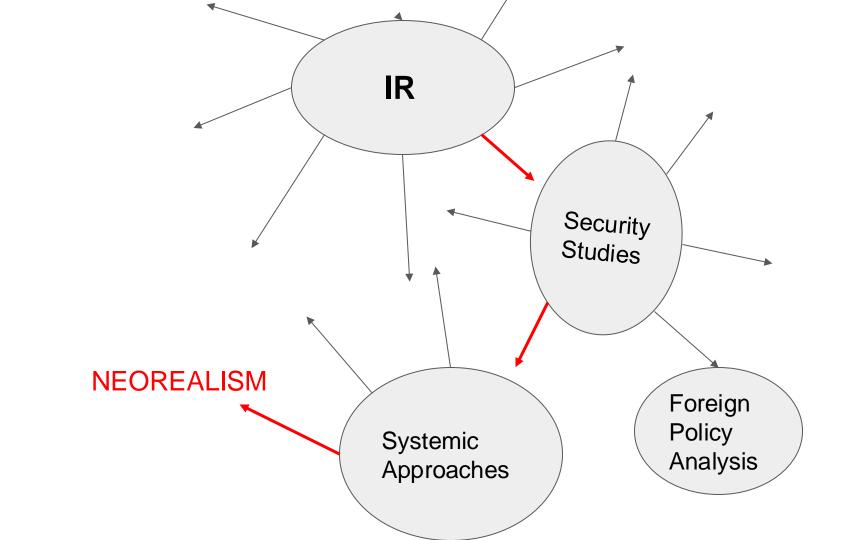
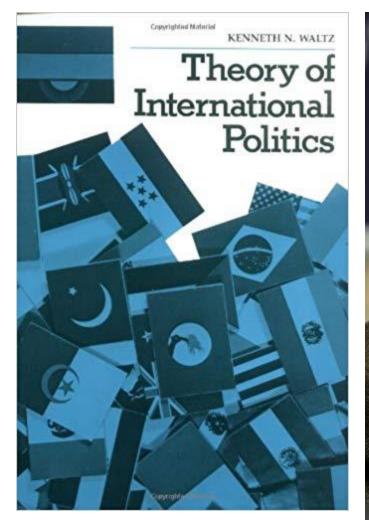
Neorealism & International Security







Why does the international system reproduce itself?

- Why does the international system reproduce itself?
- Why does war persist despite the advancement of human civilization?

- Why does the international system reproduce itself?
- Why does war persist despite the advancement of human civilization?
- Why does the foreign policy of many states remain relatively constant over time?

- Why does the international system reproduce itself?
- Why does war persist despite the advancement of human civilization?
- Why does the foreign policy of many states remain relatively constant over time?
- Why don't states cooperate more even though they would economically benefit from it?

How does Neorealism seek to explain this?

 By focussing on the international system as the key explanatory factor, NOT human nature or political conditions inside states

How does Neorealism seek to explain this?

- By focussing on the international system as the key explanatory factor, NOT human nature or political conditions inside states
- **Aim:** to explain the particular (state behaviour) with reference to the general (the international system) rather than vice versa.

How does Neorealism seek to explain this?

- By focussing on the international system as the key explanatory factor, NOT human nature or political conditions inside states
- **Aim:** to explain the particular (state behaviour) with reference to the general (the international system) rather than vice versa.
- Its systemic focus makes Neorealism seductively elegant and parsimonious, but also highly abstract and difficult to understand.

Why is it important to study Neorealism?

Because many subsequent theoretical strands are either an elaboration of Neorealism or an attempt to refute it.

However, in many textbooks Neorealism is somewhat caricatured.

Neorealist core assumptions

The international system consists of <u>states</u> whose primary aim is <u>survival</u>.

Neorealist core assumptions

- The international system consists of <u>states</u> whose primary aim is <u>survival</u>.
- States live in <u>international anarchy</u>, defined as the absence of overarching coercive authority.

Neorealist core assumptions

- The international system consists of <u>states</u> whose primary aim is <u>survival</u>.
- States live in <u>international anarchy</u>, defined as the absence of overarching coercive authority.
- State survival is thus a matter of <u>self-help</u>. There are no guarantees because there is no guarantor.

Claim 1: Anarchy limits cooperation and interdependence among states

1) because states fear that dependence on other states could be exploited.

Claim 1: Anarchy limits cooperation and interdependence among states

- 1) because states fear that dependence on other states could be exploited.
- 2) because states fear that other states will cheat.

Claim 1: Anarchy limits cooperation and interdependence among states

- 1) because states fear that dependence on other states could be exploited.
- 2) because states fear that other states will cheat.
- 3) because states fear becoming weaker **relative** to other states (even if cooperation would benefit them in absolute terms)

Claim 2: Anarchy creates security dilemmas among states

States cannot confidently interpret one another's intentions.
 Therefore they arm themselves for (mostly) defensive purposes.

Claim 2: Anarchy creates security dilemmas among states

- States cannot confidently interpret one another's intentions.
 Therefore they arm themselves for (mostly) defensive purposes.
- **But:** the more states arm themselves, the **less secure** they collectively become.

Claim 2: Anarchy creates security dilemmas among states

- States cannot confidently interpret one another's intentions.
 Therefore they arm themselves for (mostly) defensive purposes.
- **But:** the more states arm themselves, the **less secure** they collectively become.
- Aggravating factor: small risks incurred by "trusting too much" become large risks in the long run and endanger states' survival.

Why can't states collectively disarm?

Because international anarchy means that there is no guarantee that others won't cheat.

Claim 3: Anarchy causes states to counterbalance one another's power to protect their relative position

- Power is counterbalanced (individually and/or through alliances).
 Current examples: US vs. China; Arab states vs. Iran; NATO vs. Russia, etc.
 - Balance configurations oscillate between bipolar (e.g. Cold War) and multipolar (e.g. the present).
 - Bipolar balances tend to be more stable.

Claim 4: Anarchy causes states to fill power vacuums to protect their relative position

Examples: foreign involvement in civil wars (e.g. Syria, Libya, Yemen, Somalia, Iraq, etc.).

For some Neorealists, even colonialism was based on this logic. The "scramble for Africa" was less about Africa itself than about the relative position of European colonial powers vis-à-vis one another.

Neorealist "advice" to states:

 be mindful of your relative position in the international system and of shifting balances of power;

Neorealist "advice" to states:

- be mindful of yourrelative position in the international system and of shifting balances of power;
- deter aggression (on your own or through alliances) but do not appear gratuitously threatening to other states as this could provoke counterbalancing (e.g. NATO expansion possibly provoking Russia)

Neorealist "advice" to states:

- be mindful of your relative position in the international system and of shifting balances of power;
- deter aggression (on your own or through alliances) but do not appear gratuitously threatening to other states as this could trigger counterbalancing (e.g. NATO expansion possibly provoking Russia)
- ensure that your objectives do not exceed your capabilities

Overall Outcome:

 The international system reproduces itself <u>unintentionally</u>, because those states that know how to "play the game" survive. Failed states either disappear or have their power reduced (Iraq, Nazi Germany, Soviet Union).

Overall Outcome:

- The international system reproduces itself <u>unintentionally</u>, because those states that know how to "play the game" survive. Failed states either disappear or have their power reduced (Iraq, Nazi Germany, Soviet Union).
- This operates as a kind of Darwinian selection mechanism.
 Even tiny states can survive if they <u>adapt to their relative</u> <u>position</u> (e.g. Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino).

Overall Outcome:

- The international system reproduces itself <u>unintentionally</u>, because those states that know how to "play the game" survive. Failed states either disappear or have their power reduced (Iraq, Nazi Germany, Soviet Union).
- This operates as a kind of Darwinian selection mechanism.
 Even tiny states can survive if they <u>adapt to their relative</u> <u>position</u> (e.g. Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino).
- The internal makeup of states is important to understand particular cases, but not the overall workings of the international system.

Questions and Criticisms:

 States do not always act the "neorealist way" (but this is built into the theory). Neorealism is NOT a theory of foreign policy making.

Questions and Criticisms:

• States do not always act the "neorealist way" (but this is built into the theory). Necrealism is NOT a theory of foreign policy making.

- States do not always act the "neorealist way" (but this is built into the theory). Necrealism is NOT a theory of foreign policy making.
- Neorealism does not take enough variables on board.
 However, it is *meant* to be parsimonious.

- States do not always act the "neorealist way" (but this is built into the theory).
 Porcealism is NOT a theory of foreign policy making
- Neorealism does not take enough variables on board (but it is meant to be parsimonious).

- States do not always act the "neorealist way" (but this is built into the theory).
 Procealism is NOT a theory of foreign policy making
- Neorealism does not take enough variables on board (it is meant to be parsimonious).
- Relative power calculations only seem to matter if there is rough parity to begin with

- States do not always act the "neorealist way" (but this is built into the theory).
 Perealism is NOT a theory of foreign policy making
- Neorealism does not take enough variables on board (it is meant to be parsimonious).
- Relative power calculations only seem to matter if there is rough parity to begin with

• Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?

• Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?

- Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?
- Empirically it may be hard to sustain: why did the Cold War end? How to explain the EU?

- Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?
- Empirically it may be hard to sustain: why did the Cold War end? How to explain the EU and the democratic peare?

- Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?
- Empirically it may be hard to sustain: why did the cold War end? How to explain the EU and the democratic peace?
- If international structure determines the behaviour of states, why not their INTERNAL structure?

- Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?
- Empirically it may be hard to sustain: why did the Cold War end? How to explain the EU and the democratic peace?
- If international structure determines the behaviour of states,
 why not their INTERNAL structure?

- Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?
- Empirically it may be hard to sustain: why did the Cold War end? How to explain the EU and the democratic peace?
- If international structure determines the behaviour of states, why not their INTERNAL structure?
- Neorealism excludes the possibility of systemic change. Only unit-level change could bring about system change, but the units (states) are themselves the product of the system.

- Is survival really the absolute priority of states? Why not the survival of state **leaders** instead?
- Empirically it may be hard to sustain: why did the Cold War end? How to explain the EU and the democratic peace?
- If international structure determines the behaviour of states, why not their INTERNAL structure?
- Neorealism excludes the possibility of systemic change. Only unit-level change could bring about system change, but the units (states) are themselves the product of the system.