

## UNIT 1

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: PRINCIPAL THEORIES

#### Vocabulary List

bargaining power	to be committed to doing / do
compassion and self-restraint	to relegate to marginal status
constant struggle for power	to eliminate inequality
decision makers	to establish the rule of law
good deeds	to give primacy to
identification of mutual interests	to have one's roots in
innate human nature	to implement decisions
lust for power and dominance	to increase smb's concern for
predominant collective actors	to justify the attempts
prerequisite to	to keep on evolving
specialized agencies	to resort to coercive means
technological capabilities	to rest on the basis of assumption
to some extent	to secure one's national interest /
within the framework of	(desired) objective
	to sustain cooperation
to act in pursuit of one's interests	to trace (the causes of smth) to
to advocate the use of	to undergo changes

#### I. Idealism.

The Idealist Approach holds that old, ineffective and harmful modes of behaviour i.e., war, use of force and violence (intimidation, coercion) should be abandoned in favour of new ways and means as determined by knowledge, compassion and self-restraint.

To remove these evils is considered the main objective of the humankind. Thus, the Idealism accepts the possibility of creating a world by depending upon reason, science and education.

The Idealist Approach advocates morality as the means for securing the desired objective of making the world an ideal world. It believes that by following moral values in their relations, nations can not only secure their own development, but also can help the world to eliminate war, inequality, despotism, tyranny, suppression, violence and force.

### **Key Features of Idealism:**

1. Human nature is essentially good and capable of good deeds in international relations.
2. Human welfare and advancement of civilization are the concerns of all.
3. Bad human behaviour is the product of bad environment and bad institutions and by reforming the environment, bad human behaviour can be eliminated.
4. By reforming international relations, war can be and should be eliminated.
5. International community should work for eliminating all global instruments, features and practices which lead to war.
6. International institutions committed to preserve international peace, international law and order should be developed for securing peace, prosperity and development.

The main supporters of idealism (Emanuel Kant, Norman Angel, Woodrow Wilson, Alfred Zimmern, Quincy Wright, Bertrand Russell, and others) strongly oppose the realist view of international politics as a struggle for power and national interest and advocate the use of reason, education and science for securing reforms in relations and for eliminating war and other evils from international relations.

### **II. Realism**

The Realist Approach (which stands associated with the names of Max Weber, E.H. Carr, Frederick Schuman, Nicholas Spykman, Reinhold Niebuhr, Arnold Wolfers, Kenneth Thompson, George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger and several others) regards international politics as a constant struggle for power among nations and justifies as natural the attempts of a nation to use national power for securing the goals of its national interests.

Power is defined as a psychological relationship in which one actor is able to control the behaviour of another actor and to act rationally (that is, to act in one's interest) is to seek power, i.e., to have the ability and willingness to control others.

### **Key Features of Political Realism:**

1. History gives evidence that humanity is by nature sinful and wicked.
2. Lust for power and dominance has been a major, important and all pervasive fact of human nature.
3. Human instinct for power cannot be eliminated.
4. Struggle for power is the incontrovertible and eternal reality of international relations.
5. Each nation always seeks to secure the goals of national interest defined in terms of power.

6. Self-preservation is the law that governs the behaviour of all the states at all times.
7. Nations always tend to seek, demonstrate and use power.
8. Peace can be preserved only by management of power through such devices as Balance of Power, Collective Security, World Government, Diplomacy, Alliances and the like.

According to the Realistic approach acting in pursuit of your interests is political and has its roots in human nature. So, to seek power in pursuit of one's interests is to follow the basic dictates of the "laws" of nature. It is the highest moral and legal principle. It is a pragmatic and valid principle which can help the understanding of the whole of international relations and the formulation and implementation of policies designed to secure one's national interest. All in all, Realism offers a realistic and holistic view of total international reality and regards prudence as the guide in politics.

### **III. Neo-Realism**

Neo-Realism (developed in 1970–1980s under the influence of the ideas and writings of Kenneth Waltz, Robert Gilpin, Stephen Krasner) gives primacy to power in international relations but at the same time accepts the role of other factors, particularly the structure of international system, international cooperation, national interest, international conflicts, relative power of the nations, etc.

Unlike the Classical Realists who always tried to trace the causes of war to the objective characteristics of human nature, the Neo-Realists prefer to explain international conflict within the framework of the anarchic structure of the international system. They hold that it is not really the innate human nature which acts as a source of conflict, fear and power in international relations, it is the anarchical international system which acts as a source of rivalries, jealousies, suspicions and insecurity. By the anarchical system, the Neo-realists mean a system characterised by the absence of a higher power over the sovereign nation states.

### **IV. Structural Functional Approach (Functionalism)**

Functionalism (David Mitrany) attempts to analyze politics in terms of functions performed by structures. Every system of politics involves a set of functions through which decisions are made and implemented. These functions are performed by certain structures. A structure is an arrangement or an organization for the performance of functions; the latter are the consequences of the activities of

the structures. Typical examples of the Functional approach in operation are specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations.

In the Structural Functional approach political systems are no longer treated solely as sovereign state systems and their sub-divisions but are perceived as collective decision-making structures or as a set of structures which perform the function of adaptation and integration in the environment.

Structural Functional approach in international relations analyzes the actual conduct of relations among nations and between the nations and the international structures in operation at the international level.

**Functionalism focuses attention on finding answers to several questions:**

1. Which structures are performing which roles and what is their impact on international relations?
2. What happens to the international system when changes come in the national decision-making structures?
3. How do international relations influence the decisions and actions of national decision makers?
4. What happens to the international system when the nature of relations among nations undergoes changes?
5. How do international decisions-makers function and what are the limitations of International decision makers?

**V. Neo-Liberalism**

Liberal approach entered the realm of international relations in the second half of the 20th century (Karl Deutsch, Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane, Richard Rosecrance, Andrew Moravcsik, and others). The Liberal Approach rests on the basis of four fundamental assumptions:

*Individual are the Primary International Actors.*

Liberals measure all progress in the Universe in terms of the interests of the individuals. John Locke, for example, is credited with the creation of a constitutional state through a social contract to protect the natural rights of the individual. Such a state enables and establishes the rule of law that respects the rights of the citizens, particularly the rights to life, liberty and property. This does not mean that states are relegated to marginal status in the liberal perspective. Far from it, the modern liberals view states as the most important collective pluralistic actors of our present time whose interests and policies are determined by bargaining among groups and elections.

*State's interests are dynamic and are both self-regarding and other-regarding.*

Liberals are of the view that the interests of the states keep on changing over time because individual's values and power relations among interest groups keep on evolving. Also, most liberals believe that states do not only have certain self-interests to preserve but also regard state's policies as other-regarding to some extent since they believe that the growth of liberal democracy increases people's concern for other humans.

*Both individual and state interests are shaped by a wide variety of domestic and international conditions and situations.*

Liberals are of the view that the interests of both individuals and states are affected by a host of factors both at the domestic and international levels. While conceding that eventually such interests are determined by the bargaining power that they possess, the manner in which they define their interests are shaped by a number of factors both at the domestic (the nature of economic and political systems, patterns of economic interactions, personal values, etc.) and at the international (technological capabilities, patterns of interactions and interdependencies, etc.) levels.

States, predominant collective actors, are viewed by the liberals as entities that are embedded in both their own societies and the international system, and their interests and policies are affected by conditions in both arenas.

*Mutual interests can sustain cooperation in the International System.*

With the growth of liberal democracies, interdependencies, knowledge, international social ties, and international institutions, the liberals have come to believe that cooperation can be possible among states without resorting to coercive means. Unlike the Realists who believed that the existence of a hegemonic (dominant) power is a prerequisite to cooperation, the liberals are of the view that cooperation can be achieved through non-coercive bargaining based on identification of mutual interests.

(after Dinesh <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/study-of-international-politics-4-approaches/48475>  
<http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/idealism-idealism-in-international-relations/48471/>)

**Exercise 1. Find in the texts the English for:**

жадоба влади і панування  
реалізувати рішення

підтримувати співпрацю  
передумова

у рамках	виступати на захист чогось
ліквідувати нерівність	ті, хто приймають рішення
діяти з метою досягнення власних інтересів	спеціалізовані установи
виправдовувати спроби	визначення спільних інтересів
сягати корінням	постійна боротьба за владу
досягати бажаних результатів	зазнавати змін
захищати національні інтереси	притаманний людській природі
вдаватися до примусу	технологічні можливості, потенціал
встановлювати верховенство права	певною мірою
добрі вчинки	бути зобов'язаним робити щось
відтіснити на периферію	спиратися на припущення
продовжувати розвиватися	простежувати(ся), брати початок
поглиблювати стурбованість	основні колективні гравці
сильна позиція на переговорах	співчуття та самовладання
	надавати першість

**Exercise 2. Fill in the gaps, using the following collocations.**

to be traced to	to secure national interests
to relegate to a marginal status	to give primacy
to sustain cooperation	to keep on evolving
to undergo changes	

1. Where the threat of violence remains high, the causes can \_\_\_ the fact that societies have failed to satisfy the requirements of the liberal model, notably providing equal life chances for all.
2. Aboriginal nations were \_\_\_ once the fur trade declined and their role as military allies receded.
3. NGOs and international institutions can coordinate their activities and \_\_\_ globally, thereby enabling the world to cope with global challenges.
4. If the House of Lords is to serve as a check on power, it must \_\_\_ some \_\_\_ on its own.
5. Diplomats and diplomatists became the functionaries of relations between states and sought to provide for peace and deter war, while also seeking to \_\_\_ their \_\_\_ in relations with other states.
6. Furthermore, in the event of a discrepancy between domestic legislation and the Convention, the latter would \_\_\_.
7. When it comes to the future, nothing is certain except that our understanding of this phenomenon will \_\_\_.

**Exercise 3. Paraphrase the highlighted expressions, using the phrases from the Vocabulary List.**

1. In order *to achieve the set target* the states have agreed upon the following provisions.
2. It can really *account for their efforts* aimed at trying to avoid war.
3. As we look over the history of international politics we see that the *craving for an all-powerful position* is not unusual.
4. Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that *are inherent* in human nature.
5. According to some scientists the system set up in 1919 greatly resembles that devised in 1648 primarily because there was no real attempt to restrict the right of sovereign nation-states *to take steps in search of securing* their interests.
6. Schelling in his book “The Strategy of Conflict” argues that *superior position at negotiations* depends to a large degree on the credibility of threats and promises.
7. The interaction and cooperation between these entities is deemed to be done without *turning to forcible measures*.
8. Pluralism is no longer simply an asset or *a requirement for* progress and development, it is vital to our existence.

**Exercise 4. Match the words or phrases with their definitions.**

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. to justify           | a. to have recourse to, turn to something that is not the first choice, that is often a final available option |
| 2. to resort to         | b. partly true; slightly; relatively   |
| 3. prerequisite         | c. the ability to get a large share of the possible benefits to be derived from any agreement                  |
| 4. innate               | d. to pledge to, to bind oneself to, make oneself liable for   |
| 5. bargaining power     | e. something required or necessary as a prior condition  |
| 6. to some extent       | f. restriction of the arbitrary exercise of power by subordinating it to well-defined and established laws     |
| 7. to relegate          | g. being an essential part of; congenital; inherent  |
| 8. to commit oneself to | h. control imposed by oneself over one's own actions   |
| 9. self-restraint       | i. to show adequate grounds for, to be reasonable; to warrant or substantiate                                  |
| 10. rule of law         | j. to move to a position of less authority,  |

importance, etc.; to demote

**Exercise 5. Comment on the meaning of the following notions.**

balance of power

collective actors

collective security

relative power of nations

world government

collective decision-making structures

national interests

**Exercise 6. Agree or disagree with the following statements.**

1. ... by following moral values in their relations, nations can not only secure their own development, but also can help the world eliminate war, inequality, tyranny, suppression, violence and force.
2. Bad human behaviour is the product of bad environment and bad institutions and by reforming the environment, bad human behaviour can be eliminated.
3. History gives evidence that humanity is by nature sinful and wicked.
4. Lust for power and dominance has been a major, important and all pervasive fact of human nature.
5. International politics is a constant struggle for power among nations.
6. Political systems are no longer treated solely as sovereign state systems.
7. In modern international relations states are relegated to marginal status.

**Exercise 7. Comment on the meaning of the following words and fill in the gaps with the appropriate form of the word.**

• **assume – presume – resume**

1. On March 11, 1985, a critical step took place in bringing an end to the Cold War, when Mikhail Gorbachev \_\_\_ the reins of power of both the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government.
2. When North Korea announced its intention to withdraw from the NPT, the United States agreed to \_\_\_ negotiations with North Korea on a broad range of issues.
3. In recent years global warming and other threats to the survival of all the species of animals as well as the humankind itself have \_\_\_ a higher profile.
4. The article \_\_\_ some familiarity with the basic principles of international law and diplomatic service.



• **suppress – oppress**

1. The inevitable result was that any nation that was \_\_\_ by another had the right to be emancipated and made fully politically self-determining.
2. Thus, the regime brutally \_\_\_ the country's budding democracy movement.
3. Military forces have been dispatched to \_\_\_ the rebellion, thereby restoring loyal local elites and preserving the integrity of the empire.
4. This population of around 8 and a half million people feels \_\_\_ and yearns for independence.

• **relegate – delegate**

1. Although the Constitution doesn't explicitly prohibit Congress to \_\_\_ its legislative powers, the principle of non-delegation is fundamental to the idea of a limited government accountable to the people.
2. These methods at times seem to cloud the issue and \_\_\_ fundamental aspects to a secondary position.
3. Classical Marxists view war as the consequence of class conflict and believe that it will disappear once capitalism has been \_\_\_ to the "dustbin of history."
4. With this aim in view it must be made possible to \_\_\_ specific tasks to other specialized agencies.

**Exercise 8. Note the difference between the following synonyms and fill in the gaps.**

• **eliminate – abolish – exterminate – obliterate**

1. This solution may also entail the forcible transfer of populations, which is expensive and which does not \_\_\_ hostility between groups, and in fact may intensify it.
2. Capital punishment for murder was \_\_\_ in the United Kingdom in 1965.
3. So the free flow of goods, ideas, technologies and social practices across national borders may actually \_\_\_ negative aspects of national difference.
4. Three days later, another atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki, this one killed or wounded 75,000 people and \_\_\_ a third of the city.
5. Today, most historians call this event a genocide – a premeditated and systematic campaign to \_\_\_ an entire people.
6. Nothing could \_\_\_ the memory of those tragic events.

• **abandon – resign – surrender – cede**

1. This is of course a very delicate issue as Member States are reluctant to \_\_\_ such powers on very sensitive issues without the safeguard of clearance through a regulatory committee.
2. When Iran's Shah refused to grant Mossadegh emergency powers, he \_\_\_ but was reappointed after massive street protests.
3. Efforts continue to persuade North Korea to \_\_\_ its nuclear programme.
4. The government troops gained two decisive victories over the insurgents under Generals Mitre and Arredondo, and they were compelled to \_\_\_ at discretion.
5. After the Spanish \_\_\_ Louisiana to the French, much of the Spanish population in New Orleans departed for Cuba.

**Exercise 9. Comment on the difference between the following pairs of words. Insert the appropriate word.**

• **implementation – enforcement**

1. \_\_\_ is a use of force to actualize what is written in laws. It is similar to execution; only less challenging. An execution is enforcement where it faces a possible private opposition. Whereas, \_\_\_ is making real what was already designed.
2. Peace \_\_\_ provides the authorization under the provisions of Chapter VII of the UN Charter for member states to use military force to end aggression.
3. Outside parties can intervene to guarantee the \_\_\_ of the agreement and protect both sides as they disarm.

• **adapt (to) – comply (with)**

1. The criteria for the international passenger transport have been unified and countries have 10 years \_\_\_ this regulation.
2. Water supplies and sanitary conditions in the region fail \_\_\_ standards set down by the World Health Organization (WHO).
3. China's fisheries must \_\_\_ meet the requirements of the EU regulations. Simultaneously additional assistance from the EU and others must be provided to help China \_\_\_ the new legislation.
4. Examples of Security Council resolutions include Resolution 1441, which called on Iraq to \_\_\_ its disarmament obligations' in the run-up to the Iraq War.

### Exercise 10. Choose the appropriate derivative.

- **credit – credence – creditable – credentials – credulous – credible – credibility**

1. Israel could not support a resolution that lent \_\_\_ to a report condemning Israel without taking account of the context.
2. The \_\_\_ of delegations will be examined by the Chairman, with the assistance of the Secretariat, who will report to the Council.
3. We should give due \_\_\_ to all who helped make the event a success.
4. It is always fascinating to observe just how \_\_\_ the political establishment of some countries actually believes their citizens are.
5. \_\_\_ does not require certainty. If stakes are high, as in a nuclear confrontation, a threat can be \_\_\_ as long as there is at least some probability, however modest, that it will be carried out.
6. However, globalization has a \_\_\_ record of pulling millions of people out of extreme poverty in recent years.

- **commit – committed – commitment – commitments**

1. Deterrence is a strategic interaction that relies on threats, usually of military retaliation, that constitute \_\_\_ to use force in the event of aggression.
2. Spain, on behalf of the EU, recognized the lack of consensus on this issue and \_\_\_ to making positive efforts towards its progress.
3. This requires the mediation of \_\_\_ professionals working as a team with the parties concerned for the perpetuation of their initiatives.
4. The interim government has made \_\_\_ to a comprehensive program of economic reforms.

- **margin – marginal – marginalize – marginalization**

1. And, today, thanks to the weakening of the nation-state, we are seeing forgotten, \_\_\_, and silenced local cultures reemerging and displaying dynamic signs of life.
2. First, they require a greater degree of flexibility and second, their \_\_\_ of error in foreign policy must be considerably reduced.
3. Thus, in two years Hitler's Nazis were transformed from a \_\_\_ political party to the second largest in the Reichstag.
4. Appropriate innovations guarantee societal survival and competitive success, while reluctance to innovate relegate failed societies either to history's \_\_\_ or to its dustbin.

5. Parsons's theory predicts the democratization of China, or, failing such a political reform, China's \_\_\_ or collapse.

**Exercise 11. Match the words from A box with their synonyms in B box.**

**A**

alliance	concern	capability	mutual	primacy
advocate	consequence	implement	objective	undergo

**B**

consideration	endorse	supremacy	experience	domination	joint
superiority	reciprocal	encounter	solicitude	carry out	back
execute	target	union	capacity	potential	support
repercussion	bloc	goal	fulfill	coalition	promote

**Exercise 12. Choose the appropriate word.**

1. Hard power *assumes / resumes* two forms – coercion, or “sticks,” and rewards, or “carrots.”
2. Early in the nuclear era, the US enjoyed a monopoly of nuclear weapons, while the USSR maintained conventional military *primacy / superiority*, especially in Europe.
3. Its recommendations – that China and Japan sign trade and nonaggression treaties and set up a *mutual / joint* “special administration” over Manchuria – were well-intentioned daydreaming.
4. Identities are today again *encountering / undergoing* significant reshuffling and give rise to interests that shape political behavior.
5. Eisenhower's policies differed little from the Truman administration in their support of private sources of development capital and the *primacy / domination / superiority* of Cold War *considerations / concerns* in dealing with the hemisphere.
6. The purpose of this Framework Decision is to establish the rules under which a Member State shall *execute / fulfill* in its territory a European arrest warrant issued by a judicial authority in another Member State.
7. The United Nations maintained regular contacts with the key political leaders to *promote / endorse* respect for the rule of law.
8. The achievement of a Common Area of Freedom, Security and Justice is based on *mutual / reciprocal* trust in the criminal justice systems of the Member States.
9. The Conservatives and Liberals are forming a(n) *alliance / coalition* on an extension of the conflict for three years with a very definitive end date.

10. They clearly managed to *implement / fulfill* their objectives under very difficult circumstances and they discharged their mandate in an extremely effective way.

**Exercise 13. Insert the appropriate word from the list. Change the form where necessary.**

suppress (2)    credibility    presumes    marginal    primacy    actors  
committed    resumed    capabilities    sustain    intimidate    secure  
self-restraint    coercive    dominance    resorted    elimination

1. Positive sovereignty \_\_\_ domestic coherence and \_\_\_ in order to \_\_\_ external political goals.
2. Historically, states have repeatedly \_\_\_ to war to get what they want, and the threat of war has served as a principal instrument for exercising influence.
3. Once in power the typical \_\_\_ state almost instinctively employs extreme violence or terror to \_\_\_ and \_\_\_ any threat to its power.
4. The United States had to act against this aggression or \_\_\_ irreparable damage to American \_\_\_ and prestige.
5. Ethnicity at the regional level in Switzerland only has a \_\_\_ impact on the variation in support for political parties, especially when compared to Spain.
6. We are \_\_\_ to human rights, to the \_\_\_ of poverty and to the establishment of social institutions that are capable of delivering on these commitments.
7. The \_\_\_ of territorial states is eroding and, although states remain the most important \_\_\_ in global politics, they are beginning to share pride of place with other actors such as globe-girdling corporations and nongovernmental organizations.
8. The Dutch \_\_\_ their efforts to \_\_\_ Indonesia's nationalists by force in December 1948, arresting and exiling Sukarno.
9. The Group calls on Armenia and Azerbaijan to exercise \_\_\_ and make serious efforts to reach an agreement on basic principles for a peaceful settlement of the dispute.
10. Biden best explained why the Americans have once again apparently given \_\_\_ to Pakistan on deciding Afghanistan's future.

**Exercise 14. Translate the sentences.**

1. Основні колективні гравці у найкоротший термін повинні визначити спільні інтереси і продовжити розвивати співпрацю в рамках укладеної

- угоди, щоб усунути будь-які перешкоди на шляху до забезпечення миру і стабільності в регіоні.
2. Якщо сторона хоче досягти бажаного результату, вона повинна створити усі передумови, щоб мати сильну позицію на переговорах.
  3. Спеціалізовані установи зобов'язані впроваджувати прийняті рішення, оскільки їх реалізація повністю усуне можливі ризики виникнення конфліктів.
  4. Припущення, що жадоба панування та постійна боротьба за владу є притаманні людській природі, сягає корінням сивої давнини і увесь цей час оспорюється представниками і послідовниками ідеалізму.
  5. Прагнення будь-якими методами діяти з метою досягнення власних інтересів не виправдовує нещодавні дії деяких політичних гравців, які вирішили вдатися до засобів примусу, що стало передумовою для поглиблення стурбованості міжнародної спільноти.
  6. У рамках цього процесу, НАТО продовжила запровадження Плану дій у галузі колективної оборони, втілюючи у життя заходи щодо гарантування безпеки своїх членів, щоб зробити Альянс готовим до викликів майбутнього.
  7. Сторона взяла на себе зобов'язання повністю ліквідувати негативні наслідки, спричинені нещодавнім конфліктом, і реалізувати рішення, спрямовані на відновлення верховенства права.
  8. Така політика держави у галузі прав людини поглиблює стурбованість основних світових гравців і, вочевидь, повинна зазнати кардинальних змін. Лише беззаперечне впровадження цих змін може стати передумовою для подальшої взаємної співпраці, спрямованої на досягнення бажаних результатів.
  9. Лише за умови негайної реалізації спільних рішень у рамках нещодавно укладеної багатосторонньої угоди, ми будемо мати сильну позицію на переговорах і зможемо діяти задля досягнення інтересів держави.
  10. Одним із завдань спеціалізованих установ, що діють у рамках цієї міжнародної організації, є визначення спільних інтересів у галузі інформаційної безпеки, ліквідація нерівності між країнами у цій сфері та підтримка тісної співпраці з країнами регіону.

**Exercise 15. Comment on the meaning of the following notions.**

despotism, tyranny, absolutism, dictatorship.

**Exercise 16. Answer the following questions using the vocabulary.**

1. Whose point of view – the Realists’ or the Idealists’ – do you support and why?
2. Do you agree with the definition of the term “power” given by Realists? What other definitions of “power” can you cite?
3. Compare the five approaches and dwell upon the similarities and differences in their key features.
4. What do the representatives of different approaches consider the source of wars and conflicts, and what place do they lay for an individual in a society?
5. Do IR have impact on the decision making process within a state? Give your reasons and examples.

**Exercise 17. Debate circuit.**

**1. Anarchism is a valuable political ideology.**

*Points for*

- The state is a meaningless metaphysical entity that is unnecessary and indeed detrimental for our lives.
- States are never truly representative of the people.
- Even in societies with a state, anarchist groups provide a voice for the oppressed.
- The state has far too often been an instrument for facilitating wars and other acts of violence.
- Community action is a more powerful tool than the state for providing goods.

*Points against*

- The state provides functions which are utterly essential.
- Anarchy has nothing to contribute but violence.
- Anarchist communities have a very poor track record.

**2. Capitalism is better than socialism.**

*Points for*

- The market should determine the price of products and services.
- Each man has a right to private property.
- The capitalist society enhances personal freedom.
- Incentive in form of profit benefits society as a whole.

*Points against*

- Socialism leads to a more humane equal society.
- Socialism provides a more sustainable way of living.
- Socialism is a more secure system than the free market in Capitalism.

**3. Neo-functionalism explains the integration of the European Union.**

*Points for*

- Neo-functionalism explains the cause of integration.
- Neo-functionalism proposes a purpose to EU integration.
- Neo-functionalism – liberal theory of regional integration.
- Neo-functionalism provides a good starting point for EU analysis.
- Supranational Entrepreneurs played a crucial role in integration.

*Points against*

- The assumption of the automaticity of Spill-over is wrong.
- The founder of Neo-functionalism abandoned his own theory (Haas).
- The Empty Chair Crisis of 1965.
- The international system is characterised by anarchy and the distribution of economic and military capabilities.

**Exercise 18. Prepare a presentation.**

1. Choose any two types of governing and compare their main features.  
Comment on their advantages and drawbacks.
2. Compare and contrast several approaches in the Theory of IR.

**Exercise 19. Write an essay.**

1. The ideal type of government.