https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100016919 Published online by Cambridge University Press

WORLD POLITICS

Vol. XXIX · April 1977 · No. 3

CONTENTS

The Individual, the State, and Ethnic Communities in Political Theory	Vernon Van Dyke	343
Problems in the Management and Resolution of International Conflicts	Charles Lockhart	37º
Deterrence in 1939	Alan Alexandroff and Richard Rosecrance	404
Research Note		
The Promise of the World Order Modelling Movement	Harold D. Lasswell	425
Review Articles		
Rawls' Theory of Justice: Domestic and International Perspectives	Robert Amdur	438
The Study of European Political Development	Peter H. Merkl	462
Trends on Terror: The Analysis of Political Violence	J. Bowyer Bell	47 ⁶
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii
Notice to Our Readers: 30th Anniversar	y Issue	vi

THE CONTRIBUTORS

VERNON VAN DYKE is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Iowa. His current research focuses on the requirement of the United Nations Charter that members shall promote human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. He is the author of Human Rights, the United States, and World Community (1970).

CHARLES LOCKHART is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Texas Christian University. He is currently working on a manuscript on bargaining in international conflicts.

ALAN ALEXANDROFF is principal Research Associate of the Situational Analysis Project and a Fellow of the Center for International Studies, Cornell University. He has written on power and balance of power in international relations, and patterns of interdependence among industrial countries.

RICHARD ROSECRANCE is Walter S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of International and Comparative Politics and Director of the Situational Analysis Project, Cornell University. He has written widely on international theoretical and strategic topics. His most recent books are: *International Relations: Peace or War?* (1973) and, as editor, *America as an Ordinary Country: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Future* (1976).

HAROLD D. LASSWELL is Ford Foundation Professor Emeritus of Law and Social Sciences at the Yale University Law School, and Co-Chairman of the Policy Sciences Center, New York City. His most recent publications have centered on the theory and practice of policy sciences, and the international law of human rights (with Myres S. McDougal and Lung-chu Chen).

ROBERT AMDUR is Assistant Professor of Social Studies at Harvard University.

PETER H. MERKL is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author of German Foreign Policies, West and East (1974), Political Violence Under the Swastika: 581 Early Nazis (1975) and, with Dieter Raabe, Die konservative Demokratie: Politische Soziologie der U.S.A. (1977).

J. Bowyer Bell is a Senior Research Associate at the Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University. His most recent books are On Revolt: Strategies of National Liberation (1976), and Terror Out of Zion: Irgun, LEHI and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949 (1976). He is currently working on a study to be called "The Democratic Response to Terrorism."

ABSTRACTS

THE INDIVIDUAL, THE STATE, AND ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN POLITICAL THEORY

By V. VAN DYKE

Liberal political theory and contemporary expositions of human rights focus largely on the individual. Some liberal theorists even deny that ethnic communities and other groups, as collective entities, can have moral rights at all. The outlook is narrow and unfortunate. It reflects a preoccupation with domestic politics and a model of domestic politics that neglects the common fact of heterogeneity. It ignores widespread practices and urgent problems, for in many countries groups identified by race, language, or religion make moral claims, and their claims are sometimes conceded. It ignores the common view that nations or "peoples" have a (moral) right of self-determination, and it even leaves the state itself without justification. If theory is to give adequate guidance, its focus must be broadened. The question of group rights needs to be explored, and interrelationships between the rights of individuals, of groups, and of the state need to be clarified.

PROBLEMS IN THE MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

By C. LOCKHART

Discussion of the independent nature of four problems in the management and resolution of international conflicts fills a gap, since these distinct problems are often considered to be a single undifferentiated subject area. The first problem is the existence of multiple conflict structures (patterns of capabilities and interests): different structures follow differing patterns of development. The second problem concerns difficulties in statesmen's abilities to discern accurately the structure and thus the dynamics of the conflict episodes they confront. The third problem involves the strategy requirements of different conflict structures, and the fourth the discrepancies between statesmen's strategy preferences and the requirements of different conflict structures. Increased intellectual recognition of these distinct issues might help to reduce the severity of international conflicts by reducing misperception and inappropriate actions based on misperception. But statesmen would still face problems in gaining domestic political support for their intellectual understanding of international conflicts.

DETERRENCE IN 1939

By A. ALEXANDROFF and R. ROSECRANCE

Rather than a case where deterrence was not tried, 1939 is a case where deterrence failed. As such, it has important implications for deterrence theory. Mutual deterrence must operate on roughly the same time perceptions. Britain felt impelled to deter Germany after Prague, but could offer only a long-term deterrent. Germany's short term appeared so favorable that the long-term uncertainties posed by Britain and France failed to restrain her. The experience of 1939 also underlines the importance of political factors, particularly realignment in mutual deterrence. The Russo-German Pact tipped the balance toward war. In the contemporary setting, calculations of time perspectives between the Soviet Union and the United States are important for mutual deterrence, especially in Europe. Changes in the Sino-Soviet split hold further implications for contemporary deterrence.

The Military and Politics in Modern Times

On Professionals, Praetorians, and Revolutionary Soldiers

Amos Perimutter

A major contribution to our understanding of the role of the military in politics that offers an historical, comparative, and theoretical analysis covering close to fifty modern states on four continents over a time span of 200 years.

"A major work of interpretation and synthesis. It should constitute a scholarly landmark in the development of the literature in civil-military relations."

—Samuel P. Huntington \$15.00

Preparing for the Next War

American Plans for Postwar Defense, 1941-45

Michael S. Sherry

"Michael Sherry has written an important and illuminating study, the first of its kind about American military planning during World War II and its implications for postwar military policy. Sherry's extensive work in federal archives roots his book in incomparable data, but his ease of prose permits him to wear his learning lightly. Those interested in military affairs, amateurs and professionals alike, will find Sherry's book engaging as well as instructive."

—John Morton Blum \$12.50

Yale University Press

New Haven and London



New from Princeton . . . UNDERSTANDING

RAWLS

A Reconstruction and Critique of A Theory of Justice ROBERT PAUL WOLFF

"This is the first sustained and systematic commentary on Rawls's important and much-discussed book. Anyone overwhelmed by the complexity of Rawls's book will find this short exegesis and critique of very great value."—Kurt Baier, University of Pittsburgh

Since its publication in 1971, John Rawls's A Theory of Justice has been the subject of lively debate among philosophers, economists, and political scientists. In this book, Robert Paul Wolff provides an interpretation and critique of Rawls's theory that both clarifies it and reveals its basic flaws.

Cloth, \$13.50 • Paper, \$3.95

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

Princeton, New Jersey 08540

THE PROMISE OF THE WORLD ORDER MODELLING MOVEMENT

By H. D. LASSWELL

Although the World Order Models Project (WOMP) has issued valuable publications, perhaps the most important feature is the process by which the project was organized and carried out. It can be viewed as a first step in a movement dedicated to the reorientation of global values and institutions. A preferred public order in an interdependent world requires voluntary attention control among the participants in globe-encircling networks. The prospects of a preferred world are improved by stepping into the future with subjectivities in harmony with the value goals of human dignity. Subjectivities must be exposed to the continuing discipline of a modelling process that is at once contextual and problem-oriented, and occasions a cooperative experience of thinking, feeling, and acting.

Rawls' Theory of Justice: Domestic and International Perspectives By R. AMDUR

In A Theory of Justice, John Rawls seeks to derive principles of justice from the agreement of rational, hypothetical individuals, each concerned to further his own interests. From a carefully defined initial situation of choice, Rawls derives two basic principles: one demanding equal liberties for all, the other permitting inequalities in wealth and authority only when they serve to maximize the expectations of those who are left worst off. This article explores the political and social implications of Rawls' theory. It is argued (τ) that the theory requires a constitutional democracy, offering very strong protection to political and intellectual liberties; and (2) that it also requires a highly egalitarian distribution of wealth and income. Although Rawls does not discuss international distributive justice, there are good reasons for concluding that his distributive principles ought to apply globally.

THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

By P. H. MERKL

The evolution of theories of political development has gone full circle with its current "return to Europe" and to history. Scholars are once more examining the early state-building process and especially the extractive and repressive activities of its military, bureaucratic, and taxation systems. A geographical and historical model of the timing of state formation in Europe since 1500 reveals situations and necessities that explain much of the history of various European states. The changing dynamics of collective action and violence since 1830, moreover, reflect the underlying transformation of society and organizational life. But it is still too early to attempt an exhaustive synthesis of the different theories of crisis and political change.

TRENDS ON TERROR: THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

By J. B. BELL

Both the public and the academic response to terrorism has been ahistorical, exaggerated, and closely associated with congenial political postures; moreover, the academic perspective is conditioned by the nature of individual philosophy. The books under review examine the subject from several points of view, in which the conventional means of social scientists have been wielded to mixed advantage. Since there are no agreed definitions, no accepted limits to the subject, and no very effective academic approach, the situation seems unlikely to improve dramatically in the near future.

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Thirtieth Anniversary Issue

October 1978 will mark the 30th anniversary of the initial appearance of WORLD POLITICS. Through the years, the study of international relations and national development has evolved in a series of changing emphases on conceptual approaches, subject matter, and analytical techniques. The editors believe that the 30th anniversary of the journal provides an appropriate opportunity to encourage an evaluation of the themes and methods developed over the past generation, and in particular a discussion of those that seem most promising for the years ahead. They therefore would like to mark this occasion by devoting all or part of an issue to papers concerned with a critique of and the outlook for research trends in international relations and national development.

The editors have chosen to open the proposed anniversary issue to all prospective contributors rather than to commission papers for this purpose. They invite the submission of manuscripts that focus on broad retrospective and prospective views of the study of world politics. Papers received in response to this invitation will be given priority, but must conform to our regular rules and will be handled under normal editorial procedures. Manuscripts submitted for the anniversary issue should be so marked; they should be received before October 1, 1977, and should preferably be no longer than 10,000 words, including footnotes.