neorealists view of power
 - The ultimate concern of states is not more power, but more security.
 - States seek to maximize security
- How much power do states need for security?

(1) Waltz's Defensive Realism

- Power maximization can trigger a counterbalancing coalition of states
- States seek power as long as it does not jeopardize security
- General tendency of seeking maintenance of the status quo

Offensive Realism

(2) Mearsheimer's Offensive Realism

- Under anarchy, rational states can never be certain about the intentions of other states
- All states possess some offensive military capability
- Constant fear leading to desire to maximize relative power
- The ideal way is to be the global hegemon of the international system

States in the international system aim to maximize their relative power positions over other states. The reason is simple: the greater the military advantage one state has over other states, the more secure it is (Mearsheimer 1994-5, pp. 11-12)

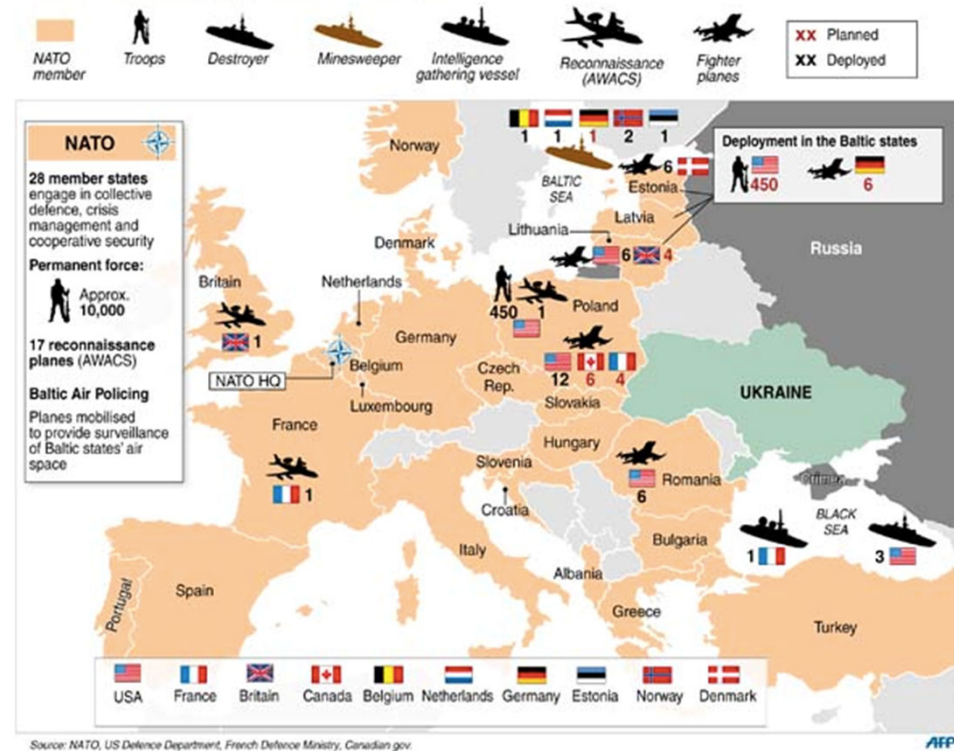


Offensive Realism and Russia-Ukraine Situation



Offensive Realism and Russia-Ukraine Situation

NATO force deployment in Europe



Neorealism Summary

- Anarchic international system
 - Anarchy: no authority that can enforce rules and agreements between states
 - States are under self-help situation
 - Relative power is important

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- Under anarchy, international organization and law are fluid and weak
 - The UN under an anarchic international system
 - Two main bodies: General assembly vs. Security council
 - Example: Russia-Ukraine situation in 2022

UN and Russia-Ukraine Situation

30 September 2022 | **Peace and Security**

Russia on Friday vetoed a Security Council resolution which described its attempts to unlawfully annex four regions of Ukraine earlier in the day with a formal ceremony in Moscow, as “a threat to international peace and security”, demanding that the decision be immediately and unconditionally reversed.

The draft resolution, circulated by the United States and Albania, was supported by ten of the fifteen members of the Council, with Russia voting against it. Four members abstained, Brazil, China, Gabon and India.

The draft described the so-called referendums held by Russia in the four regions of Ukraine which Moscow now regards as sovereign territory – Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhya – as illegal and an attempt to modify Ukraine’s internationally recognized borders.

Withdraw now

It called on all States, international organisations, and agencies not to recognize the Russian annexation declaration, and called on Russia to “immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw all of its military forces” from Ukrainian territory.

UN and Russia-Ukraine Situation

12 October 2022 | [Peace and Security](#)

The UN General Assembly passed a resolution by a large majority on Wednesday, calling on countries not to recognise the four regions of Ukraine which Russia has claimed, following so-called referendums held late last month, and demanding that Moscow reverse course on its "attempted illegal annexation".

The results were 143 Member States in favour, with five voting against, and 35 abstentions. The countries who voted against were Belarus, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Nicaragua, Russia and Syria.

A majority of those countries abstaining were African nations, alongside China and India.

The resolution "defending the principles" of the [UN Charter](#), notes that the regions of Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia are temporarily occupied by Russia as a result of aggression, violating Ukraine's territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence.

The General Assembly automatically took up the resolution for debate, triggered by Russia's use of the veto in the [Security Council](#) over its attempted annexation.



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BREAKING

The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution that condemns [#Russia's](#) "illegal so-called referendums" in

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- Power determines a state's foreign policy
 - Determined by its place in the international system's structure
 - Less influenced by individual decision makers

Criticism of Realism

- Realism's statism
 - New developments in international politics after the Cold War
 - Increasing importance of non-state actors, such as non-governmental organizations and terrorist groups
- Neorealism's security focus
 - No explanation for non-security issues
 - Growing significance of non-security issues (e.g., environment, human rights, growth gap between the rich and the poor)
- Morgenthau and Waltz and peaceful end of the Cold War
 - End of the Cold War = Shift in the balance of power
 - With the change in polarity, no war