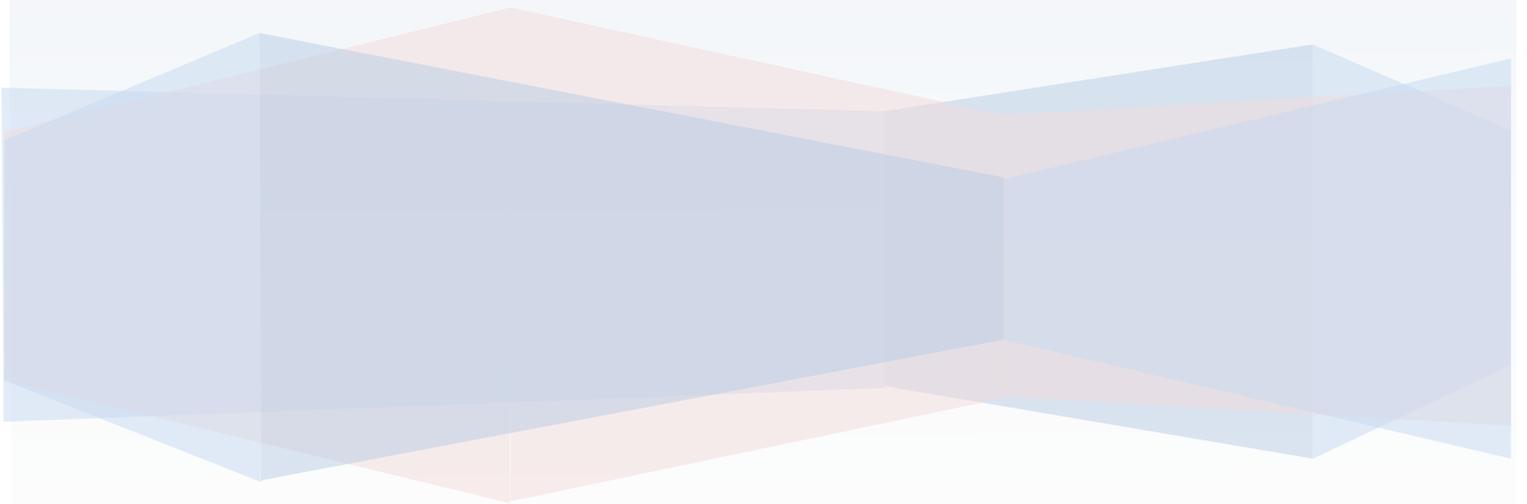


# Statecraft Lecture Outlines



## **LECTURE OUTLINES**

**A NOTE TO PROFESSORS:** These lecture outlines cover topics that are commonly included in international relations and global politics courses. They provide suggestions for how the instructor can use examples from students' experiences in Statecraft to illuminate key concepts and theories. These outlines also include numerous discussion questions, which can be used for (a) class discussion, (b) small group discussion, or (c) paper assignments. All references to Statecraft in the following lecture outlines are in **red type**.

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## Lecture #1: Dominant Theoretical Perspectives: Realism vs. Idealism/Liberalism

### 1) Realism

- a) Dominant approach among scholars/practitioners; has faced increasing challenges in recent years
- b) Claims to deal with world “as it is” rather than as one would wish it to be (“idealists”)
- c) Key thinkers: Thucydides, Machiavelli, Morgenthau, Kissinger, Waltz
- d) International system as anarchic “self-help” system
  - i) **The Statecraft world fits the realist definition of anarchy and countries must grapple with anarchy’s effects:**
    - (1) no world government/enforcer to protect one state from another, stop attacks on Sapphire Island, enforce compliance with treaties, etc.
    - (2) the professor could intervene, theoretically, but takes a hands-off approach and allows bad things to happen.
    - (3) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): in what ways has anarchy affected your behavior or made things difficult in Statecraft? Have you been able to (at least partially) overcome the effects of anarchy? How?*
- e) States as primary actors
- f) States focus on maximizing power and/or security, placing interests above morality
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): which countries in Statecraft have acted most like realists in terms of their priorities and strategies? Give specific examples of this telling behavior/rhetoric.*
- g) Pessimism about cooperation, IGOs, and international law; guard state sovereignty against supranational authority
- h) Emphasis on state-to-state relations over domestic conditions within foreign countries
- i) Classical realism (more focus on human nature as cause of conflict) vs. Neorealism (emphasis on structure of international system)
- j) Balance of power vs. balance of threat theories; balancing vs. bandwagoning
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): which countries (if any) in Statecraft have emerged as rising powers due to growing economic and/or military capabilities? How have other countries responded? Balancing through alliances or military buildups? Bandwagoning for security or profit? Why have you chosen these strategies? Do you find yourself balancing more against power capabilities or the combination of power and perceived hostile intentions (threat)?*
- k) **In Statecraft the “Nationalist” domestic faction often makes realist arguments**
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): what messages have you received from the nationalists that articulate realist themes? What actions of your government were they praising or criticizing?*

## 2) Idealism/Liberalism

- a) Primary competitor to realism
- b) Has intellectual roots in enlightenment optimism
- c) Key thinkers: Immanuel Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Bruce Russett, Joseph Nye
- d) More optimistic about achieving peace and cooperation among states
  - i) Commercial liberalism: trade leads to peace/cooperation
    - (1) Realist counterpoint: interdependence is rarely equal—usually one country is more dependent on the other, which creates leverage
    - (2) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): Have trade ties led to greater interdependence, cooperation and peace in your Statecraft world? Or have these ties produced asymmetric dependence and exploitation? Give specific examples and explain precisely HOW trade has produced these outcomes.*
  - ii) Democratic liberalism: democracy leads to peace/cooperation
    - (1) Realist counterpoint: domestic structure less important than international systemic incentives
  - iii) Institutional liberalism: institutions promote peace/cooperation
    - (1) Realist counterpoint: IGOs simply reflect the balance of power among states and don't have an independent impact
    - (2) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): Have IGOs in your Statecraft world facilitated cooperation by increasing transparency, reducing transaction costs, etc.? Give specific examples. If not, explain why they haven't been effective. Do the most powerful states dominate IGOs, as realists predict?*
- e) Views international system less as anarchy, more as society of interdependent states
- f) Not only IGOs, but also norms and international law can shape states' behavior
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): What norms have developed in your Statecraft world? How did they originate? Has anyone violated them?*
- g) Values/morality important—not just states' interests
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): which countries in Statecraft have acted most like idealists in terms of their priorities and strategies? Give specific examples of this telling behavior/rhetoric.*
- h) Emphasis not only on state-to-state relations, but on conditions within other countries (e.g., poverty, human rights, disease, environment)
- i) Envisions greater role for nonstate actors
- j) *In Statecraft the Civil Libertarian, Socialist, and Environmentalist domestic factions frequently make idealist arguments*
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): what messages have you received from the civil libertarians, socialists, or environmentalists that articulate idealist themes? What actions of your government were they praising or criticizing?*

## Lecture #2: Alternative Theoretical Perspectives: Constructivism, Marxism, Feminist Theory, & Critical Theory

### 1) Constructivism

- a) Growing in influence as alternative to the dominant realist paradigm
- b) Applies sociological concepts to the study of IR
- c) Actors' identities and goals are socially constructed and reinforced through their interactions
  - i) *Statecraft is in some ways an ideal laboratory for exploring the claims of constructivism: states begin with a fairly "blank slate" on Turn 1 and begin to develop identities, interests, goals, and norms as they interact.*
  - ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): how have your interactions with other states led to the construction or reinforcement of identities and interests? Are actors' identities and interests in the real world less malleable? Why or why not?*
- d) Shared norms govern actors' relationships
  - i) Examples: non-use of WMD, prohibition of slavery, genocide, etc.
  - ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): what norms have developed in your Statecraft world? How did these develop? Have these served as powerful constraints or have some states violated them?*
- e) Wendt's critique of realism: "Anarchy is what states make of it"
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): what have you "made of" anarchy in your Statecraft world? How does this compare to the way states have defined or dealt with anarchy in the real world? What accounts for any differences?*

### 2) Marxism

- a) Important perspective, but popularity has declined since fall of communism in FSU/Eastern Europe and apparent success of market model among "Asian tigers," etc.
- b) Key actors include social classes, MNCs, and transnational elites (states are tools of these elites and cogs in the capitalist system—not independent entities)
- c) Assumes capitalism contains seeds of its own destruction
  - i) *Industrial development in Statecraft may harm workers and the environment, prompting domestic political unrest.*
  - ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): How have your country's efforts at industrial development led to discontent from the socialist and environmentalist factions? How do these events parallel the claims of Marxists?*
- d) Material economic conditions determine outcomes (reductionism?)
- e) World system is stratified: core vs. periphery, dependency theory
  - i) *By turn 4 or 5 of Statecraft, differences in countries' management and acquisition of resources (gold, food, steel, SK, oil) usually lead to dramatic differences in wealth: the world is divided into a core vs. a periphery as the wealthy states begin to exercise disproportionate influence and attempt to exploit the periphery (often provoking a backlash).*

- ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): Which countries in Statecraft represent the wealthy, developed “core” and which are part of the periphery? Describe relations between the core and periphery: is there an element of exploitation, and how have the exploited actors responded? Give examples.*
- f) Both empirical and normative: describes the capitalist world system, then critiques it
- g) Imperialism as highest stage of capitalism (Lenin) and cause of war among capitalist powers
  - i) In Statecraft, the desire for more resources (gold, food, steel, SK, and oil) will sometimes prompt stronger countries to attack weaker ones (or Sapphire Island).
  - ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): why do the rules of Statecraft make it tempting to attack Sapphire Island or weaker countries to seize their resources? Do what degree are these rules replicated in real world politics?*
  - iii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): how might competition over resources lead to war among the most advanced, wealthy countries in Statecraft?*
- h) In Statecraft, the domestic factions “capitalists” and “socialists” will send messages to governments making free-market and Marxist arguments, respectively.
  - i) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): what messages have you received from the capitalist and socialist factions that articulate or critique Marxist ideas? What specific actions of your government were they praising or criticizing?*

### 3) Feminist Theory

- a) Assumes gender matters
- b) Points out that major IR theorists and practitioners (among the great powers) have tended to be white, male, and European/American
  - i) Are their theories/observations objective, unbiased science, or have their experiences shaped their ideas?
  - ii) Example: realism
- c) Can we identify stereotypically “masculine” and “feminine” values?
  - i) Examples: power, domination, cooperation, communication, interdependence
  - ii) Which values dominate IR, and what are the consequences?
    - (1) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): Do stereotypically “masculine” or “feminine” values dominate in Statecraft, and what are the consequences? Be specific.*
- d) Difference Feminism: men and women are different
  - i) Statecraft provides a good opportunity to observe the different approaches of men and women decision-makers (frequently there are clear differences)
  - ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): how do men and women behave differently in Statecraft? Can you identify gender differences in approaches to conflict resolution, styles of communication, or decision-making methods both within your country and cross-nationally? If so, what explains these differences?*
- e) Liberal Feminism: men and women are equal
  - i) Statecraft provides an opportunity to examine the thesis that upon reaching the pinnacle of power, men and women behave equally assertively and competitively.

- ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): focusing on Chief Decision Makers only (presidents, Kings/Queens, etc.) do you find that women behave just as aggressively and competitively as their male counterparts? If so, what explains these similarities?*
- f) Feminist scholarship focuses on marginalized groups more broadly

#### 4) Critical Theory/Postmodernism

- a) Non-positivist view of reality (contrast with positivism)
- b) “Deconstructs” basic concepts to reveal multiple realities/interpretations
  - i) Examples: sovereignty, the state
- c) Reveals that no one is truly unbiased; we all have “blindness”
  - i) *Statecraft reveals how hawks vs. doves, U.S. vs. international students, men vs. women, members of powerful vs. weak countries, etc., may bring different belief systems to the table which are often unexamined but have clearly observable consequences for their perceptions and behavior in the simulation.*
  - ii) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): Give an example of how different individuals in Statecraft have had very different views of the same situation. Can these different perceptions be traced to different backgrounds, experiences, and ideologies (e.g., cultural, gender, conservative/liberal, or hawk/dove differences)? What are the implications for real world politics and for our ability to describe IR objectively?*
- d) Unmasks underlying power relationships
  - i) Example: hegemonic stability theory promoted by American scholars
  - ii) Example: dependency theory articulated by third world scholars
  - iii) *Statecraft reveals how powerful actors often construct self-serving interpretations of events that perpetuate and justify their positions. This is particularly the case with regard to slavery in Orion, imperialism against Sapphire Island, and whether the OLF are terrorists or freedom-fighters.*
  - iv) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): What kinds of self-serving interpretations have certain countries in Statecraft constructed to justify slavery in Orion, terrorist acts by the OLF, imperialism against the Amaru people on Sapphire Island, or other actions? What alternative narratives have been advanced by other countries? How do these conflicting narratives correlate with countries’ power positions and interests?*

## Lecture #3: Levels of Analysis in International Relations

### 1) Political scientists use levels of analysis to categorize causes in IR

### 2) Example of categorizing causes: why did the Titanic sink? Possible causes:

- a) Ocean-level causes: iceberg, fog/storms
- b) Ship-level causes: structural weakness, weak engines, ineffective rudders
- c) Individual-level causes: sleepy/distracted lookouts, risk-taking captain

### 3) Most IR scholars use 3 levels of analysis: individual, state, and system

#### a) Individual level

- i) Types of causes: leaders' perceptions, calculations, beliefs, personalities
- ii) Representative theories: prospect theory, image theory, operational codes
- iii) *Statecraft illustrates the importance of individual-level factors in shaping states' behavior:*
  - (1) countries whose members score more hawkish on initial survey (used to assign students to countries) behave more aggressively
  - (2) individual leaders' perceptions of other states' intentions and capabilities (even if flawed) influence international interactions
  - (3) decision-making biases frequently shape states' behavior (see lecture on decision-making biases)
- iv) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): To what extent are international relations in Statecraft affected by individual leaders' beliefs, perceptions, and personalities? Provide examples.*

#### b) State level

- i) Types of causes: institutions, interest groups, public opinion, bureaucracies
- ii) Representative theories: democratic peace theory, bureaucratic politics model
- iii) *Statecraft illustrates the importance of state-level factors in shaping states' behavior:*
  - (1) Government structure matters:
    - (a) democracies and constitutional monarchies must appease domestic opposition; military dictatorships and communist totalitarian regimes may use force to suppress domestic opposition
    - (b) different regime types yield different bonuses and penalties with implications for IR (e.g., democracies have advantages in education and research but must enact the draft to mobilize large armies quickly)
  - (2) Domestic factions' approval of the government determines how much political capital governments have to spend on domestic and international programs
  - (3) Six different domestic factions (intellectuals, capitalists, socialists, environmentalists, civil libertarians, and nationalists) make demands that force states to consider tradeoffs between domestic and international priorities and may constrain foreign policy options
- iv) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): how have domestic factions' demands constrained your foreign policy choices in Statecraft? Is this an accurate depiction of the real-world influence of domestic politics on IR? Why or why not?*

v) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): how has your regime type in Statecraft affected your behavior toward other countries? Is this an accurate depiction of the real-world influence of regime type on states' behavior? Why or why not?*

c) International system level

i) Types of causes: anarchy, balance of power, IGOs, norms, economic stratification

ii) Representative theories: neorealism, world systems theory

iii) Statecraft illustrates how system-level factors may shape states' behavior:

(1) Anarchy frequently leads students to experience the security dilemma, problems of credible commitment, and problems with trust and cooperation

(2) The international distribution of wealth/military power in Statecraft imposes constraints and provides opportunities for different countries

(3) IGOs frequently facilitate cooperation and norms may constrain states' self-interested behavior

iv) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): how have system-level factors including anarchy, power distributions, norms, and IGOs imposed constraints on your country's foreign policy behavior (or provided opportunities)? How well do you think this approximates the influence of system-level factors in the real world? Explain.*

**4) Is one level of analysis superior?**

a) *Discussion question (if far enough along in simulation): Do factors at one level of analysis seem particularly important in shaping outcomes in Statecraft? Or are factors at multiple levels equally important? Provide examples to support your argument. Do you think this is an accurate depiction of the relative power of these factors in real world politics? Why or why not?*

b) Many scholars' research focuses on a single level

c) Some scholars argue that one level is superior

d) Most scholars believe that all levels are important and interact to produce outcomes

## Lecture #4: Anarchy, the Security Dilemma, and Problems of Credible Commitment

### 1) Realists emphasize anarchy and two problems that flow from it: the security dilemma and problems of credible commitment

- a) Idealist/liberal counterpoint: anarchy isn't as constraining as realists insist, thus the resulting problems aren't as common, serious, or insurmountable as realists contend

### 2) Anarchy

- a) Definition: not chaos or disorder, but the lack of a world government above sovereign states
  - i) The world of Statecraft fits this definition, so countries must grapple with the effects of anarchy on cooperation, trust, and security, and explore how anarchy can be overcome
    - (1) *Discussion question: in what ways has anarchy affected your behavior or made things difficult in Statecraft? Have you been able to (at least partially) overcome the effects of anarchy? How?*
- b) Implications of anarchy:
  - i) Self-help system: no world police
    - (1) Doesn't imply no consequences for aggressors/cheaters, but sovereign states must choose to impose these consequences
      - (a) Example: anti-Iraq coalition after Saddam's invasion of Kuwait
      - (b) In Statecraft, countries that invade Sapphire Island and cost everyone the global peace award often face a coalition of countries seeking to punish them and prevent them from becoming a hegemonic power
  - ii) Enforcement of international agreements & UN resolutions is often frustrated by state sovereignty and conflicting interests
    - (a) *Discussion question: have you had difficulty (or do you anticipate difficulty) enforcing international agreements in Statecraft? What specific challenges can you identify, and how do these relate to the realist conception of anarchy?*
    - (b) In Statecraft, collective security agreements to respond to aggression with sanctions or military retaliation are often not enforced because countries decide it is in their security or economic interests to bandwagon with the aggressor or look the other way.
    - (c) States can lose political capital in Statecraft if they are condemned by the UN, if their leaders are indicted by the ICC, or if they break a treaty, but all of these sanctions require approval by sovereign states (which can be "bought off" or otherwise convinced not to take action)
  - iii) Cooperation and trust are difficult: no global enforcer exists to ensure states abide by treaties, and states must "assume the worst"—focusing on others' capabilities rather than intentions

### 3) The Security Dilemma

- a) Definition: steps countries take to make themselves more secure can actually make them less secure in the long run
- b) Examples: arms races (Cold War?), missile defense, alliance formation

- i) *Discussion question: have you experienced the security dilemma in the simulation thus far? If so, describe the context. If not, why do you think you have avoided it?*
  - ii) Arms buildups in Statecraft are visible to any country that runs the (relatively cheap) spy missions to acquire this information. Students often experience the security dilemma as they find their own military buildup is provoking fear and animosity in others, or as they feel threatened by a neighboring country's arms buildup.
  - iii) One country's construction of a missile defense in Statecraft may provoke fear in others as they realize this country can strike without suffering retaliation in kind
  - iv) Alliances in Statecraft also often illustrate the security dilemma: countries form alliances for defensive (or perhaps offensive) purposes, and other countries typically view this pooling of resources and military might as threatening, generally provoking counter-balancing.
- c) A result of anarchy because states must respond to capabilities rather than intentions
- i) Offense/defense balance and ease of distinguishing offensive from defensive weaponry will affect the severity of the dilemma (Jervis)
    - (1) *Discussion question: in Statecraft, does offense or defense have the advantage? Are offensive weapons clearly distinguishable from defensive ones? What are the implications for the security dilemma in this simulation?*
    - (2) Answer: in Statecraft, defense has a slight advantage based on the way combat is calculated (defending ground units—particularly in difficult terrain—receive a combat bonus and attacking ground units receive a penalty). But offensive and defensive weapons are not clearly distinguishable:
      - (a) There are some weapons that are only defensive (land mines, AA systems, city walls/fortresses)
      - (b) But to really be secure in Statecraft, countries will need to build weaponry that has both offensive and defensive uses: army divisions, submarines, bombers, jet fighters, etc.

#### 4) **Problems of Credible Commitment**

- a) Definition: the difficulty states (and other actors) have in credibly (believably) promising to do something that might not be in their interests.
- b) Examples:
  - i) Government facing rebels promises not to seek retribution if rebels disarm
  - ii) Israeli-Palestinian conflict: Israel promises not to reoccupy Palestinian territories if Palestinians accept restrictions on size of armed forces
  - iii) In both of these cases, the stronger actor's promise is not credible to the weaker
- c) Problem driven by anarchy because there is no higher authority above states that can enforce agreements and prevent states from acting in their self-interests
- d) *Credible commitment problems occur frequently in Statecraft, such as when:*
  - i) Country A asks Country B to provide half the resources to build the National Railroad Big Project, which doubles gold output, and promises to give Country B 50% of its gold output each turn. But Country A can stop providing this aid at any point.
  - ii) Country A invades Country B and promises to stop the attack if certain concessions are granted; but there is nothing to stop Country A from pocketing the concessions and continuing the attack.

- e) *Discussion question: Give an example of how you have experienced problems of credible commitment in Statecraft. In this case, why wasn't the commitment believable? What could be done (or have you done) to overcome this problem?*
- f) Possible solution: have a powerful outside actor that has an *interest* in protecting the weaker actor guarantee the weaker actor's security.
  - i) The stronger power becomes the enforcer an anarchic system lacks
  - ii) The strong power's commitment to intervene is believable given its interests

## Lecture #5: Deterrence, Compellence, and Mutual Assured Destruction

### 1) Deterrence

- a) Definition: using threats to prevent an actor from taking an undesired action
- b) Takes the form: “Don’t do X, or else...”
  - i) X is the undesired behavior
  - ii) “or else” is the threatened punishment
- c) Conventional Deterrence:
  - i) Example: Operation Desert Shield (buildup of U.S. forces in attempt to deter Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia)
  - ii) In Statecraft, individual countries and coalitions often attempt to deter undesired behavior, such as an invasion of Sapphire Island, by threatening sanctions (refusal to trade resources or technologies) or military punishment.
  - iii) *Discussion question: how have countries in your Statecraft world used the strategy of conventional (non-nuclear) deterrence? Provide specific examples of successful and unsuccessful deterrence attempts, if available. What conditions appear to lead to deterrence success or failure? (Either cite actual events in Statecraft or speculate about these factors if you haven’t observed them).*
- d) Nuclear Deterrence: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)
  - i) Critical to Cold War era security strategy, still applies today among some nuclear states (e.g., U.S. and Russia)
  - ii) Assumes minimal level of rationality
  - iii) Destabilizing nature of first-strike capabilities
  - iv) Importance of survivable second-strike capabilities
  - v) Impact of missile defense on MAD
    - (1) The Big Project Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in Statecraft provides immunity to ballistic missile attack, which makes MAD no longer mutual and may prompt aggressive behavior by the project’s owner.
  - vi) Students understand MAD in a very vivid and personal way when they recognize that their cities (and all they have built and worked for in the simulation) are vulnerable to destruction by nuclear-armed opponents and the only defense they have—absent a highly effective missile defense—is to threaten the annihilation of these opponents in return.
  - vii) *Discussion question: have countries developed nuclear weapons in your Statecraft world? If so, how has the presence of these weapons affected countries’ calculations and behavior? How have you sought to protect your country from nuclear annihilation? Does the presence of nuclear weapons make Statecraft more stable or less stable? Do nuclear weapons have this same effect in the real world?*
- e) Limits of deterrence:
  - i) Non-state actors with no defined territory?
    - (1) At one point in the simulation, the Orion Liberation Front (OLF) declares that it has acquired a nuclear weapon and threatens to use it against the country that is occupying the Orion Mountains. (This is actually a “bluff”—the OLF has no such

weapon—but it forces students to think about the challenges of deterring non-state actors).

*(2) Discussion question (use after the OLF has made its nuclear threats): is there any way to deter General Drax and the OLF from using a nuclear weapon? Do you think they would actually do it? Why or why not? Is there any way to deter terrorist organizations that have no territory to hold under threat? What are the implications for dealing with such actors in the real world?*

- ii) Actors with apocalyptic goals/insensitivity to cost manipulations?
- iii) Rigid/inappropriate organizational routines undermining rationality? (Sagan)

## 2) Compellence

- a) Definition: using threats to change an actor's behavior
- b) Takes the form: "Do X, or else..."
  - i) X is the desired behavior
  - ii) "or else" is the threatened punishment (could also involve positive inducements: "Do X, and then you'll receive reward Y...")
  - iii) NOTE: some use the word compellence to mean *action* to change behavior (not just threats)—but it is here defined as coercive diplomacy
- c) Examples:
  - i) 1991 U.N. Security Council deadline for Iraq to pull out of Kuwait
  - ii) President Bush's 2003 Iraq ultimatum (Saddam & sons must leave in 48 hours)
- d) **In Statecraft countries will often use compellence (employing either threats or positive inducements) in order to:**
  - i) Try to reverse aggression (particularly after a country has captured Sapphire Island)
  - ii) Try to get terrorist-harboring countries to shut down OLF or Typhoon Pirate bases
- e) *Discussion question: how have countries in your Statecraft world used the strategy of compellence? Provide specific examples of successful and unsuccessful compellence attempts, if available. What conditions appear to lead to compellence success or failure? (Either cite actual events in Statecraft or speculate about these factors if you haven't observed them).*

## 3) Making an Incredible Threat Credible

- a) Successful deterrence and compellence both require a credible (believable) threat. The target actor must believe that you have the capability and the willingness to inflict the threatened punishment if they fail to comply.
- b) But some threats are inherently not credible
  - i) Example: "massive retaliation" (nuclear retaliation against USSR for conventional invasion of Western Europe)
- c) Strategies for making incredible threats credible:
  - i) Strategically self-imposed constraints ("tying your hands")
    - (1) Example: game of chicken: throwing steering wheel out the window
    - (2) Example: political leaders going public with threats/promises and creating audience costs for backing down (e.g., JFK's public threat of nuclear retaliation against the USSR during the Cuban Missile Crisis)
  - ii) "Rocking the boat": starting a chain of events that might spiral out of control, thereby raising the stakes and frightening the opponent into backing down

- (1) Example: U.S. naval quarantine of Cuba during Cuban Missile Crisis
- iii) Bringing in other actors who do have credibility (e.g., solution to credible commitment problem discussed in previous lecture)
- d) Often students do not apply the techniques of deterrence and compellence very effectively in Statecraft (for example, by not making their threats credible, or sufficiently clear to the opponent), but these failures serve as opportunities to learn how the strategies of deterrence and compellence are correctly (and incorrectly) employed.
- e) *Discussion question: have you had difficulty making your threats or promises credible when dealing with other countries in Statecraft? Give examples. What types of threats or promises are particularly credible and incredible? How have you (or might you) overcome these credibility problems?*

## Lecture #6: Just War Theory

### 1) Introduction

- a) Body of thought developed by philosophers & theologians over centuries
  - i) Key thinkers: St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Hugo Grotius, Michael Walzer
- b) Distinct from pacifism (assumes war can be justified under some circumstances)

### 2) Purposes: to provide guidance on

- a) When war is justified
- b) How one can fight in a just way

### 3) Jus ad bellum (justice of war)

- a) Focuses on decision to go to war
- b) Key principles:
  - i) Just cause (self-defense, defending allies, punishing aggressors, stopping genocide)
  - ii) Right intention (not self-aggrandizement)
  - iii) Last resort
  - iv) Legitimate authority
    - (1) Originally meant “sovereigns” (kings)
    - (2) Increasingly refers to democratic governments or even the UN
  - v) Reasonable chance of success
  - vi) Proportionality (more good than evil must be expected to result)
- c) Because wars in Statecraft include real consequences (e.g., loss of 5-point “global peace award” for one’s classmates, destroying infrastructure that others have worked hard to build, betraying friends/allies, etc.) students often face ethical dilemmas about what justifies a decision to go to war
  - i) Some students will shrug off these dilemmas and say “it’s just a game, anything goes.”
  - ii) But most students won’t agree and will (a) attempt to have some justification for using force against others, and (b) critique uses of force that seem unjust. Frequently the principles of just cause, right intention, last resort, and proportionality are central to students’ decision-making and evaluation of others’ actions (whether articulated or not)
- d) *Discussion question: is Statecraft “just a game” in which anything goes, or should students adhere to some basic ethical practices such as honesty and not harming others since their classmates’ grades may be affected by what happens in the simulation? Justify your position.*
- e) *Discussion question (to be asked of those who started a war): were you guided by any of the principles of just war theory in launching this war? (Then ask everyone): Could this war be justified according to these principles? Why or why not?*

### 4) Jus in bello (justice in war)

- a) Focuses on the conduct of the war
- b) Key Principles
  - i) Discrimination (between civilians and combatants)

- (1) What about “unlawful enemy combatants” who don’t play by the rules or identify themselves as combatants? (Geneva conventions and additional protocol I)
- ii) Proportionality (e.g., not responding to a limited conventional attack by launching an annihilating nuclear strike)
- c) *Discussion question (to be asked after a war has broken out): have countries in your Statecraft world adhered to the principle of proportionality in the way they have carried out warfare? Give examples.*

## Lecture #7: Models of the Foreign Policy Making Process

### 1) Introduction

- a) Different models of how foreign policy is made have been proposed
- b) Graham Allison famously applied 3 models to the Cuban Missile Crisis in the classic work *Essence of Decision*
- c) Each model brings certain elements into focus and obscures others (like a set of lenses)
- d) Subsequent work has elaborated and critiqued these 3 models, but they are a good starting point for understanding foreign policy making

### 2) Model I: Rational Actor

- a) States as unitary, rational actors
- b) The national interest drives foreign policy behavior
- c) Important in realist theory and rational choice models
- d) Most widely used method among media/public for explaining countries' actions
  - i) In *Statecraft*, students will find themselves interpreting foreign countries' behavior as intentional, centralized, and directed toward the national interest
    - (1) this bias toward assuming centralized direction and intentionality even when it is absent and/or events are random is a common psychological blind spot (Jervis)
    - (2) *Discussion question: have you experienced cases in which you assumed a foreign country's behavior was intentional, well planned, and directed by the chief decision-maker, only to find out later that this was not the case? Describe what occurred. Why do you think you made this incorrect assumption?*
- e) Oversimplification?
  - i) Critics: yes, empirically flawed and can be very misleading
    - (1) In *Statecraft*, as students encounter a range of domestic factions and face disagreement among different officials (e.g., Sec. State vs. Sec. Defense) over policies, they will see that their own country is not a unitary actor but a complex entity made up of competing factions and interests.
  - ii) Proponents: "As if" model with predictive accuracy
    - (1) Despite learning that countries in *Statecraft* are not literally unitary actors, students typically find that in spite of internal differences many countries (perhaps even their own) will pursue coherent plans in pursuit of core national goals, as the rational actor model predicts.
    - iii) *Discussion question: in what ways have countries in your Statecraft world behaved as unitary, rational actors? In what ways have they not? Give specific examples. What does this suggest about the strengths and weaknesses of the rational actor model for analyzing and predicting countries' behavior?*

### 3) Model II: Organizational Process

- a) Organizations play key roles throughout policymaking process:
  - i) Gathering/analyzing info: CIA & other intelligence agencies
  - ii) Developing options: State, Defense, NSC
  - iii) Implementing decisions: same organizations

- b) To control large numbers of people, organizations need standard operating procedures (SOPs)
  - i) SOPs can promote efficient and effective responses
  - ii) SOPs can be unduly rigid and inappropriate for the situation
    - (1) Example: nuclear SOPs nearly resulting in nuclear accidents/war (Sagan)
- c) Organizations' SOPs and routines can undermine rationality at the state level and diverge from national interest
  - i) Orgs aren't following coherent, integrated national strategy but are "mindlessly" executing routines
  - ii) Contradicts Model I
  - iii) Examples: Soviet rocket forces and infantry had SOPs that revealed their presence on Cuba when Khrushchev wanted their activities kept secret
- d) This model is not directly illustrated in the current simulation design, but SOPs will be integrated into future versions, so that leaders will find their organizations (e.g., the army) responding to events with actions—such as provocative military exercises—not explicitly authorized or intended by the leaders.

#### 4) Model III: Bureaucratic Politics

- a) Foreign policy actions result from a "political game" played by actors who differ in:
  - i) Goals/interests
    - (1) Different officials in a Statecraft country will have different goals, due either to their organizational interests (see below) or personal preferences
  - ii) Power
    - (1) Different officials in a Statecraft country vary in power:
      - (a) The chief decision-maker (president, king, etc.) has the final say in all matters, though he/she can be replaced if a majority of the country's leaders so choose
      - (b) The chief decision-maker can give his/her decision key (a code) to any trusted official, and that person can act with presidential authority.
- b) Presidential power is the power to persuade (Neustadt): Presidents can't just command; they must cajole, bargain, etc.
  - i) Because chief decision-makers in Statecraft are powerful but—due to the impeachment/coup power of their subordinates—not unconstrained (the same situation real world leaders face), the leader must persuade and bargain with the cabinet to get things done
- c) "Where you stand depends on where you sit": parochial interests
  - i) Example: recurring State Dept. vs. Defense Dept. clashes
  - ii) This usually plays out very vividly in Statecraft:
    - (1) Leaders of different bureaucracies will take on the personality of their bureaucracy for two reasons:
      - (a) Students with different personalities/interests tend to choose different positions (e.g., strategic thinkers with military interests will be Sec. Def. and extroverts with an appreciation for diplomacy will be Sec. State)
      - (b) The natural activities of each role will mold officials so they are seeing things from the perspective of their bureaucracy (e.g., Sec. Defense/DNI will want to use more force or covert ops, while Sec. State will want to use diplomacy, Domestic Affairs Adviser will want to focus on domestic needs, etc.)



## **Lecture #8: Foreign Policy Decision Making, Part I: Leaders' Beliefs and Personal Characteristics**

### **1) Introduction**

- a) Models that focus on regime types, power distributions, and other structural forces identify important causal factors in IR
- b) But individual human beings (particularly elite decision-makers such as presidents, prime ministers, kings, and dictators) can sometimes have an important impact on foreign policy and IR:
  - i) Leaders' beliefs and personalities may affect policy
  - ii) Psychological biases that affect all humans will affect these key decision-makers and may shape outcomes in IR (misperceptions, groupthink, etc.)
- c) *Discussion question: describe one situation in Statecraft in which you felt compelled by the situation to act a certain way, and one situation in which you seemed to have considerable decision latitude. What was different about these situations? What are the real world parallels?*

### **2) Conditions under which leaders' beliefs/personalities are more likely to influence foreign policy:**

- a) Leader has an interest/expertise in foreign policy (Bush 41 vs. Clinton)
- b) Dramatic means of assuming power
- c) Ambiguous external situation (leaders must define the situation and in the absence of compelling evidence they rely on their preconceptions to do so)
  - i) *Discussion question: Describe a situation you faced in Statecraft that was ambiguous (perhaps another country's or coalition's intentions were unclear or the likely outcome of events was in doubt). How did you reach a conclusion about the nature of the situation and the appropriate response? Why are leaders' belief systems likely to be particularly important in such situations?*
- d) Crisis situations (short decision time, high threat, surprise): decision-making authority contracts upward to a small group of leaders
  - i) *Discussion question: Describe a crisis situation that you faced in Statecraft (it must meet all three conditions of a crisis: high threat, short decision time, and surprise). How was your decision-making process different (if at all) in this situation as opposed to non-crisis situations? Would this "crisis-induced process" be likely to produce better or worse decisions than the normal process?*
- e) Greater institutional authority over foreign policy (e.g., presidential vs. parliamentary systems)
- f) Foreign policy bureaucracy is less developed

### **3) Types of beliefs and personal characteristics that may affect foreign policy decision-making:**

- a) Operational codes (Holsti, Walker)
  - i) Philosophical beliefs: the nature of world politics and character of one's adversaries
  - ii) Instrumental beliefs: which policy instruments and approaches are most effective

- iii) *Discussion question: how did world leaders in Statecraft differ in terms of their beliefs about appropriate policy instruments and the conflictual vs. cooperative nature of world politics? How were these different “operational codes” reflected in policy choices?*
- b) Images (Herrmann)
  - i) 3 dimensions: threat/opportunity, relative power, relative culture
  - ii) Resulting images: ally, enemy, colony, degenerate, imperial, barbarian, rogue
  - iii) Each image is associated with a specific “script” of likely policy actions
  - iv) *Discussion question: Identify the images you held of specific countries in Statecraft (possible options: ally, enemy, colony, degenerate, imperial, barbarian, and rogue). How did these images lead to specific policy actions toward those countries?*
- c) Problem representations (Sylvan)
  - i) Ontology (world view) shapes problem representation, which in turn determines which options are generated as viable
- d) Conceptual/integrative complexity (Hermann, Tetlock, Suedfeld)
  - i) Affects openness to information and deliberativeness
- e) Locus of control
  - i) Affects risk-taking propensity
- f) Motives: need for power, achievement, affiliation
  - i) Affect reliance on cooperative vs. competitive strategies, arms control, use of force, etc.
- g) Orientation toward constraints (Keller): “constraint challengers” vs. “constraint respecters”
  - i) *Discussion question: did the chief decision-maker in your country dominate the decision-making process and refuse to listen to opposition, or did he/she exhibit a more inclusive, participatory decision-making process? To what extent can this behavior be attributed to the leader’s personality as opposed to situational factors? Did the exhibited decision style depend on the issue under consideration? Explain.*

## Lecture #9: Foreign Policy Decision Making, Part II: Decision-Making Biases

### 1) Introduction

- a) Research in psychology has shown that humans are limited information processors with a range of blind spots (many of them predictable and recurring)
- b) Political psychologists have applied these findings to foreign policy decision-making and shown that key psychological biases affect outcomes in IR
  - i) Classic example: Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*
- c) Statecraft is a great laboratory for demonstrating these psychological biases, since it requires students to estimate probabilities, interpret others' behavior, and engage in causal reasoning (all areas in which biases commonly appear). Students routinely report falling victim to groupthink, attribution biases, mirror imaging, and other biases.

### 2) Group decision-making biases

- a) Groupthink
  - i) Irving Janis' classic study of foreign policy fiascos (Bay of Pigs, Vietnam, etc.)
  - ii) Groupthink frequently occurs in Statecraft, affecting small groups of students that meet regularly, such as:
    - (1) Cabinets of single countries
    - (2) All countries' UN representatives
    - (3) The defensive secretaries, DNIs, and presidents from a coalition of three countries
  - iii) Definition: excessive concurrence seeking (highest priority is achieving/maintaining group consensus and good relations, not reaching best possible decision)
  - iv) Symptoms
    - (1) Overestimation of group power/morality
      - (a) Students in collegial, insulated groups routinely assume they are the "good guys" and have unrealistic expectations about accomplishing lofty goals such as world domination
    - (2) Closed-mindedness (incomplete survey of information, options, and risks/consequences)
      - (a) A common indicator of groupthink in Statecraft, with predictably bad consequences for countries' foreign policies
    - (3) Pressures toward uniformity
      - (a) Students who stand up to the apparent group consensus are often either shouted down or otherwise made to feel that dissent is illegitimate
    - (4) Discussion question: have you experienced groupthink in the simulation? If not, how do you think you have avoided it? If so, what symptoms have you noticed (overestimation of group power/morality, incomplete survey of information, options, and risks, pressures toward uniformity)? Give specific examples.
  - v) Causes
    - (1) Collegiality
      - (a) Students often report not voicing dissenting opinions so as not to "rock the boat" and upset the positive feelings and good relationships within their group
    - (2) Insulation

- (a) Countries and coalitions (particularly those with aggressive plans) often isolate themselves from other countries, meeting in a different room or outside of class time altogether
  - (3) No tradition of impartial leadership
    - (a) Overbearing chief decision-makers in Statecraft often say “here’s what we are going to do” and intimidate group members into silent conformity rather than listening to a range of views and encouraging discussion.
  - (4) Lack of clear decision-making methods
  - (5) *Discussion question: If you have experienced groupthink in Statecraft, what role did collegiality, insulation, overbearing and partial leadership, and a lack of clear decision-making methods play in causing this decision “pathology”? Provide specific examples. If you avoided groupthink, how did your group’s attributes and decision processes help you avoid it?*
- b) Group polarization/choice shift
- i) Can occur in groups with shared values/preferences
    - (1) Frequently occurs in Statecraft since students are placed in countries with those who share similar foreign policy attitudes (militarily assertive vs. cooperative/pacifist)
  - ii) Group chooses more extreme option than any individual would have chosen
    - (1) Examples: risk-taking, racial/sexual prejudice, juries’ punitive damage rewards
    - (2) Statecraft examples:
      - (a) Countries made up of pacifists, who would individually prefer to build one or two army divisions, may end up building none at all
      - (b) Countries composed of militarily assertive students often pursue more aggressive actions than any individual would have preferred
  - iii) Likely mechanisms: diffusion of responsibility, social desirability, increased number of persuasive arguments
  - iv) *Discussion question: has your group experienced a choice shift, arriving at a more extreme option than any individual would have chosen? If so, describe the individuals’ initial inclinations and how the group decision was different. What do you think explains this shift? Describe your thinking as you deliberated with your group and moved from your initial position to a more extreme one.*

### 3) Individual decision-making biases

- a) Prospect theory
  - i) Challenge to rational choice theory
  - ii) Predicts people will be:
    - (1) Risk-averse in the domain of gains
    - (2) Risk-seeking in the domain of losses
  - iii) A person’s reference point (determining which domain they are in) is thus crucial
  - iv) “Endowment effect” helps explain these findings: people value what they possess more than an equally attractive alternative
  - v) Implications for IR:
    - (1) Leaders will take greater risks to protect current resources than gain new ones

- (a) Students whose countries have lost (or expect to lose) territory or resources in Statecraft often pursue risky strategies for forestalling or reversing these losses, including military actions that have a low likelihood of success.
  - (b) *Discussion question: describe a time in the simulation when you lost (or expected to lose) territory, resources, prestige, or something else of value. How did you respond, and why? Did this response indicate a willingness to take risks you might not otherwise have taken?*
- (2) Equal trades are unattractive; bias toward status quo in negotiations (e.g., Israeli-Palestinian conflict)
- (a) Students are sometimes unwilling to make what an objective observer (the professor or neutral countries) would consider an equal trade, perhaps due to the endowment effect.
  - (b) *Discussion question: have countries in your Statecraft world ever reached a deadlock in negotiations over some issue? What were the issues involved, and why was it so hard for the two sides to reach agreement?*
  - (c) *Discussion question: In trading technologies or resources, has your country (or your trade partners) asked for what you would consider an unequal trade? Give examples. What do you think motivated these demands, and what was the response to these offers?*
- b) Mirror-imaging
- i) Definition: the common human tendency to assume that other actors share one's:
    - (1) Values
    - (2) Perceptions
    - (3) Cost-benefit calculations
  - ii) A major cause of intelligence failures and strategic surprise:
    - (1) Often a stronger country/coalition believes an attack by a weaker side would be irrational and assumes the weaker party shares this view (rendering them unprepared)
      - (a) Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor
      - (b) Chinese intervention in Korea
      - (c) Egyptian/Syrian attack on Israel in Yom Kippur War
      - (d) Saddam Hussein's refusal to pull out of Kuwait in 1990/91
  - iii) Students frequently engage in mirror-imaging in Statecraft:
    - (1) Peace-loving countries (made up of students scoring low on military assertiveness on the initial survey) assume everyone wants peace
    - (2) More manipulative leaders assume other countries' actions are driven by equally deceptive and Machiavellian motives
    - (3) Often times mirror imaging in Statecraft (as in the real world) leads to catastrophic outcomes.
    - (4) *Discussion question: Describe a case in which you or other members of your country engaged in mirror imaging during the simulation and wrongly assumed that others shared your values, perceptions, or calculations. What were the consequences? How might you have avoided mirror imaging, and what are the implications for real world decision-makers?*

c) Attribution biases

- i) Psychologists have identified several different types of attribution biases. Two are especially relevant for IR:
  - (1) *Actor-observer bias*: people tend to attribute others' behavior to their disposition (internal character) but attribute their own behavior to situational pressures
    - (a) May lead decision-makers to attribute overly hostile intentions to other states
  - (2) *Different attributions depending on whether the foreign actor is friend or foe*:
    - (a) Positive act by ally: dispositional attribution ("they are a good friend")
    - (b) Negative act by ally: situational attribution ("they were forced to do it")
    - (c) Positive act by enemy: situational attribution ("they were compelled to do it")
    - (d) Negative act by enemy: dispositional attribution ("they are an evil country")
    - (e) These patterns may blind one to a potential overture from an enemy or warning signs in an ally's behavior
- ii) Students experience both types of attribution biases in Statecraft. After the simulation is over students often admit that countries they decided early on were "shady" were forever stuck in that category:
  - (1) any negative act was viewed as confirmation of their nasty character
  - (2) any positive act was viewed as forced upon them by situational pressures (or simply a trick to deceive other countries).
- iii) *Discussion question: how have you experienced attribution biases in explaining other countries' behavior? How did these biases affect your responses toward these countries? What are the implications for IR in the real world?*

d) Motivated biases

- i) "Wishful thinking": you want something to be the case so badly you convince yourself it is true and ignore/discount evidence to the contrary
- ii) "Rational," or "cold" calculations are inhibited by "hot" emotions or underlying motives
- iii) Examples:
  - (1) Leaders who earnestly desire peace may appease aggressive adversaries, convincing themselves these strategies will be successful.
    - (a) In Statecraft, peace-loving leaders want world peace so badly (and the points that come with it) that they overestimate the likelihood of it actually occurring
  - (2) Leaders who desire to prevail in a military confrontation may discount the capabilities of their opponent (or inflate their own) because they want so badly to be victorious.
    - (a) In Statecraft, aggressive countries and coalitions are notorious for overestimating their ability to take large chunks of territory in a short period of time, even though the mechanics of conquest are made clear in the simulation manual.
  - (3) These tendencies may be exacerbated by group dynamics (see groupthink and group polarization).
- iv) *Discussion question: describe a case in which you experienced motivated biases in Statecraft. Explain precisely how your motivation/emotions interfered with your ability to objectively consider the evidence. What were the consequences? Are real*

*world leaders just as likely to experience such biases, or do they enjoy greater safeguards against motivated biases?*

## Lecture #10: Perspectives on International Political Economy: Mercantilism, Liberalism, & Marxism

### 1) Introduction

- a) Countries and non-state actors have historically pursued several different approaches to the international political economy: mercantilism, liberalism, and Marxism.
- b) In Statecraft, students can explore these different approaches and their implications:
  - i) They will discover that mercantilist approaches can bring wealth (at least in the short term) but will strain relations with others and may harm one's long-term prospects.
  - ii) They will find that free market policies require reciprocity, transparency, and trust (which can evaporate quickly in the world of Statecraft), and demand forsaking relative gains for absolute gains.
  - iii) They will see many Marxist concepts come to life as the world (often) becomes stratified into rich and poor countries and the rich "core" countries begin to exploit the poorer "periphery" countries.

### 2) Mercantilism

- a) Dominant approach until 1800s
- b) Goal is to maximize state wealth (originally gold and silver)
  - i) In Statecraft, the nationalist faction will send messages to students articulating the principles of economic nationalism, or mercantilism (praising increased tariffs and subsidies, opposing free trade agreements, etc.)
  - ii) *Discussion question: what messages have you received from the nationalist faction that articulate the principles of mercantilism? What specific actions of your government were they praising or criticizing?*
- c) Wealth cannot be created, only acquired
  - i) Through conquest and theft (imperialism)
    - (1) Countries in Statecraft can seize wealth from others by conquering resource-rich zones (e.g., the gold-rich Orion Mountains, Sapphire Island, the food-rich Luxor region)
  - ii) Through exporting more than you import and protecting domestic industries
    - (1) Countries in Statecraft can pursue mercantilist approaches by raising tariffs, giving subsidies to domestic farmers, and avoiding free trade agreements and the WTO
  - iii) Wealth can also be created in Statecraft (see below, under "Economic Liberalism")
- d) Economics is a zero-sum game
  - i) One country's gain is another's loss
  - ii) Emphasis on *relative gains*
  - iii) Some countries in Statecraft will focus on relative gains, while others will emphasize absolute gains (see below, under "Economic Liberalism"). The differences in these countries' rhetoric, priorities, and actions reveals the logic and consequences of these two approaches.
- e) *Discussion question: Which actions in Statecraft would indicate a mercantilist approach by a country? Do any countries in your world fit this profile? How successful an*

*approach is mercantilism in the world of Statecraft? In the real world? (Explain any major differences between the two realms).*

### 3) Economic Liberalism (Capitalism)

- a) Became popular in 1800s
- b) Economics is a positive-sum game
  - i) It is possible to expand the pie, not just fight over how it will be divided
    - (1) In Statecraft, it is possible for a country to gain wealth either by taking resources from others (e.g., conquering the gold-rich Orion Mountains), boosting domestic production (e.g., building factories), or entering into free trade agreements with other countries. So there are both zero-sum and positive-sum ways of looking at wealth in Statecraft, and different countries will emphasize one over the other.
  - ii) Emphasis on *absolute gains*
- c) Assumes a harmony of interests (Adam Smith): pursuit of self-interest will make everyone better off
  - i) Example: Those who produce the highest quality products at the lowest prices not only make consumers' lives easier/more enjoyable but reap the highest profits
- d) "Laissez-faire" approach
  - i) In Statecraft, the capitalist faction will send messages to students complaining about government intervention in the economy and articulating laissez-faire principles
  - ii) *Discussion question: what messages have you received from the capitalist faction that articulate the principles of free-market capitalism? What specific actions of your government were they praising or criticizing?*
- e) Comparative advantage (Ricardo)
  - i) Countries should focus on producing those goods & services they can produce most cheaply/efficiently and trade for the rest
    - (1) *Discussion question: How does resource production and trade in Statecraft illustrate the doctrine of comparative advantage?*
    - (2) Answer: Statecraft illustrates comparative advantage as follows:
      - (a) Each country produces a certain amount of gold, food, steel, SK, and oil each turn (this is their "base production"). Every country will be rich in at least one resource (producing 1,000 or more per turn) and poor in other resources.
      - (b) Resource-enhancement structures, such as gold mines, farms, factories, steel mills, and research labs increase per-turn production of certain resources *by a fixed percentage*. (For example, a factory increases gold production by 10% of base production).
      - (c) So each country can leverage its comparative advantage by focusing on enhancing production of that resource (or resources) it naturally produces in abundance. The best strategy for maximizing global wealth would be for every country to focus on its comparative advantage and then trade their surplus resources for the resources they lack.
      - (d) Example: a gold mine produces 5% more gold, so building one gold mine (which costs all countries the same amount) will yield 100 extra gold for a country that produces 2,000 gold per turn and will yield only 10 extra gold for a country that produces 200 gold per turn.
      - (e) Comparative advantage in Statecraft is also illustrated as follows:

- (i) Countries with a lot of scientific knowledge can more easily acquire technologies, which they can turn around and trade (share) with other countries in exchange for a variety of goods and services
- (ii) The advantages that specific government types and attributes give countries will also prompt the attentive Statecraft leader to focus on those things their country does best (e.g., it will be cheaper for “militaristic” countries to build powerful militaries, etc.)
- f) An *absolute advantage* is held by any country that can produce a given product more efficiently than any other country in the world
  - i) In Statecraft, absolute advantage would exist for any country that is endowed with the greatest amount of a particular resource: they would be able to produce most efficiently (at the lowest cost) an additional unit of that resource than any other country in the world.
- g) *Discussion question: Which actions in Statecraft would indicate a liberal/capitalist approach by a country? Do any countries in your world fit this profile? How successful an approach is economic liberalism in the world of Statecraft? In the real world? (Explain any major differences between the two realms).*

**4) Marxism (NOTE: the following material largely replicates the discussion of Marxism in Lecture #2 on alternative theoretical perspectives in IR)**

- a) Prominent perspective in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (particularly after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917), but popularity has declined since fall of communism in FSU/Eastern Europe and apparent success of market model among “Asian tigers,” etc.
- e) Key actors include social classes, MNCs, and transnational elites (states are tools of these elites and cogs in the capitalist system—not independent entities)
- f) Assumes capitalism contains seeds of its own destruction
  - i) Industrial development in Statecraft may harm workers and the environment, prompting domestic political unrest.
  - ii) *Discussion question: How have your country’s efforts at industrial development led to discontent from the socialist and environmentalist factions? How do these events parallel the claims of Marxists?*
- g) Material economic conditions determine outcomes (reductionism?)
- h) World system is stratified: core vs. periphery, dependency theory
  - i) By turn 4 or 5 of Statecraft, differences in countries’ management and acquisition of resources (gold, food, steel, SK, oil) usually lead to dramatic differences in wealth: the world is divided into a core vs. a periphery as the wealthy states begin to exercise disproportionate influence and attempt to exploit the periphery (often provoking a backlash).
  - ii) *Discussion question: Which countries in Statecraft represent the wealthy, developed “core” and which are part of the periphery? Describe relations between the core and periphery: is there an element of exploitation, and how have the exploited actors responded? Give examples.*
- i) Both empirical and normative: describes the capitalist world system, then critiques it
- j) Imperialism as highest stage of capitalism (Lenin) and cause of war among capitalist powers

- i) In Statecraft, the desire for more resources (gold, food, steel, SK, and oil) will sometimes prompt stronger countries to attack weaker ones (or Sapphire Island).
- ii) *Discussion question: why do the rules of Statecraft make it tempting to attack Sapphire Island or weaker countries to seize their resources? Do what degree are these rules replicated in real world politics?*
- iii) *Discussion question: how might competition over resources lead to war among the most advanced, wealthy countries in Statecraft?*
- k) In Statecraft, the domestic factions “capitalists” and “socialists” will send messages to governments making free-market and Marxist arguments, respectively.
  - i) *Discussion question: what messages have you received from the capitalist and socialist factions that articulate or critique Marxist ideas? What specific actions of your government were they praising or criticizing?*

## **Lecture #11: Trade, Interdependence, and Globalization**

### **1) Globalization**

- a) Variety of definitions, centering around the world becoming “smaller” and more interconnected in the areas of commerce, culture, and politics
- b) Causes: technological advances in communication, travel, and computational power, expansion of trade
- c) Consequences cited by various scholars and activists:
  - i) Cheaper goods and services
  - ii) Growing wealth for certain actors
  - iii) Environmental damage
  - iv) Exploitation of labor
  - v) Mixing of cultures:
    - (1) Dominant Western culture eroding traditional cultures
    - (2) Backlash from those who want to maintain traditional cultures
      - (a) “Lexus and the Olive Tree” (Friedman)
      - (b) “McWorld vs. Jihad” (Barber)
  - vi) Diseases spread more rapidly
  - vii) Economic crises spread more rapidly
  - viii) Increased trafficking of humans and drugs
  - ix) Terrorism/asymmetric warfare made easier
- d) *Discussion question: In what ways has your country experienced interdependence with other countries in Statecraft? Be specific. Are these relationships balanced or are they asymmetric (meaning one party needs the other more)? What are the benefits and drawbacks of these relationships?*
- e) *Discussion question: To what degree is the world of Statecraft a globalized world, in the areas of security, economics, health, the environment, and culture? In those areas that are characterized by a high degree of globalization, what are the positive and negative consequences of this integration? Provide specific examples from your experiences in Statecraft.*
- f) **Globalization in Statecraft:** there are many economic, security, health-related, environmental, and cultural links between countries in the world of Statecraft that parallel the dynamics of real-world globalization:
  - i) Because of the way resources are distributed in Statecraft, no country can be self-sufficient and the resulting trade patterns and interdependence are similar to what happens in a globalized world.
    - (1) Most countries become very reliant on others for resources they have in short supply, and many countries also develop close technology trading relationships with other countries. These connections mean that—as in the real world:
      - (a) an event that affects one country’s prosperity or security can quickly spread and affect others.
      - (b) resource scarcity or greater demand for certain resources can create situations of asymmetric interdependence (or dependency) which may lead to conflict as countries seek to use their leverage or address their vulnerabilities
  - ii) Refugee flows from natural disasters or wars will affect nearby countries’ quality of life

- iii) Environmental/health problems will spill over from one country to nearby countries
- iv) Immigration will create domestic turmoil in “receiving” countries and create pressures both to tighten border security and confront the “sending” countries
- v) Tourism will cause gold to flow out of countries that have low environment and culture ratings and enrich those countries that are high on these indicators
- vi) Countries can enact the program “Attract FDI” which slashes taxes and regulations to make their country more hospitable to foreign investors/MNCs (boosting gold output). The capitalist faction will approve of this action, while the environmentalists and socialists will be opposed.

## 2) Trade

- a) A key element of economic globalization; dramatic increases in trade over the past 200 years
  - i) Technological advances (most notably the steam engine) powered expansion of trade in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries
  - ii) After setback of Great Depression and World War II, trade grew again, accelerating with collapse of communist bloc and advances in information technologies
  - iii) Institutions such as GATT (later WTO) have facilitated trade globally
  - iv) Growth of regional free trade blocs
- b) Approaches to trade
  - i) Mercantilist/autarkic practices
  - ii) Liberal, “free trade” policies
  - iii) A mix of the two extremes (protecting certain domestic industries, etc.)
- c) Differences in countries’ exports (primary products vs. high-tech manufactured goods) can lead to dependency relationships and inhibit development of poorer countries
  - i) “Free trade” vs. “fair trade”
- d) Comparative and absolute advantage (see lecture #10 for how Statecraft illustrates these concepts)
- e) Free trade and barriers to trade
  - i) WTO (previously GATT)
    - (1) Most favored nation and reciprocity principles
    - (2) Efforts to reduce tariffs, subsidies, quotas, and other barriers to free trade (and ongoing disputes, such as agricultural subsidies by wealthy countries)
    - (3) *Discussion question: if you have joined the WTO, what was the reaction of the nationalists, socialists, and environmentalists to this decision? How were their arguments similar or different? Be specific. Are these valid critiques of the WTO?*
    - (4) In Statecraft countries can gain wealth (increased gold production) by joining the WTO, but they must pay political capital to join and will incur the displeasure of the socialist, environmentalist, and nationalist factions (these groups will have a lower approval rating of the government and send angry messages condemning this action). In contrast, the capitalist faction will favor joining the WTO.
    - (5) *Discussion question: What are the incentives to raise tariffs and give domestic subsidies in Statecraft? If you are a member of the WTO, how do these actions affect other WTO members, and what will be their likely reaction? If you have*

*enacted tariffs or subsidies, what was the reaction of your nationalist and capitalist factions?*

- (6) Although the WTO in Statecraft provides a significant gold boost to its members, maximum gold output depends on all WTO members keeping their tariffs and subsidies low and not forming outside free trade agreements. Each of these actions (raising tariffs, providing subsidies to domestic farmers, and forming a separate free trade pact) will provide increased gold for the violator, but will reduce gold production for all WTO members. This sets up dynamics that are similar to real world pressures upon WTO members to keep trade barriers low or else provoke retaliation from other WTO members. (Any country can be expelled from the WTO by a vote of 2/3 of the WTO's members).
  - (7) The domestic political pressures for free trade vs. protectionism are simulated in Statecraft by the rhetoric and actions of the nationalist faction (which favors high tariffs and subsidies) and the capitalist faction (which opposes these measures).
- ii) Regional free trade agreements (e.g., NAFTA)
- (1) Conflict with WTO goals
    - (a) In Statecraft, countries can join regional free trade blocs which give them extra gold but—if they are a WTO member—reduce gold output for all WTO members.

## Lecture #12: IGOs, International Law/Norms, and Human Rights

### 1) International Governmental Organizations (IGOs)

- a) Although realists are skeptical of IGOs' influence, idealists/liberals (particularly liberal institutionalists) argue that IGOs can facilitate cooperation through:
  - i) Lowering transaction costs
  - ii) Increasing transparency
  - iii) Making it easier to enforce international agreements
- b) IGOs with important roles in security, human rights, and development
  - i) United Nations
    - (1) Key bodies:
      - (a) Security Council
      - (b) General Assembly
      - (c) ECOSOC
      - (d) International Court of Justice
      - (e) Trusteeship Council
      - (f) Secretariat
    - (2) Broader UN system
    - (3) Roles in security, environment, health, rights, and development
    - (4) In Statecraft, the UN is the only IGO that automatically includes all countries as members at the beginning of the simulation (they must choose to join other IGOs, and membership usually isn't universal). Students normally use the UN as the main forum for countries to get together and discuss/coordinate action on serious issues that affect the world's fate (and students' simulation grades) such as terrorism, the environment, the melting Ice Mountain, world hunger, and global peace.
    - (5) Students experience the promise of a global organization like the UN when it makes communication and policy coordination easier (lowering transaction costs), increases transparency (e.g., through the IAEA, which automatically reports violations of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty—assuming countries have signed on to the NPT), and allows countries to establish enforcement mechanisms for treaties.
    - (6) Students also gain an understanding of the limits of such an organization when sovereign states refuse to bow to its dictates and enforcement of U.N. resolutions/treaties is not automatic but must rely on member states (some of whom believe it isn't in their interests to step in and enforce these resolutions).
    - (7) Countries in Statecraft can choose to create several UN specialized agencies (UNESCO, UNDP, WHO) that provide benefits to all countries in the areas of health, welfare, education, and culture.
    - (8) Discussion question: In what ways (if any) has the UN in your Statecraft world helped to lower transaction costs, increase transparency, and strengthen enforcement of agreements?
    - (9) Discussion question: All told, how effective has the UN proven to be in helping you to achieve global cooperation on key issues? (If its effectiveness varies by issue, explain how). What are the limits of the UN in your Statecraft world? Be

*specific. Is there any way to overcome these limits? What are the implications for real world politics?*

- ii) International Criminal Court (ICC)
  - (1) Permanent body created to deal with war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity (and vague crime of “aggression”)
  - (2) Structure: office of prosecutor, 18 judges, assembly of states parties, presidency
  - (3) Principle of complementary: ICC can only act when national courts are unable or unwilling to prosecute
  - (4) Current cases/indictments
  - (5) U.S. critique of ICC
  - (6) In Statecraft countries can join the ICC by paying political capital (signifying the domestic political cost of joining). The messages sent by the nationalist faction (opposed) and civil libertarian faction (supportive) in response to the decision to join will illustrate real-world controversies surrounding the ICC.
  - (7) *Discussion question: If you have joined the ICC, what arguments (for and against this decision) were advanced by the nationalist and civil libertarian faction? Do the nationalists’ objections seem valid in Statecraft? In the real world?*
  - (8) The ICC in Statecraft can indict a country’s leaders if a majority of ICC members vote to do so. Indictment strips the target country of 20 political capital (but each country can only have its leaders indicted once during the entire simulation). Inevitable debate among students concerning what actions warrant ICC indictments, whether these charges are “politically motivated” rather than grounded in facts and law, and how penalties beyond “shaming” can be enforced will parallel real world debates about the ICC.
  - (9) *Discussion question (if the ICC has issued any indictments): Why did the ICC decide to indict (Country X)? Was this action justified based on the facts or driven by ulterior motives? Is there any way to actually bring the indicted leaders to justice in the world of Statecraft? Do any concerns you have about the Statecraft version of the ICC also apply to the real world version? Why or why not?*

## 2) International Law

- a) Sources:
  - i) Treaties
  - ii) Custom
  - iii) General principles of law
  - iv) Legal scholarship
- b) Interpretation
- c) Enforcement: no authoritative body; enforcement typically occurs through reciprocity and international norms
- d) Key example: international humanitarian law (Geneva conventions, etc.)
- e) Statecraft illustrates both the promise and the limitations of international law:
  - i) Countries commonly create treaties to deal with issues such as terrorism, trade, and world peace, and there is generally a norm of respect for such obligations. Students observe the positive effects of international law when countries abide by their commitments, key global goals are accomplished, and violators are shunned and/or

- punished. But the limits of international law (particularly centering on enforcement) become apparent when countries break treaties and get away with it (as sometimes happens).
- ii) It is difficult for custom to develop over eight weeks or so, but often norms do develop (see below), rooted perhaps in preexisting norms of societal conduct.
  - iii) Students can also observe how general principles of law apply to IR, as there are general expectations of equal treatment and avoidance of theft, deceit, unprovoked acts, etc. that will arouse the ire of the world if violated.
  - iv) *Discussion question: Give at least three examples of international law in your Statecraft world and identify their sources (treaties, custom, or general principles of law). How effective has international law been in constraining states' behavior in your world? What explains this success or failure? What are the implications for international law in the real world?*

### 3) International Norms

- a) Definition: Widely shared expectations about appropriate behavior in specific circumstances
- b) Important emphasis of constructivist scholars
- c) Examples: respect for state sovereignty, prohibition of slavery, genocide, and use of WMD
- d) Evolution of norms over time (e.g., sovereignty, slavery, etc.)
- e) Norms in Statecraft:
  - i) Students bring certain norms with them into the classroom. Norms about how to treat their classmates and friends may be generally adhered to in Statecraft, though students differ in their interpretation of some norms:
    - (1) Some believe Statecraft is “just a game” so anything goes
    - (2) Others believe if you wouldn't attack someone, lie, or cheat in the real world you shouldn't do it in Statecraft
    - (3) These different interpretations almost always provoke interesting discussions about norms and their applicability across various contexts
    - (4) *Discussion question: What norms do you think should guide students' behavior in Statecraft? Is it “just a game” and therefore anything goes? Or should there be limits based on common decency and the importance of the simulation for classmates' grades? Defend your answer.*
  - ii) Despite the simulation's short duration (usually about 8 weeks) some norms of appropriate conduct in Statecraft generally arise and come to be broadly accepted within a given “world”.
    - (1) Often different “worlds” (different classes) will develop different norms with important consequences for war, peace, and cooperation.
    - (2) *Discussion question: What international norms have developed in your Statecraft world? Through what process did they develop? Why these expectations and not others? Have countries felt constrained by these norms or have there been violations?*
  - iii) In short, the ways norms form and change, the influence of norms on countries' behavior, the applicability of norms to different situations, and the conditions that promote norm adherence/violation are all important issues that students will

personally experience (to some degree) in the simulation and be able to apply to the real world.

## **Lecture #13: The Politics of The Global Environment: Public Goods, the Collective Action Problem, Free Riding, & Discounting**

### **(1) Public Goods**

- (a) Definition: goods that are non-rivalrous and non-excludable.
- (b) Examples: Clean air, national defense, a reasonably cool climate
- (c) *Discussion question: What examples of public goods can you identify in Statecraft? Explain how these goods are non-rivalrous and non-excludable.*
- (d) In Statecraft, stable (non-rising) sea levels that will prevent catastrophic flooding are a public good that all countries get to benefit from regardless of whether or not they helped in producing the good. Assuming that the Globe of Frost is capable of stopping the Ice Mountain from melting, this expensive Big Project becomes the embodiment of a public good—it benefits all countries regardless of whether or not they committed the resources to researching and building the hugely expensive Globe of Frost.
- (e) Certain international organizations in Statecraft (UNESCO, WHO, UNDP) also represent public goods: once these organizations are created by enough countries paying political capital to join (50% of the world's countries), their work benefits all countries' health, welfare, culture, and education ratings, regardless of whether or not those countries paid any political capital to help create the organization.

### **(2) The Collective Action Problem and Free Riding**

- (a) Public goods are often not produced in sufficient quantities (if at all) due to the collective action problem and free riding.
- (b) Collective action problem: because benefits are distributed across all actors once the good is created, individual actors are reluctant to invest time and resources to produce the good (particularly if they believe others will likely pay the costs to produce it).
- (c) Free/easy rider problem: as a result, countries have an incentive to “free ride” on the efforts of others or not contribute their fair share
- (d) Climate change example:
  - (i) Biggest emitters of greenhouse gases (U.S., China, etc.) will be reluctant to pay the costs of reducing emissions to slow climate change if they believe others will do so or that pursuing their short-term self-interests would be more lucrative.
- (e) *Discussion question (ask after serious flooding has begun to damage all countries): Why have you not succeeded in building the Globe of Frost yet, despite the risks of inaction? Describe the conversations countries have had about this issue and any efforts to collaborate to research and construct the Globe of Frost. What obstacles to action have you encountered, and is this an example of a collective action problem? Why or why not? Is there any way to overcome this problem in Statecraft?*
- (f) The melting of the Ice Mountain in Statecraft is designed to illustrate the collective action problem and free riding:
  - (i) If the mountain melts, sea levels rise dramatically, everyone's cities get flooded, and all countries lose big. So low sea levels (caused by the mountain staying frozen) are a public good that everyone benefits from.

- (ii) Countries therefore have an incentive to let others take care of the problem and free ride: “surely someone will pay for the expensive Globe of Frost to stop the Ice Mountain from melting, whether I contribute or not to the effort.”
- (iii) This dilemma normally leads to the under-provision of the public good (the Globe of Frost isn’t built) until the mountain melts enough that flooding begins to damage each country. Countries see the danger from Turn 1 but they have trouble organizing themselves to take action and constantly bicker about who is going to provide how much to help pay for the Globe of Frost.
- (g) Organizations such as UNESCO, WHO, and the UNDP also help illustrate the collective action problem: these organizations may not be created despite their benefits because countries are reluctant to be one of the few “payers” when all countries will benefit.

### **(3) Discounting**

- (a) Definition: “discounting” refers here to the fact that people prefer instant gratification and delayed payment of costs. That is, people tend to “discount” the future: they focus on current benefits and are willing to take on large costs/risks as long as those costs/risks are seen as far off in the future.
- (b) Examples: credit card debt, deficit spending
- (c) Relevant to many environmental issues
  - (i) Climate change: action to address the problem would be costly and these costs would be borne now (e.g., Kyoto treaty’s restrictions on emissions) but the benefits wouldn’t be felt until some time in the future (and the payoff would be a “non-event”—avoidance of severe consequences).
  - (ii) These incentives run exactly counter to people’s natural inclinations: politicians will not want to impose immediate costs on their constituents (which will hurt them politically) for some uncertain, future payoff they won’t be in office (or perhaps even alive) to enjoy.
  - (iii) The melting of the Ice Mountain in Statecraft helps to illustrate discounting. Building the Globe of Frost is very expensive and its benefits are uncertain (scientists *think* the Globe of Frost will stop the mountain from melting, but aren’t sure). Students prefer to put off any immediate action (the costs would be immediate, but the benefits are uncertain and would not be enjoyed until some future date, if ever). They normally only take action when it becomes clear that catastrophic flooding is imminent (around turn 6 or 7).

### **(4) Common Goods & the “Tragedy of the Commons”**

- (a) Definition: goods that are non-excludable but rivalrous (they can be used up)
- (b) Examples: fish stocks in international waters, common grazing pasture
- (c) Common goods are often depleted due to overuse (the “tragedy of the commons”):
  - (i) Individually rational choices lead to collectively suboptimal outcomes (just as in prisoner’s dilemma)
  - (ii) Possible solution: enclosure (UNCLOS and exclusive economic zones)
- (d) The tragedy of the commons is not clearly illustrated in the current version of Statecraft, but a future version will contain fish stocks that are depleted by overfishing, requiring countries to collaborate to limit fishing if they want the resource to survive.