JPIA

Journal of Politics & International Affairs

Benjamin W. Presson
Editor-in-Chief

Ramzy Mardini   Dante Marinucci
Managing Editors

Associate Editors
Dan DeFrances
Dan Gray
Kevin Jackson
J.T. Munch

Assistant Graphic Designer
Ben Branham

Contents

Benjamin W. Presson
Editor-in-Chief

Editor's Foreword to the Winter 2009 Print Edition

Colleagues and Friends:

I am pleased to present the third issue and second print edition of *The Journal of Politics & International Affairs*: Volume III, Issue I.

From its humble beginnings in the basement of Derby Hall, the JPIA has grown to become an active forum for academically excellent political science and international affairs research. As the JPIA moves into its third year, I am excited by the energy and evolution of this project. The journal continues to progress in new directions, explore and integrate innovative ideas, and partner with organizations that support its mission and long-term vision.

From production to publication, members of the Editorial Board strive to be their harshest critics in an effort to continuously improve the quality of the JPIA. Throughout the past several months, Board members have been diligently working to analyze and perfect the many intricacies that comprise a project of this size and scope. Readers of this issue will notice a refined layout and design, a new cover, an augmented editing structure, a cleaner type set, more information about the authors, and advertisements for academic programs.

In part, this issue is a culmination of intense review and evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the first two releases and countless hours of work on the JPIA. I encourage our readers to continue providing us with comments, suggestions, and feedback. We listen and act accordingly, and thrive off of collaborative advice from the community and professionals in the field that enhances the JPIA and its content.

On a strategic level, UPSO is continuing to build a network of local and national partners committed to quality political science projects and research. For the first time in this issue the JPIA is featuring an author from outside the OSU community. I encourage our readers to visit UPSO's new Web site—www.upsoatosu.org—to connect with more students, colleagues, and partners across Ohio State's campus and the country. Furthermore, I openly invite any individual or organization interested in working with the JPIA or UPSO to contact its members.

I again want to thank the Undergraduate Student Government at Ohio State for helping to fund this issue and for its support of the JPIA these past three years. I would also like to thank the John Glenn Institute for its recent partnership with the JPIA to bring information about academic programs and opportunities to the pages of this issue. Lastly, I am eternally grateful for the support and guidance of the Department of Political Science at Ohio State since the founding of the JPIA, specifically from Chair and Professor Herb Weisberg and Wayne DeYoung.

Finally, this will be my last issue as Editor-in-Chief of *The Journal of Politics & International Affairs*. It has been an honor to serve in this capacity for three issues, and I look forward to remaining active in the JPIA and UPSO. This project has been one of the most challenging and rewarding of my life, and I will miss it greatly. Although it is a difficult decision, life has a way of telling us when it is time to move on. I trust that those designated to undertake leadership roles in the JPIA will do so with respect and commitment to the rich history of this project, its mission and vision, and the dedicated members who came before them.

As always, we hope to see you on UPSO's Web site, submitting a paper to the JPIA, or at one of our many UPSO events this upcoming year. Thank you for all your support.

Sincerely,
Benjamin W. Presson
Editor-in-Chief

Submission of Manuscripts

The Journal of Politics & International Affairs (JPIA) welcomes submissions from undergraduates and graduates of any school, class or major. We seek to publish manuscripts of the highest quality, and papers selected for publication are generally exceptionally written, with well-developed theses, and exhibit articulate arguments with original analysis. The JPIA also accepts and encourages submissions from professors, Ph.D. candidates, guest lectures, subject matter experts, and distinguished faculty. Submissions can include opinion pieces, short policy analysis, and book reviews.

Papers are typically 10-20 pages in length, and have been written for an upper-level course. Manuscripts for consideration should include an abstract of approximately 150 words. Citations and references should follow the American Political Science Association *Style Manual for Political Science*. All references must be complete, accurate, and up-to-date for submissions to be considered. References in manuscripts should be submitted in the form of footnotes.

Those who submit papers may be asked to revise their manuscript before and after it is accepted for publication. Submissions must be in the form of a Microsoft Word document and should be e-mailed to upsopublic@gmail.com. Please include name, university, a short biography, and contact details (mailing address, e-mail address, and phone number). Although papers are encouraged and accepted on a rolling basis, they will only be considered for publication during each publication cycle. Please visit the UPSO Web site at www.upsoatosu.org for additional JPIA and submission information.

The Decline of U.S. Hegemony: Regaining International Consent

KEVIN SLATEN[1]

This study uses United Nations General Assembly voting data between 1992 and 2005 as well as public opinion surveys from many countries to examine American authority and hegemony in international relations. The data is also used to compare the strength of that authority between the administrations of William Clinton and George W. Bush. In comparing the two time periods, it appears that the U.S. had significant authority over NATO countries in comparison to non-NATO countries during the Clinton years, and that authority declined significantly during the Bush presidency. After establishing these conclusions, potential outcomes of an international system characterized by declining authority are overviewed. Finally, based upon the findings, three options for future American policy are elaborated.[2]

S ince September 11, the American administration has chosen to confront contemporary threats to national and global security—terrorism, rogue regimes, drug trafficking, and WMDs—with a Bush Doctrine that leaves little room for negotiation. Moreover, in March of 2003, the U.S., without United Nations approval, invaded and proceeded to occupy Iraq. In June of 2006, America's closest ally, Great Britain, had a public that only held a 56% favorable opinion of the U.S. while other western states held far lower opinions – 39, 27, 23, and 43% for France, Germany, Spain, and Russia, respectively. Through its actions and attitudes, the United States has lost a large amount international consent.

I argue in this essay that during the Clinton administration, the U.S. possessed a significant amount of authority over most NATO countries – enough authority that America lead hegemony among those states – and those states consented to American actions in international relations.

Additionally, I show that this authority declined significantly due to policy changes during the Bush administration.

In hegemony, the hegemon – the United States – and its subordinates are endowed with certain role expectations; expectations that are held by subordinates that consent to the hegemon's authority and, likewise, expectations that are projected by the hegemon onto subordinates. The more subordinate states conform to role expectations, the stronger the hegemony. I utilize two methodologies in measuring the role conformity among various states during the 1990's and 2000's. The first uses United Nations General Assembly voting data to compare the voting record of the U.S. against other states and groups of states. Voting similarly to the United States is a subordinate role expectation, so the more a state votes with America, the more that state is conforming to the subordinate role expectation. The second methodology is cross-national attitude surveys, which reflect various public's consent for and perception of American authority; strong consent for and positive perception of American authority is expected in the case of hegemony. As mentioned, attitudes have recently taken a large unfavorable downturn for the United States among NATO nations.

After examining the results of both of these measures, I discuss some possible outcomes of a system of declining hegemony from differing theoretical perspectives. I then conclude with a normative argument pertaining to what the United States' policy ought to be amidst a system of declining hegemony. Ultimately, the interests of America as well as the global community are best served by a policy that seeks to regain international consent.

Authority and Hierarchy

Power in global politics is classically defined by Robert Dahl (1957) as "A's ability to get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."[3] Traditionally, this would entail that actor A coerce actor B through some form of action or threat of action or that actor A possess greater material capabilities than actor B. However, power in international relations may also be fashioned through the intersubjective construction of authority.

---

[3] Lake 2006, p.24.

Political authority has been defined as "the legitimate practice of power."[4] Legitimacy here derives from those over which power is being practiced, so in authority relationships, A wills B to follow, and B voluntarily complies because A's commands are understood to be obligatory and legitimate. In a formal-legal sense, the obligation and legitimation comes from B's voluntary consent to a set of explicit agreements that create such power relations; the authority national governments draw from their laws is an example of authority in this sense. However, the sovereignty principles cherished by most governments today largely prevent formal-legal authority relationships between states, so legitimate authority in contemporary international relations is more often manufactured through "practice."

David Lake says that an authority relationship derived from practice is established when A offers to provide a good of sufficient value to B that B complies to the conditions necessary for A to carry out the materialization of that good.[5] Although a practice-based hierarchal relationship may begin as a rational exchange between A and B, Lake's claim that a self-interested trade-off is sufficient for a legitimate authority relationship is wanting. Legitimation, to be expanded later in the section on compliance, goes further than a good being provided in exchange for compliance to certain rules or conditions. Nevertheless, Lake's discussion of a rational exchange does offer insight into how an authority relationship may come to exist through an exchange-based hierarchical relationship, which I will develop now.

Actor B's choice of a particular good, where A provides the good as well as establishes the rules (norms deemed to be necessary to produce the good), is the basis of the authority relationship, though not sufficient in creating an authority relationship. That is, whether deliberately or unintentionally, B is choosing a good that A provides over other alternative solutions to the same problem.[6] This choice translates into B's compliance with a set of rules in exchange for A's ability to provide the good – a hierarchical relationship. Hierarchy is like any social relationship in that it is not static, thus B must – at least initially – continue to choose A's good – and A must continue to provide the good – in order for the hierarchical relationship to be established. In other words, it is the good provided by A, rather than A itself, which is the principal dynamic in

---

[4] Agnew 2005, p.443.
[5] Lake 2006, p.25.
[6] Scheppele and Soltan 1987, p.171.

an exchange-based form of hierarchy. However, in the case of legitimate authority (as will be conferred briefly), the emphasis shifts from the good in a hierarchical relationship to the rules for which A establishes in exchange for providing the good.

The above explanation of hierarchy is a self-interest model, where B is complying with A's rules solely for the benefits afforded by A's good; it is a good model to explain how a basis for authority is often created between two actors. Yet, self-interest is only one manner of compliance, and compliance can be generated by way of three distinct mechanisms.[7] First, B may comply for fear of a physical penalty by an asymmetrically powerful A; although coercion may be integral to other kinds of hierarchy as a form of social control, coercion is inconsistent with the definition of authority discussed here. An authority relationship is contingent upon B's consent for A's rules, and coercion doesn't require consent.

Second, B may comply, as was mentioned, as a result of a cost-benefit analysis that establishes that compliance is more beneficial than noncompliance in terms of B's self-interest. B chooses the good provided by A because that particular option maximizes B's benefits relative to alternative options. Where coercion leaves B worse off than it would have been before a relationship, self-interest leaves B better off than it would have been by choosing another path. Compliance is generated by way of incentive, but the good – the incentive – need not be material. It may be a particular service or environment that A is providing in exchange for B's compliance to a set of rules. In order for a hierarchical relationship to persist by way of self-interested compliance, A must continually reproduce the good, and B must continually decide, in a calculated and deliberate manner, that compliance is in its best self-interest.[8]

The final way that B may comply is through legitimation, and it is only by legitimate compliance that a hierarchical relationship can become an authority relationship. Here, the rules generated by A are regarded as "right" or "just" because A's rules are consistent with B's interests (norms, values, and beliefs), and all actors pursue interests.[9] Another way of conceptualizing legitimate authority is to say that the interests of the hegemon have become the terms in which the interests

---

[7] Hurd 1999, p.379.
[8] Hurd 1999, p.387.
[9] Hurd 1999, p.386-387.

of the subordinate are defined.[10] Legitimate compliance has two distinct features relative to self-interest and coercion: habituality and the potential absence of benefit maximization. If the rules become internalized, then the choice to comply with A's rules in exchange for A's good become habitual; the compliance is reproduced without premeditation. Not only have the rules become consistent with B's interests, they have become part of those interests. The rules have become the norm; noncompliance has become the exception and requires special consideration.[11]

In habitual compliance, the authority relationship may be threatened by self-interest, for when B begins to reevaluate the circumstance and its material interests, B may find another alternative more materially advantageous. Habitual compliance also allows for A to no longer produce a good for B because B complies to A's rules due to internalization of new interests rather than a cognizant choice of A's good. Thus, the norms (rules) required to provide a good replace the good itself as the critical feature of the authority relationship. However, the act of failing to reproduce a good may, like other changes in the environment, disrupt the relationship in such a way that B resumes self-interested calculation. In a habitual authority relationship, B may not be mindful of its compliance to A's authority, but if the good that established the basis for the authority relationship ceases to be reproduced, then the foundation of authority – the good – disappears and this may or may not become an impetus for B to reevaluate its interests. Further, a reevaluation may lead B to realize its interest in liquidating the authority relationship.

Legitimation is also distinct from self-interested compliance in that self-interest does not necessarily have to be part of B's choice to comply. The process of an actor legitimizing something is not to be confused with the process of an actor pursuing self-interest. A self-interested actor works to make a material circumstance maximally beneficial for the ego, but an interested actor simply works to pursue goals – the goal does not necessarily have to be consistent with maximum material benefits for the self. In legitimate compliance, B is working to pursue its interests (norms, values, and beliefs), and A's rules have not only become consistent with these interests, but the rules have become part of B's interests.[12] In this way, legitimate compliance says that B may choose to comply to A's authority over another alternative even

---

[10] Wendt and Friedheim 1995, p.703.
[11] Hurd 1999, p.388.
[12] Hurd 1999, p.388

when the alternative would provide a circumstance in which B would be materially better off. This possibility makes legitimate compliance different from self-interested compliance, for an exclusively self-interested actor could not comply with rules that are inconsistent with maximally benefiting the ego. On the other hand, legitimate compliance also does not have to be inconsistent with self-interest, thus it may be difficult to determine the type of compliance operating in a hierarchical relationship when both types of compliance are part of the same relationship.

I have explained how an authority relationship is different from other forms of hierarchy relationships, yet it is still a type of hierarchy. Scholars also point out that authority relationships necessarily implies the institution of hierarchy.[13] Kim Scheppele and Karol Soltan write that "authority involves a hierarchical relationship between an authority figure and subject, a relationship which gives one the right to give orders to the other and which creates obligations for the other to obey."[14] However, hierarchy is rarely total and is variable in nature, thus hierarchy is a continuous dependent variable which is contingent upon the breadth and depth of behaviors that A can regulate over B.[15] For example, A may have enough authority to regulate B's behaviors 1-5, but A cannot expect compliance for the attempted regulation of behaviors 6-n – where 6-n are behaviors pertaining to greater control over B.[16] In Figure 1, this continuous variable is expressed visually.

As more of B's behaviors can be legitimately regulated by A in an authority relationship, then hierarchy increases in value. "Complete hierarchy," then, exists when A possesses the necessary authority to regulate every behavior that B may perform. Conversely, the absence of hierarchy exists when A lacks any authority over the regulation of B's behaviors. The preponderance of authoritative relationships, where A can legitimately regulate neither all nor none of B's behaviors, lie somewhere in-between the latter extremes in systems that I will call "partial hierarchy."

---

[13] Lake 2006, p.25; Cronin 2001, p.107; Wendt and Friedheim 1995, p.695.
[14] Scheppele and Soltan 1987, p.170.
[15] Lake 1996, p.7.
[16] Lake 2006, p.25.

Figure 1: The Continuous Variable of Hierarchy

←———————————— PARTIAL HIERARCHY ———————————→

No   Complete
Hierarchy   Hierarchy
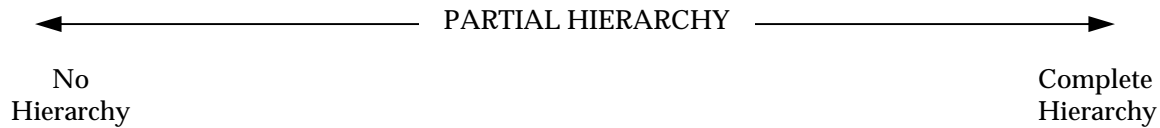
It is necessary to reiterate the importance of legitimacy in the above hierarchical circumstances, for B's behaviors, contrary to coercive relationships, are regulated through implicit or explicit consent to A's rules – the rules have become B's interests – rather than implicit or explicit threats by A. Through coercion, B may receive nothing through compliance, but in authority, B's compliance creates expectations that A will act in B's interests through adherence to norms. Hierarchy, however, is not unique to authority relationships, and coercive relationships would also bring about forms of hierarchy. Although authoritative and coercive relationships incur the same dependent variable (hierarchy), the independent variable responsible for the value of the dependent variable differs – consent is to authority what threat is to coercion.

Figure 2 is an elaboration of the concept of hierarchal institutions at the level of global politics. Where state A legitimately regulates all behaviors of state B, an empire exists with B as the subordinate. Where authority is absent from an interstate relationship, the resultant structure is debated. The neo-realist school of thought would argue that without authority, the de jure principle of Westphalian sovereignty[17] and international anarchy, thus total state independence, would predominate; however, a competing argument – security governance – would suggest that although state sovereignty is a formal-legal international norm, the consequences of a declining hegemony is entirely contextual. Both cases will be developed later, but for now, we will simply assume that the absence of interstate authority begets, at least, a structural state of Westphalian sovereignty.

---

[17] Wendt and Friedheim 1995, p.695.

The institution that exists between anarchy and empire is hegemony, and the state that acquires consent and constructs authority in a hegemonic institution is a hegemon.[18] The relational characteristics of hegemony, then, are that of partial hierarchy, where A has the ability to regulate only some behaviors of B. The strength, and therefore the survival, of A's hegemony is dependent upon the depth and breadth of behaviors that B gives consent to A to regulate. Thus, as a hegemon loses consent from B (or many "B's"), the institution of hegemony necessarily weakens, and the system moves toward Westphalian sovereignty.

Figure 2: The Continuous Variable of Hierarchy in International Relations

HEGEMON

Westphalian
Sovereignty

Empire
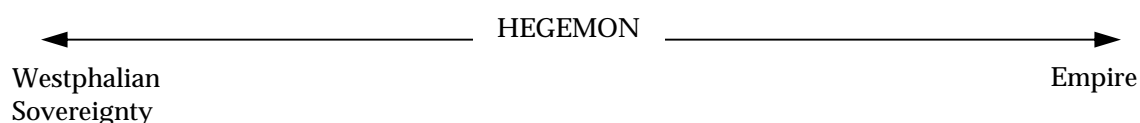
The Hegemonic Role

I have explained the structural characteristics of hegemony based upon legitimate authority, but this does not tell us what hegemony would look like in the day-to-day interactions between the hegemon and its subordinates. In order to understand regular behaviors of actors in hegemony, one must understand the roles prescribed by the social institution of hegemony.

Some materialist scholars have depicted international hegemony solely as a function of asymmetrical distributions of material power indicators, such as economic output, military capacity, or proportions of global trade dominance.[19] These explanations of hegemony, however, fail to account for the importance of norms and expectations that are implicit in any social interaction. Social actors are influenced by the structural, material characteristics of their environment, but they also shape that structure through subjective perception and action based upon that perception. A hegemon and the subordinates of hegemony behave toward one another

---

[18] Lake 2006, p.25.
[19] Kagan 1998; Kagan 2002; Huntington 1999.

based upon each actor's perception of the other and of the self.[20] In other words, hegemony is more than material; it is intersubjective.

Hegemony is a social institution, which are rules, enforcement characteristics of rules, and norms of behavior that structure repeated human interaction.[21] Institutions can be formal or informal, and the rules they express can be agreed to implicitly or explicitly. Marriage is a formal institution in most societies, and it has both explicit rules, such as fidelity, and implicit rules, such as which person is responsible for the preponderance of childcare. Further, institutions must prescribe behavioral roles, which constrain activity and shape expectations, to those actors engaged in an institution. In "traditional" societies, marriage prescribes that women play the role of wife as a homemaker and child nurturer while men fill the husband role as "breadwinner".

Because they prescribe behaviors for actors that are interacting with one another, roles are a normative concept. Ralf Turner says that a "Role refers to behavior rather than position, so that one may enact a role but cannot occupy a role . . . The role is made up of all those norms which are thought to apply to a person occupying a given position."[22] The manner in which an actor enacts a role is role performance, which is distinct from the role itself. Using the example of traditional society, a woman is *expected* to play the wife role as a homemaker, but she may *perform* the role as a breadwinner or some balance of the two, which would not be the norm in a traditional society. If enough actors in an institution fail to perform the "correct" role, then expectations of that role change and, thus, the role itself has been changed. Moreover, the institution has been altered to prescribe new role prescriptions.

As an institution, hegemony therefore creates roles – that of the hegemon and those of its subordinates – and role expectations based on the concepts of the roles.[23] In the dynamics of hegemonic role-playing, role expectations are external to the hegemonic state actor – the 'ego' – and are prescribed by subordinate actors – the 'alter'.[24] The alter in global politics may include

---

[20] Wendt 1992, p.403-407.
[21] Keohane 1988, p.384.
[22] Holsti 1970, p.238.
[23] Cronin 2001, p.108-109; Holsti 1970, p.239; Keohane 1988, p.384.
[24] Wendt 1992, p.406: he depicts a model of role construction in terms of the ego and the alter that clarifies the process well.

various constraints of the system structure, such as system-wide values, formal legal principles, formal treaties, informal understandings or customs, foreign opinion, or other states[25], but as it pertains to hegemonic role-playing, I will be focusing primarily on states as the alter.

In an institution of hegemony, some expectations of the alter are a product of the particular authoritative relationship states in the system share with the ego. That is to say, expectations of subordinate states depend, in part, on the rules that a hegemonic authority establishes and that subordinate states have internalized. For example, if the internalized rule of a particular hegemon in an authoritative relationship is that genocide must be stopped, then subordinate states expect hegemonic behavior consistent with preventing genocide. There are two particular limits on a hegemonic role: first, de jure equality of subordinate states must be maintained, and second, a hegemon must avoid unilateral acts that violate institutional rules.[26] The first limit reflects the nature of a partial hierarchy, where subordinate states do not consent to regulation of all of their behaviors. The second is in contrast to a circumstance where a hegemon acts unilaterally in a way that is consistent with institutional rules (though it may be disputed if such a case is still considered unilateralism) or a circumstance where a hegemon acts multilaterally. Multilateralism implies consent by the alter and, thus, role performance that fits corresponding expectations.

The subordinates, however, also role-play and have role expectations prescribed by a hegemon. Where subordinate states expect a hegemon to behave consistently with internalized rules within the previously stated limits, subordinate states are expected to comply with demands necessary for the hegemon to act in the interest of those rules. To use the aforementioned illustration, in a system where a hegemon's rule – thus a norm in which all subordinate states have internalized – is that genocide must be stopped, subordinates are expected not to challenge – rhetorically, symbolically, or otherwise – the hegemon's actions toward fulfilling the anti-genocide rule; this hegemon's actions are upholding a rule that is part of the interests of every actor in the institution. Again, expectations are partially a reflection of the system structure of authority, and this applies to both the role of hegemon and subordinate.

---

[25] Holsti 1970, p.245.
[26] Cronin 2001, p.110.

The implications of role-playing in a hegemonic institution are profound to the sustained existence of the authority relationship. As discussed before, hegemony is dependent upon the depth and breadth of behaviors that subordinates give consent to a hegemon to regulate. Using the concepts of role theory, subordinate consent to the institution of hegemony is expressed through conformity to or deviation from that institution's roles. If subordinate states' role performance is consistent with the 'subordinate role' expectations, then the state of the hegemony is relatively strong. Figure 3 simply continues the evolution of the hierarchy variable; added in this version is the independent variable of consent through subordinate role conformity, expressed by a sub-continuum. Using the variable model, a system characterized by deviant behavior on the part of subordinate states would be a system of weakening hegemony.

Figure 3: The Continuous Variable of Hierarchy in International Relations

HEGEMONY

Westphalian Sovereignty   Empire

(Subordinate role

LESS   MORE
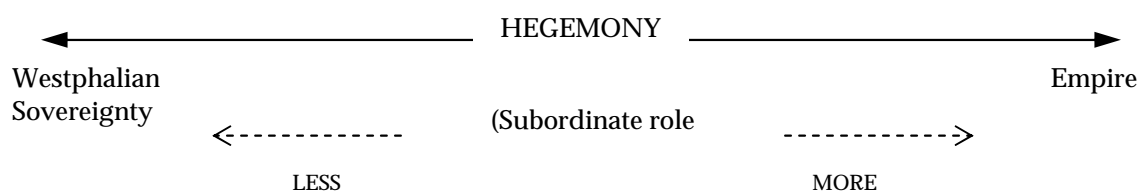
Measuring Consent

In 2004, the United States spent $466 billion on defense[27] – as much as the next 22 states combined – and in 2006 it had the highest gross domestic product at $13.2 trillion, which is about one fifth of the world economy.[28] In a material sense, American power may be indisputable. However, the ability of America to use its capabilities in international security is contingent upon the intersubjective hegemonic authority that it gains (or loses) through compliance from other states.

I assert two hypotheses regarding American hegemony. First, since at least the fall of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent presidency of William Clinton, America has led hegemony among multiple major states in international relations. Second, this hegemony began to decline due to fundamental policy changes during the administration of George W. Bush. In order to know

---

[27] GlobalSecurity.org 2007.
[28] World Bank 2007.

whether or not American hegemony ever truly existed and, if it did, the weakening or strengthening trend of U.S. authority, one must observe the behavior of relevant actors over time.

As discussed previously, the strength of hegemony can be measured by the role conforming behavior that subordinate states perform. By conforming to the role expectations of a subordinate state, subordinates are consenting to the rules set forth by the hegemonic state. In other words, by conforming to the subordinate role, these states are legitimizing hegemonic authority. On the other hand, the existence of hegemony also implies that a hegemon conforms to particular expectations.

UN Voting Data

In order to spot such role conformity, I used United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) voting data[29] to measure the voting behavior of states relative to the U.S. I decided to use this data because resolutions in the UNGA are usually general position votes that often express a state's interests and ideals. For example, common topics of resolutions that were voted upon from 1993-2005 were the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, human rights violations and principles, nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, banning of nuclear testing, global climate change, and arms proliferation.

UN voting behavior between states is one way to measure role-conforming behavior of subordinate states. If subordinates have internalized the norms of a hegemon, then one would expect to see subordinates voting in the UN like the hegemon (the expected role of a subordinate state). If the subordinate states' voting behavior is similar to the U.S., then one can argue that this is proof of hegemony. Causation cannot necessarily be proven, but it can be argued for based upon the theoretical framework that I am using. On the other hand, if subordinate voting behavior is significantly different from the U.S., then one can conclude with a fair amount of certainty that hegemony does not exist, for if a state is not voting like America, then it would be difficult to argue that this state simultaneously legitimates U.S. authority and norms.

---

[29] Voeten 2005.

I measured the similarity of voting behavior between two countries by calculating the Cramer's V (V) for correlation of nominal variables. I used a Cramer's V rather than the Contingency coefficient because the former is more conservative thus adding to the validity of my findings. For each resolution, a country's vote could be coded in five ways: yes, abstain, no, absent, or 'not a member'. The formula for V is displayed below. V ranges between 0 and 1, with 0 being absolutely no correlation and 1 being total correlation.

Both of my hypotheses had to be approached in different ways. The first – that America ever led hegemony – is relative to the similarity of voting behavior among all states. For example, if one were to find a mean V of .6 between the U.S. and all other states in the UNGA, then one could draw no conclusions as to whether .6 is a strong or weak correlation without a basis of comparison. If the average correlation between all countries were .3, then .6 would indeed be a strong correlation. However, if the average correlation between all states were .8, then .6 displays a weak correlation.

Figure 4: Formula for Cramer's V for Correlation of Nominal or Categorical Variables

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N(k-1)}}$$

Where,

$\chi 2$ = calculated chi-square value

N = the number of cases

k = the number of rows or columns (whichever is smaller)

With this in mind, I had to create a basis for comparison so that any calculated V could be interpreted meaningfully. This involved using a random sample of seven states (and the U.S.) from the thirty states in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which is an IGO (formed in 1960) that "brings together the governments of countries committed

to democracy and the market economy".[30] I calculated the mean V of each of the eight countries as compared to all 189 voting countries included in the UNGA voting dataset. Using OECD countries to create a basis for comparison is more valid than using both OECD and non-OECD countries because OECD states are more like the U.S. than non-OECD states (i.e. OECD states are more economically developed and politically similar). Moreover, using only OECD countries increases the validity of results; using non-OECD would probably lower the overall average because less developed countries tend to vote much differently than OECD countries – possibly reflecting the political coalition of developing countries in the UNGA.

After creating a basis for comparison, which is the mean V of eight OECD countries' voting behavior when compared to all other countries, I proceeded to compare U.S. voting behavior to the voting behavior of all other 24 NATO states in order to measure the possible presence of hegemony. I used NATO states for the reason that if a correlation is to be found among any states, then it would be among NATO states, which share an explicit military alliance with the U.S.

The second hypothesis was somewhat less complex to approach in that it only required comparing the mean calculated V of the U.S. versus NATO states over time. Since my hypothesis speculates upon the difference between the Clinton and Bush administrations, I compared voting data from 1993 to 2000 against data from 2001 to 2005. Unfortunately, the dataset stopped at 2005, and the hypothesis could not be tested for the past two years. If a significant difference is found among the mean calculated V between the two time periods, then one could argue that this is evidence for a declining hegemony – assuming the first hypothesis is found to be affirmed – as subordinate states have ceased conforming to role expectations.

Based on the results depicted in Table 1 and Table 2, my first hypothesis is confirmed. While the world average V among OECD states during the Clinton administration (1993-2000) is .244, the U.S. averages .407 among NATO members during the same period. This is a significant difference (at the .01 level) between the two means and demonstrates the authority that America had among some countries during that time.

---

[30] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2007.

Table 1: Cramer's V Comparisons 1993-2000

1993 – 2000 Mean Cramer's V
OECD vs. World

Country	Cramer's V Mean	Std. Deviation
Finland	0.278	0.257
Turkey	0.268	0.129
Germany	0.267	0.241
Portugal	0.267	0.233
Hungary	0.258	0.214
United States	0.234	0.136
South Korea	0.204	0.131
Japan	0.172	0.080
Mean	0.244	0.178

U.S. vs. NATO

Country	Cramer's V	Deviation
Luxembourg	0.646	0.239
Canada	0.644	0.237
Denmark	0.638	0.231
UK	0.548	0.141
Belgium	0.507	0.100
Germany	0.502	0.095
Netherlands	0.444	0.037
Italy	0.436	0.029
Spain	0.421	0.014
Poland	0.399	-0.008
Hungary	0.375	-0.032
France	0.369	-0.038
Bulgaria	0.366	-0.041
Iceland	0.364	-0.043
Romania	0.352	-0.055
Slovakia	0.348	-0.059
Norway	0.347	-0.060
Slovenia	0.340	-0.067
Latvia	0.339	-0.068
Lithuania	0.329	-0.078
Estonia	0.318	-0.089
Portugal	0.276	-0.131
Greece	0.253	-0.154
Turkey	0.214	-0.193
Mean	0.407	0.119

*Significantly different from 1993-2000
OECD v. World mean at .01 level

The difference only appears, however, among NATO states, for the mean V when the U.S. is compared to the entire world (.234) is very close to the mean V of all OECD countries (.244). One cannot claim, then, that the U.S. had hegemony over all states, in general. The results also confirm my second hypothesis. Not only does the significant difference disappear between the OECD mean V (.284) and the NATO mean V (.237) during the Bush administration (2001-2005), but a significant difference exists at the .001 level between the NATO mean V during Clinton years (.407) and during Bush years (.237). This significant difference reflects a decline

in U.S. hegemony among states that, during the Clinton administration, voted significantly more similar to America in the UN General Assembly.

Table 2: Cramer's V Comparisons 2001-2005

Global Attitudes Data.

2001-2005 Mean Cramer's V
OECD vs. World

Country	Cramer's V Mean	Std. Deviation
Turkey	0.363	0.157
Finland	0.320	0.307
Hungary	0.299	0.264
Germany	0.296	0.256
Portugal	0.288	0.259
South Korea	0.272	0.206
United States	0.234	0.083
Japan	0.199	0.078
Mean	0.284	0.201

U.S. vs. NATO

Country	Cramer's V	Std. Deviation
UK	0.338	0.101
Slovakia	0.271	0.034
Spain	0.268	0.031
Iceland	0.266	0.029
France	0.263	0.026
Italy	0.252	0.015
Hungary	0.243	0.006
Germany	0.242	0.005
Poland	0.235	-0.002
Canada	0.233	-0.004
Lithuania	0.232	-0.005
Portugal	0.231	-0.006
Netherlands	0.227	-0.010
Greece	0.223	-0.014
Bulgaria	0.223	-0.014
Belgium	0.222	-0.015
Romania	0.222	-0.015
Slovenia	0.221	-0.016
Latvia	0.219	-0.018
Luxembourg	0.218	-0.019
Denmark	0.218	-0.019
Norway	0.217	-0.020
Estonia	0.211	-0.026
Turkey	0.202	-0.035
Mean	0.237	0.029

*Significantly different from 1993-2000
US v. NATO mean at the .0001 level
**Not significantly different from 2001-2005
OECD v. World mean

Another, less direct, approach to measuring the role conformity of nations as subordinates in hegemony is to investigate the attitudes of the nations' publics. Assuming that the views of the public have some bearing on the policy of representatives in modern democracies, one can gauge the attitude of a national government toward the United States by measuring the attitudes of that government's constituency. Using the Pew Research Center's 16-nation Global Attitudes Project

survey as well as a BBC World Service survey of 25 countries[31], one can observe that the global attitudes toward America, along with UN voting records, affirms both hypotheses, but the surveys make a much stronger case for declining authority (second hypothesis) than the existence of American hegemony (first hypothesis).

Figure 5: Average of 18 Countries' Views   *Figure 6: Opinions' of the U.S. Government's*
on U.S. Influence, 2005-2007   *Handling of Major International Events*
From BBC World Service   From BBC World Service
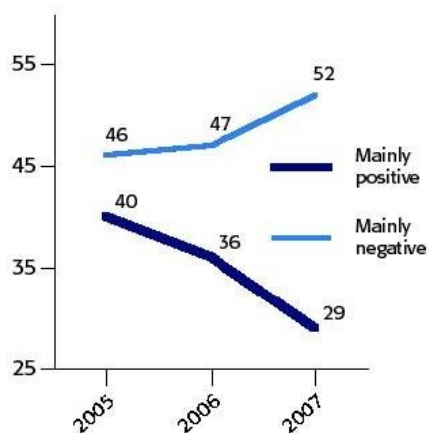
Base: Representative sample of 18,000 adults in 18 countries
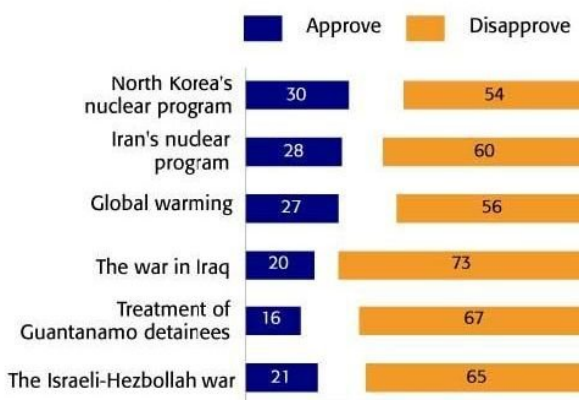
Base: Representative sample of 26,000 adults in 25 countries
The white space in this chart represents "DK/NA."

Looking first at the BBC World Service survey, from 2005 to 2007, the positive image of America among 18 nations declined 11% (Figure 5). In data collected from November 2006 to January 2007, the majority of views of American foreign policy on major international issues among 26,381 respondents in 25 states were highly disapproving (Figure 6). It is hard to make an argument for U.S. hegemony when so many people worldwide disapprove of the way America is performing its role in international relations. However, the results above are based upon the average of respondents in all countries, and as stated before, if a hegemonic relationship is to be found among any countries, then it would among the states of NATO that share an explicit military pact with the U.S.

---

[31] Extensive methodology for both surveys can be found in their respective reports that are referenced at the end of this paper.

Attitudes among various NATO publics are equally as unsupporting of American hegemony as the averages in Figures 5 and 6. When asked about their opinions of the American government's handling of various international events, citizens of NATO states are actually *more* likely than non-NATO citizens to be disapproving (Table 3). This is especially true for the issues of the war in Iraq, the detainees in Guantanamo Bay, and global warming. The results of this survey seem to uphold my second hypothesis of declining authority. On the other hand, while the cross-national comparison of the BBC survey is somewhat valuable for accessing the second hypothesis, it unfortunately lacks in substantial longitudinal parameters that could offer insight into the change between the Bush and Clinton White Houses. Furthermore, the survey cannot provide any insight into the first hypothesis – whether or not American hegemony ever exists among NATO states.

Table 3: Global Attitudes by Country from November 2006 to January 2007
Source: BBC World Service

Country	Positive	Negative	Iraq	Iran	Israel	Guantanamo	N.Korea	Climate	M.East
France	24	69	92	77	81	82	67	86	80
Germany	16	74	88	64	74	89	56	84	73
Hungary	29	31	70	55	57	69	50	53	58
Italy	35	47	81	60	70	82	58	74	69
Poland	38	24	52	35	40	61	26	31	56
Portugal	29	55	83	57	72	84	51	79	77
Turkey	7	69	90	81	89	85	71	65	76
UK	33	57	81	64	70	76	55	79	72
NATO mean	26	53	80	62	69	79	54	69	70
Argentina	13	64	92	85	85	78	78	78	86
Australia	29	60	78	63	66	77	48	68	72
Brazil	29	57	85	80	82	76	75	73	83
Chile	32	51	65	62	66	63	59	63	68
China	28	52	83	60	66	59	56	35	72
Egypt	11	59	90	91	92	87	56	59	85
India	30	28	41	36	38	39	33	22	38
Indonesia	21	71	85	77	81	72	73	52	83
Kenya	35	47	32	25	35	38	25	21	46
Lebanon	34	58	90	64	82	80	68	68	77
Mexico	12	53	80	51	58	70	46	67	80
Nigeria	72	20	39	42	38	38	34	55	38
Phillipines	72	11	34	35	33	32	31	21	39
Russia	19	59	82	64	64	57	56	36	72
S.Korea	35	54	78	55	70	60	55	45	75
UAE	25	57	80	78	81	77	66	54	66
Non-NATO Mean	31	50	71	61	65	63	54	51	68
US	57	28	57	50	47	50	43	54	53
World Mean	31	50	73	60	65	67	53	57	68

Positive = Positive views of U.S. influence (%)
Negative = Negative views of U.S. influence (%)
Iraq = Disapprove of U.S. government's handling of war in Iraq (%)
Iran = Disapprove of U.S. government's handling of Iran's nuclear program (%)
Israel = Disapprove of U.S. government's handling of Israeli-Hezbollah War (%)
Guantanamo = Disapprove of U.S. government's handling of Detainees in Guantanamo (%)
N.Korea = Disapprove of U.S. government's handling of North Korea's nuclear weapon program (%)
Climate = Disapprove of U.S. government's handling of global warming or global climate change (%)
M.East = Opinion that U.S. military presence in the Middle East "provokes more conflict than it prevents" (%)

For that, we turn to the Pew Center's Global Attitudes Project survey. Table 4 shows a clear trend of dropping favorable opinion of the U.S. among NATO and non-NATO states alike. This is especially prevalent in 2003, the year that the Bush administration decided to invade Iraq without United Nations approval, where the mean opinion falls 17% among NATO countries and 21% among non-NATO countries. Although the only data provided for Clinton years is from 1999/2000, the drop in favorable opinion from the Clinton to the Bush years further upholds the hypothesis of declining authority between the two administrations; consent among states and their citizens are far lower during the Bush administration.

Table 4: Favorable Opinion of the United States (%) 1999-2005
Source: Pew Research Center

Country	1999/'00	2002	2003	2004	2005
Canada	71	72	63	-	59
France	62	63	43	37	43
Germany	78	61	45	38	41
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	45
Poland	-	79	-	-	62
Spain	50	-	38	-	41
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23
UK	83	75	70	58	55
NATO mean	66	63	46	41	46
China	-	-	-	-	42
India	-	54	-	-	71
Indonesia	75	61	15	-	38
Jordan	-	25	1	5	21
Lebanon	-	35	27	-	42
Morocco	77	-	27	27	-
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23
Russia	37	61	36	47	52
Non-NATO Mean	53	41	20	25	41
World Mean	61	52	33	33	44

In terms of the hypothesis of American hegemony, there appears to be a significant difference between NATO and non-NATO publics, where favorable opinion is at least 15% higher in the former in every year except 2005 – suggesting American authority in NATO states and providing support for my first hypothesis. Unfortunately, there are too few states and recorded numbers in this particular dataset to show sufficient significance among many of the comparisons;

furthermore, the non-NATO set of countries is too small and too similar to be considered representative of the rest of the nations of the world. For example, every non-NATO state is from the Asian continent save Morocco, a predominantly Muslim country[32], and even then, the number of non- NATO states is only 8 (5% of non-NATO UN member states). In other words, comparisons between years (declining authority hypothesis) are more valid than attempts to compare NATO and non-NATO states (American hegemony hypothesis) using the Pew Center survey.

Both surveys of global attitudes present evidence in favor of my second hypothesis, but only the Pew Center's survey provides any insight for the first hypothesis. Even then, the Pew dataset is not large enough, especially among non-NATO countries, to show a valid, significant difference between the American authority in NATO states and non-NATO states.

Implications of a Weakening Hegemony

With the evidence for the existence American hegemony and subsequent decline of authority provided, I will move on to discussing possible outcomes of a declining hegemony. There are two very different perspectives on the security consequences of an international system experiencing a declining hegemony: neo-realism and security governance. Furthermore, within each school, there are various arguments as to the implications of such a circumstance.

The paradigm of neo-realism rests on the assumptions that states are the most important actors in global politics, the international system is anarchic, and power is the most important asset in interstate relations. Thus, there is no greater source of governance than the state, so individual states are self-interested and have as their primary concern the continued existence of their states.[33] Beyond these basic assumptions, neo-realists may follow multiple lines of thought in terms of a declining hegemony. I will briefly describe some of these theories below.

Long cycle theory is a historical approach that extrapolates future outcomes based upon past trends. It argues that since 1500, five successive state hegemons have dominated the

---

[32] CIA World Factbook
[33] Krahmann 2005, p.534; Waltz 1979.

international system through military power; each hegemon further capitalizes on such a system by manipulating world trade to benefit itself. Each period of hegemony is deemed a 'cycle' and each new cycle is born through major warfare when the dominant state is in a process of decline. The instances of weakening hegemony, then, are central to long cycle theory, and it would tell us that a weakening hegemony necessarily would lead to hegemonic warfare.[34]

Hegemonic stability theory asserts that state actors that hold a preponderance of power establish hegemonies[35], and the structural fact that one state possesses much of the economic and military power creates stability. Thus, a hegemon provides stability as a public good, where the status quo benefits other states. Hegemonies decline when power becomes more equally distributed among various major state actors. Since costs of maintaining the status quo are high, hegemons are "historically bound" to fall victim to slowing rates of power growth.[36] Thus, as a hegemon gains power more slowly (or loses power) and other states gain power at a faster rate, those states will be more powerful relative to the entire system. In light of its new power, hegemonic stability theory posits that a rising state will want to change the rules of the system, so a declining hegemon takes preventive measures in order to maintain the status quo. Historically, war is the primary method of challenging a hegemon, so this theory argues that a declining hegemony will likely result in warfare.[37]

Transition theory holds that the international system is always hierarchical in that power is distributed unequally as states are in constant competition over resources. Furthermore, the degree of satisfaction that a state's elites have with its position in the structural hierarchy is the critical factor in determining the potential for international order.[38] Transition theory hypothesizes that the closer the top states are in power distribution, the more likely that the elites in the non-dominant state will be unsatisfied with their state's position and that the elites in each state will perceive the situation as threatening. Thus, the rising power will challenge the status quo state and conflict is likely. The primary difference between transition and hegemonic

---

[34] Kohout 2003, p.54.
[35] Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger 1996, p.197.
[36] Kohout 2003, p.55.
[37] Kohout 2003, p.56.
[38] Kohout 2003, p.57.

stability theory is that the hegemon initiates warfare in the latter while the challenger initiates conflict in the former.[39]

Finally, power cycle theory differs from the prior three models in that it adds a second dimension – the role that statespeople perceive that their state or another state plays in the system – to the dimension of structural power distribution. Role and power are separate but equally important entities in understanding international relations; this theory recognizes the agency of state actors.[40] Role and power form the key dynamic in determining the outcome of a declining hegemony. A state's power cycle is the process of increasing and decreasing power as measured by various structural power indicators (such as economic and military resources). When a state's structural power and perceived role get out of sync – when statespeople perceive that their state or another state is more or less powerful than it is – then "structural disequilibrium" results.[41] Structural disequilibrium threatens to escalate to armed conflict, though, only if it occurs during a "critical cycle point" in a state's power cycle – the period of time that a state, relative to other states, begins to significantly gain or lose power.

Power cycle theorists claim that the specific cause of disequilibrium is the linear expectations of policymakers, who project expectations based upon past experience because history shows that structural change usually continues prior trends. However, during the rare times when these trends break (unpredictable critical cycle points), the linear expectations create a gap between state role and power. The result is a system characterized by a discontinuity of expectations, heightened threat perception, and perceived injustice – all of which are conducive to war.[42] According to power cycle theory, a system that contains a declining hegemon is susceptible to war because that hegemon's policymakers are likely to project their state role in an unrepresentative manner.

The other perspective on hegemonic decline that I will review is a growing body of literature on the application of global governance to international security, called security governance. Unlike

---

[39] Yoon 2003, p.8.
[40] Yoon 2003, p.6.
[41] Kohout 2003, p.59.
[42] Kohout 2003, p.60.

its academic converse in neo-realism, security governance gained prominence as a theoretical framework after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent shift of the international system to that of one characterized by a singular superpower. The focus anymore became not great power posturing and looming superpower warfare, for most remaining great powers had too much to lose from interstate conflict – conflict akin to centuries past – due to the global economy. Instead, the security issues became centered around ethnic conflict and genocide, transnational crime, weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism. Such events usually cut across traditional state borders and are perpetuated by groups often unaccountable to state actors. As such, security governance argues that in order to combat such security threats, solutions also must include actors that transcend the state – a move from "government" to "governance".

Based upon the reality of international security after the Cold War, security governance makes several assumptions. First, states are not the single most important source of threat to international security; as mentioned above, terrorism, crime, and weapon proliferation are equally important issues in international security.[43] In other words, global security must also include the security of individuals, regardless of their state of residence.[44] This first assumption of security governance reflects the cosmopolitan nature of the theoretical perspective. As opposed to communitarianism (reflected in neo-realism), which places supreme value on the community (thus the state) before the individual and espouses a moral relativism, cosmopolitanism argues that morality begins with the individuals that make up communities and that a community does not possess a moral value in and of itself. "For cosmopolitans the principles of justice are universal and for communitarians they are culturally specific."[45] The implications for international relations are important; states no longer have an unchallenged mandate to sovereignty, ruling their populations as they see fit. If a state does not or is not able to provide for the security of its citizens, then cosmopolitanism and security governance bestows a responsibility upon other agents (be they state or otherwise) to act in the interest of those people.

---

[43] Commission on Global Governance 1995, p.79; Rosenau 1992, p.3; Tuathail, Herod, and Roberts 1998, p.12; Thomas 2000, p.161-162.
[44] Krahmann 2005, p.537.
[45] Jordaan 2006, p.1.

The second assumption of security governance is that state-centric solutions are inadequate in addressing transnational security threats.[46] For hundreds of years, states honed the art of dealing with other state threats in international relations; however, with rise of contemporary security concerns, traditional state-based methods became inadequate.[47] As a result, security governance argues that a greater number of inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged in order to better confront new threats.[48]

Figure 7: Total Number of IGOs and NGOs: 1909-2004

Source: Union of International Associations
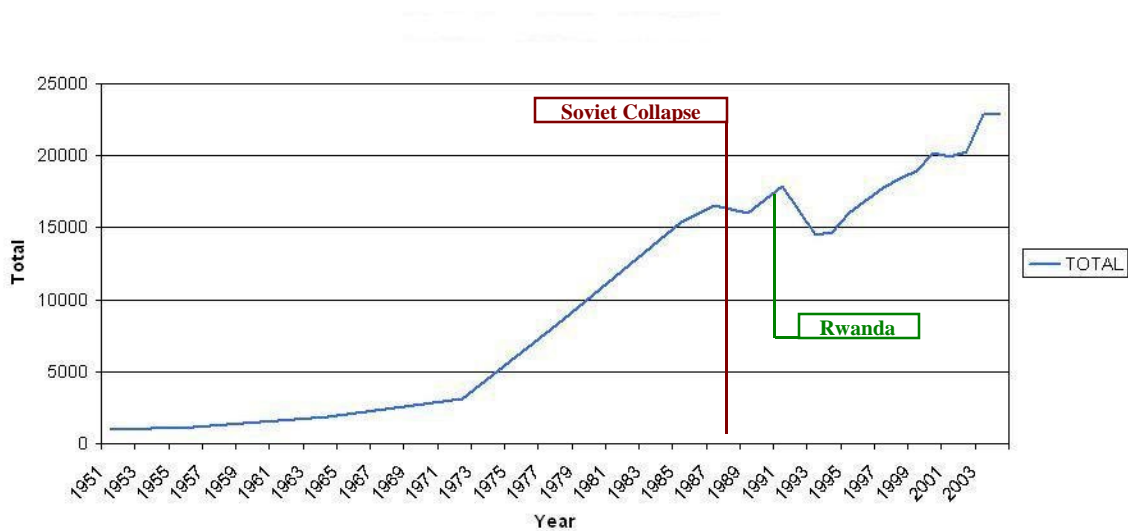
According to the Union of International Associations, 213 IGOs and international NGOs existed in 1909, and that number rose to 3,075 groups in 1972. In 1989, shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar international system, there were 16,044, and by 2004 there were 22,891 organizations around the globe.[49] Figure 4 depicts a noticeable drop in total groups immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union that is probably due to the disbanding of democratic transition groups in the Eastern bloc. However, the chart clearly shows a dramatic increase in total organizations in the mid 1970's and another resurgence after 1994. The second growth in groups is likely to be related to the genocide in Rwanda, for the travesty in Africa

---

[46] Krahmann 2005, p.537.
[47] Haass 1999.
[48] Commission on Global Governance 1995, p.86; Minaer, van Baarda, and Sommers 2000; Singer 2003.
[49] Union of International Associations 2007; Union of International Associations 2006.

reflected the inability of the state-run system to deal with new global problems in the post-Cold War era. As a result of the growth in actors other than single states to manage security troubles, states must increasingly cooperate with other supra-state and sub-state actors in providing security.

In Rwanda, for example, the United States would not intervene, in part, due to the domestic intolerance with humanitarian intervention triggered by its military losses in Mogadishu, Somalia; threatened Rwandans could therefore not depend on capable, individual states to act because political will for unilateral, humanitarian military intervention is difficult to cultivate. Rather, genocide may be more effectively combated through cooperative IGO action that diffuses responsibility and committed resources, for the relatively low level of commitment demanded by each state may better the chances of fostering the national political will to act. Alternatively, social service needs related to genocide may be provided more successfully through NGOs or NGO-state partnerships that alleviate any responsibility upon the state in various capacities (such as providing medical care to refugees).

The last assumption of the paradigm of security governance is that state legitimacy is based upon the cost-efficient delivery of security by a state to its citizens.[50] Not only does this once again reveal the cosmopolitan underpinnings of security governance, but it also expresses the flexibility of security governance. That is, actors at all levels (above, at, and below the state) are less concerned than international actors of the past (who were primarily states) with firm, long-lasting alliances than with short-term, cost-efficient coordination that is aimed at promptly solving modern security concerns.

Three specific hypotheses follow from the assumptions of security governance: cooperation, specialization, and "coalitions of the willing".[51] Mentioned above, states must increasingly cooperate with other state and non-state actors in order to provide security for their citizens. The search for cost-efficient security also encourages geographical and functional specialization of state and non-state actors; thus, one should see a sort of global "division of labor", where various

---

[50] Camm 1996; Markusen 2003, p.473.
[51] Krahmann 2005, p.537.

NGOs, IGOs, and states tend to fill particular roles in providing global security. Finally, alliances and balance-of-power politics are replaced by structurally neutral "coalitions of the willing" that are aimed at finding the most cost-efficient solutions to solving security issues; 'structurally neutral' meaning that these coalitions ought to provide little or no threat to states in the system as the short-term partnerships are supposed to be confronting problems in the interest of the majority of people, and thus the majority of states.

Conclusion

A large body of theory has been built around the concept of authority as a form of power in international relations as well as the system of intersubjective hegemony for which authority can construct. Furthermore, hegemony confers roles upon its various actors – a hegemon and subordinates – that create expectations for interaction between the actors, and the actors' role performances determine whether or not a system of hegemony will strengthen or decline. Thus, if one wants to measure the strength of hegemony, then one must measure the role conformity of its actors. Using UN General Assembly voting records and cross-national attitude surveys, I have found strong evidence in support of the hypotheses that 1) America had sufficient authority over NATO countries during the Clinton administration to lead a system of hegemony over those states, and 2) the system of hegemony declined significantly during the Bush administration as policy choices caused a loss of authority among NATO countries.

After a review of the neo-realist and security governance perspectives, one is left with two vastly different outlooks for the state of international affairs after the decline of hegemony. While neo-realism generally sees a less stable system headed toward great power state conflict, security governance tells of a system characterized by flexible partnerships of both state and non-state actors working toward solving transnational security problems that have only recently come to the fore in international relations.

In light of the theoretical framework of hegemony – and a declining hegemony – discussed above as well as the evidence that the U.S. has led – but may no longer lead – hegemony among some countries, one is left asking an important question in wanting to know the circumstances of international affairs. Are we to see the rise of a challenger to American dominance in a state-

centric manner, or are affairs going to be focused on new transnational issues that are solved by an assortment of actors? Though some of the assumptions and hypotheses pertaining to this question were addressed in the last section, a vigorous investigation is beyond the scope of this paper and is worthy of further in-depth study. A person undertaking such research may want to use the various hypotheses of neo-realist theories or the three hypotheses set forth by security governance as a starting point.

In addition to the neo-realist and security governance viewpoints in the case of declining hegemony, there is still the possibility that hegemony between the U.S. and other states may be strengthened once again. As the American political landscape passes through the gauntlet of presidential election season for 2008, one could surely imagine a situation where the victorious candidate seeks to regain the authority once enjoyed by the U.S. government during the Clinton administration. John Edwards, a candidate until recently in the Democratic party, said, "We must do everything in our power to reclaim the United States' historic role as a beacon for the world and become, once again, a shining example for other nations to follow."[52] Likewise, Senator Hillary Clinton said in a speech to the Center for a New American Security, "America must be the world's leader and yet we cannot lead unless we restore the greatness and goodness of America in the eyes of the world."[53] On the other hand, John McCain, a leading Republican candidate, suggests an American foreign policy that does not recognize – or does not care about – the decline of American authority; while the theme of regaining moral authority is rife in the web pages of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, MCain's website does not mention the issue of damaged international relationships or comparable concerns. His official position on the topic of the "National Security" is that America needs a larger and stronger military to protect the U.S.'s vital interests in a "dangerous world" of rogue states and the rise of China and Russia.[54]

Aside from the matter of where the new American president will take nation internationally, there is the related yet distinctive normative question: what ought the United States do in the face of declining hegemony? This is a question of values, or more specifically, a question of who is valued. Certainly, continuing the unilateral and neo-conservative policy of the current

---

[52] JohnEdwards.com
[53] HillaryClinton.com
[54] JohnMcCain.com

administration is among the worst options. Even if the needs and lives of Americans were considered ten times more valuable than non-Americans, non-Westerners, or terrorists (whichever categorization is implemented), then the alienation of the U.S. from other countries is less prudent than multilateralism. In a world characterized by stateless security threats, cooperation and assistance by a large assembly of nations is of the utmost importance in providing security to American citizens, for the United States could not possibly carry out a unilateral invasion of every state in which terrorists operate or weapons of mass destruction exist.

Regaining the authority once enjoyed by America is a better decision. If new hegemony is to be led by America, however, then it ought to be constructed in a broader manner than the previous one. As this study has shown, under the Clinton administration, the U.S. had authority over NATO countries at best, but most modern international security problems are rooted in the countries not usually associated with the "West". The most effective policy, whether it prioritizes the well-being of the citizens of America or the citizens the world, will have the support of every county in which terrorists reside, poppy is grown, or uranium is enriched. The new hegemony must seek to persuade every nation that the United States is an asset to the security and values of its people and all people. Furthermore, as large nations, such as China and India, continue to grow economically and militarily, these states will seek a more prominent role in international affairs, and hegemony that splits the world into East and West or 'prosperous' and 'developing' will not be able to adapt to this reality. Only consent today among these rising nations will be open to shifting relationships tomorrow. The United States may have more material resources and capabilities than any other country on Earth, but its ability to use these resources effectively hinges on the consent among other countries to use those resources and capabilities.

Finally, the best – albeit long-term – American policy from a cosmopolitan perspective would be to confront international security problems in framework of a world of equals. The ultimate and most effective international system of authority is a democratic one in which every nation explicitly consents to the system of decision-making that addresses global security concerns. In such a system, states pool their resources and share the burden of common security issues, which minimizes the likelihood of misunderstanding and conflict. In pursuing such a policy today, the

United States ought to strengthen the mandate of the United Nations as well as seek to make the organization more democratic and responsive. If America truly champions the rights to democracy and liberty for its citizens, then it should assure that other citizens' rights are not violated in solving security problems. That is to say, the best way to guarantee that the U.S. does not violate the preferences of others in addressing global security is to include them in the decision – this is the finest form of consent.

Additional References

Agnew, John. 2005. "Sovereignty Regimes: Territoriality and State
Authority in Contemporary World Politics." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(2): 437-461.

BBC World Service. 2007. "World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse." *BBC World Service Poll.*

Camm, Frank. 1996. *Expanding Private Production of Defense Services*. Santa Monica: RAND.

CIA World Factbook. "Morocco." Accessed 27 January 2008. (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-
            factbook/geos/mo.html)

Commission on Global Governance. 1995. *Our Global Neighbourhood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cronin, Bruce. 2001. "The Paradox of Hegemony: America's Ambiguous Relationship with the United Nations."
            European Journal of International Relations 7(1): 103-130.

GlobalSecurity.org. "World Wide Military Expenditures." Accessed 27 January 2008.
            (http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/spending.htm).

Haass, Richard N. 1999. "What to Do with American Primacy." *Foreign Affairs* 78: 37–49.

Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger. 1996. "Interests, Power, Knowledge: The Study of
            International Regimes." *Mershon International Studies Review* 40(2): 177-228.

HillaryClinton.com. Speech made to the Center for a New American Security on June 27, 2007. Accessed 27
            January 2008. (http://www.hillaryclinton.com/news/speech/view/?id=3884).

Holsti, K.J. 1970. "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly*
            14(3): 233-309.

Huntington, Samuel. 1999. "The Lonely Superpower." *Foreign Affairs* 78(2): 35-49.

Hurd, Ian. 1999. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organization* 53(2): 379-408.

JohnEdwards.com. "Reengaging With The World." Accessed 27 January 2008
            (http://www.johnedwards.com/issues/reengage/).

JohnMcCain.com. "National Security." Accessed 27 January 2008
            (http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/054184f4-6b51-40dd-8964-54fcf66a1e68.htm).

Jordaan, Eduard. 2006. "Richard Rorty and Moral Progress in Global Relations." *Politikon* 33(1): 1-16.

Kagan, Robert. 1998. "The benevolent emprie." *Foreign Policy* 111: 24-36.

Kagan, Robert. 2002. "Power and Weakness." *Policy Review* 113: 3-28.

Keohane, Robert. 1988. "International Institutions: Two Approaches" *International Studies Quarterly* 32(4): 379-
            396.

Kohout, Franz. 2003. "Cyclical, Hegemonic, and Pluralistic Theories of International Relations: Some Comparative
            Reflections on War Causation." *International Political Science Review* 24(1): 51-66.

Krahmann, Elke. 2005. "American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Visions of International
            Security." *International Studies Review* 7: 531-545.

Lake, David. 1996. "Anarchy, hierarchy, and the variety of international relations." *Internationla Organization* 50(1): 1-33.

Lake, David. 2006. "American Hegemony and the Future of East–West Relations." *International Studies Perspectives* 7: 23-30.

Markusen, Ann R. 2003. "The Case Against Privatizing National Security." *Governance* 16(4): 471–501.

Minaer Larry, Ted van Baarda, and Marc Sommers. 2000. *NATO and Humanitarian Action in the Kosovo Crisis. Occasional Papers*. Providence, RI: Watson Institute.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2007. "About the OECD." *OECD.org*. Accessed 27 January 2008 (http://www.oecd.org/pages/0,3417,en_36734052_36734103_1_1_1_1_1,00.html).

Pew Research Center. 2006. "No Global Warming Alarm in the U.S., China: America's image slips, but allies share U.S. concerns over Iran, Hamas." *Pew Global Attitudes Project*.

Rosenau, James N., and Ernst-Otto Czempiel. 1992. *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scheppele, Kim Lane, and Karol Edward Soltan. 1987. "The Authority of Alternatives." 169-200 in *Authority Revisited*, edited by J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman. New York University, New York.

Singer, Peter. 2003. *Corporate Warriors*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Thomas, Caroline. 2000. *Global Governance, Development, and Human Security*. London: Pluto.

Tuathail, Gearóid Ó., Andrew Herod, and Susan M. Roberts. 1998. "Negotiating Unruly Problematics." In *An Unruly World? Globalisation, Governance, and Geography*, edited by Andrew Herod, Gearóid Ó. Tuathail, and Susan M. Roberts. London: Routledge.

Union of International Associations. 2006. *Yearbook of International Organizations.*

Union of International Associations. "International Organizations by Year and Type (1909-1999)." *UAI.org*. Accessed 27 January 2008 (http://www.uia.org/statistics/organizations/ytb299.php).

Voeten, Erik. "Documenting Votes in the UN General Assembly." *Georgetown University*. Accessed 27 January 2008 (http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/ev42/UNVoting.htm).

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: Random House.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

Wendt, Alexander, and Daniel Friedman. 1995. "Hierarchy under anarchy: informal empire and the East German state." *International Organization* 49(4): 689-721.

World Bank. 2007. "PPP GDP 2006." *World Development Indicators*.

Yoon, Young-Kwan. 2003. "Introduction: Power Cycle Theory and the Practice of International Relations." *International Political Science Review* 24(1): 5-12.

Do States Fight for National Honor?

NICK J.P. MEROS[1]

Contemporary international relations paradigms refute national honor as a valid explanation or motivation for state behavior. The two most prevalent models—Realism and Liberalism—ignore national honor in favor of either calculations of power and national interest, or economic relationships, political ideology, and the international political structure. This article reviews their treatment of national honor while presenting a new wave of scholarship recognizing and emphasizing its importance in international relations. I further this scholarship by arguing that national honor matters because states consider and fight to defend it. They will only do so, however, when a challenger trespasses upon their national honor to such an extent that they disregard concerns of power and national interest because they feel they have no choice but to fight. I argue that these threats are most often issued from a large state to a small one, in the form of an insult, through private channels, and by accommodating the target.

To argue that a nation's HONOR must be defended by the blood of its citizens, if need be, is quite meaningless, for any nation, though profoundly right in its contention, might be defeated at the hands of a superior force exerted on behalf of an unjust and unrighteous cause. What becomes of national Honor then?

---Nicholas Murray Butler, Former President of Columbia University[2]

This quote by former Columbia University President Nicholas Murray Butler captures the pervasive and thoroughly dismissive view of national honor in international relations paradigms. International relations scholars argue that states do not fight wars over this intangible and ethereal concept. They believe, instead, that states evoke national honor merely as an excuse for wars motivated by greed or anger and as rhetoric to incite patriotism and nationalism within the population.

These scholars have utilized two major groups of theories over the past five to six decades to

---

[1] Nick J.P. Meros attends the University of Virginia and is a dual major in U.S. history and government studies focusing on American Politics. He is also a member of National Scholars Honor Society and Raven Society at the University of Virginia and serves as a research assistant. He can be reached at njm3g@virginia.edu.
[2] Quote taken from Perla (1918).

describe diplomatic behavior: Realism and Liberalism. Realist theories argue that calculations of power and national interest dominate states actions and that all states compete for international security[3]. Liberal theories, on the other hand, believe that states conduct foreign policy according to their economic relationships with other states, their and their adversary's political system, and the existing international political structure[4]. These theories are also optimistic that states can limit the outbreak of war and become prosperous. Neither theoretical strain, however, recognizes national honor as a genuine motivation or accurate explanation for state behavior.

Moreover, few scholars have systematically studied this topic.[5] The seminal work on national honor—Barry O'Neill's *Honor, Symbols, and War*—for example, describes the nature and elements of national honor through brief background information and game theoretic models, but possesses little, if any, systematic analysis of its role in international relations.[6]
International relations paradigms not only dismiss national honor in their explanations, but they also fail to clearly define this immaterial concept. Accordingly, I begin this article by introducing and explaining honor's dual aspects to cement its definition. I then detail the concept's numerous

---

[3] For a comprehensive survey of Modern and Contemporary Realist Theory, see: Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations : The Struggle for Power and Peace*; Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*; Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*; *The Perils of Anarchy*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge; MIT Press, 1995); *Roots of Realism*, ed. Benjamin Frankel (London: Frank Cass, 1996); *Realism: Restatements and Renewal*, ed. Benjamin Frankel (London: Frank Cass, 1996); John H. Hertz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951): Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 30-31; and for an insightful survey of several strands of realism, see Stephen G. Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (summer 1997): 445-77.

[4] For more information on Modern Liberalist Theory, See F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations between States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pt. I; Torbjorn L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory: An Introduction (*New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), chap.5; F. Parkinson, *The Philosophy of International Relations: A Study in the History of Thought* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1977), chap. 4; Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 513-53; Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978).

[5] While there are no systematic studies of national honor's role in International Relations practice and theory, I have relied upon any works that mention national honor. These include: Brandes, *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*; James, *Society, Politics, and Culture, Studies in Early Modern England*, 308-415; Kagan, *Honor among Nations : Intangible Interests and Foreign Policy;* Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort and Violence*; O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*; Peristiany, *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*; Perla, *What is "National Honor?"*; Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*; Terraillon, *L'Honneur; Sentiment et Principe Moral*; Bryson, *The Point of honor in Sixteenth-Century Italy: An Aspect of the Life of the Gentleman*.

[6] O'Neill, Barry. *Honor, Symbols, and War*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1999. O'Neill sought a better theoretical grasp of symbols and honor, not a systematic study of national honor's effect on states' behavior in international relations.

and interwoven elements, distinguish it from the concepts of credibility, virtue, prestige, and reputation, and describe the definition and forms of honor challenges.

Next, I review national honor's standing in contemporary international relations paradigms and present a new wave of scholarship which reinterprets early philosophical texts that are the basis for contemporary realist scholars. This new wave recognizes national honor's importance and relevance in international relations. I then present four hypotheses to test this new scholarship. These hypotheses—two taken from international relations literature and two from common knowledge—predict what situations in which a state threatens another's national honor is the target more likely to fight to defend it.

These hypotheses concern the relative power of the challenger and target states, the threat's motive, the audience exposed to it, and the challenger's diplomatic style. They are, specifically, that a large challenger threatening a small target makes the target more likely to fight for its national honor than a small challenger threatening a large target. Second, threats the target perceives as insults are more likely to prompt it to fight for its national honor than threats which seek the challenger's strategic or national gain. Third**,** threats issued in public are more likely than those issued in private to elicit an attack from the target. Lastly, bullying a target into accepting a threat is more likely to trigger an attack than accommodating it.

I test these hypotheses by comparing their predicted outcomes with historical events in two case studies, the Italian invasion of Albania in 1939 and the 1962 West Irian Crisis between Indonesia and the Netherlands. These cases each include a challenger threatening a target's national honor and opposing aspects of each hypothesis.

In the last section, I present arguments of scholars who discount national honor's importance in international relations, as well as those who believe that national honor is a valid tool and emotion in the international system. I then defend my claim that states consider and fight to defend their national honor by providing examples of states that have fought for their national honor and analyzing events of each case study in terms of national honor.

This analysis of the case studies in light of and comparison with my four hypotheses suggests that large challengers threatening small targets and threats construed as insults are more likely to prompt a target to fight than small challengers threatening large targets and threats which seek the challengers' strategic gain. Conversely, I find that, although counterintuitive, threats made in private and by challengers who accommodate the target's needs are more likely to elicit an attack than those issued in public and by bullying the target.

My research will also demonstrate that international relations paradigms incorrectly dismiss national honor in their explanations of state behavior. I will prove that state leaders do much more than simply "beat the rhetorical drum of national honor to serve their diametrically opposed purposes."[7] I argue that they both consider and fight to defend their national honor because it bolsters their image in the eyes of the international community and strengthens their position relative to other states. I recognize, however, that states will continue to consider realist and liberal concerns in their decisions. As a result, I argue that a state will only fight for its national honor if a threat infringes upon it so greatly that it feels that it has no choice but to disregard its national interest and the relative balance of power to fight to defend it. I also argue that threats capable of this are most often issued by a large state to a small one, in the form of an insult, through private channels, and/or by accommodating the target's needs.

National Honor: Elements, Theories, and Perceptions

Nature of Honor and National Honor

Honor is an intangible and ethereal concept comprised of two seemingly conflicting aspects: *outer* or *external* honor, and *inner* or *internal* honor. Early twentieth century professor of criminology Moritz Liepmann defined *outer* or *external* honor—which he called "objectified honor"—as a person's image in the eyes of society as determined by their ability to act congruent with society's standard of conduct. *Inner* or *internal* honor, on the other hand, dubbed "subjectified honor" by Liepmann, is a person's self-image, determined by their own standard of

---

[7] Markey, Daniel. "Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots." *Security Studies*. (1999) 8 (4) 126-73: 142.

conduct and independent from society's standard.[8]

While definitions of honor are incomplete without both aspects, scholars since the Italian Renaissance have nonetheless emphasized one aspect over the other. Some have argued, for example, that an individual's self image is the fundamental element of his/her honor. Italian writer Valmarana argued in 1598 that "honor results from personal virtue like the casting of a shadow."[9] Similarly, Jacob Buckhardt wrote in 1929 that honor is an "enigmatic mixture of conscience and egotism."[10] Anthropologist Stanley Brandes, in addition, wrote in 1987 that honor "might be best translated as esteem, respect, or some combination of these attributes, depending on local attitudes."[11]

Other writers, however, argue that society's view of an individual is the most important aspect. Anthropologist Edward Westermarck, for example, wrote that honor is the "moral worth [an individual] possesses in the eyes of the society of which [he/she] is a member."[12] Likewise, sociologist Charles P. Flynn defined honor as a "culturally instilled conception of self as a sacred object."[13]

Despite these compelling arguments, Frank Henderson Stewart argues in his survey of the literature on honor that "an analysis that does not connect the two aspects of honor closely to each other starts life with a marked handicap."[14] Barry O'Neill echoes these sentiments in his book *Honor, Symbols, and War*, where he argues that both aspects of honor are "linked because

---

[8] Liepmann, Moritz. Die Beleidigung. In *Vergleichende Darstellung des deutschen und ausländischen Strafrechts: Besonderer Teil,* by Karl Birkmeyer and others, (1906) vol. 4, 217-373 Berlin: Otto Liebmann: 228 quoted in Stewart, Frank Henderson. *Honor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994: 15

[9] Valmarana, Paolo Antonia. *Trattato dell'offese et del modo di far le pace.* Vicenza, 1598. Quoted in O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 97.

[10] Buckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. London: Harrad, 1929. Quoted in O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 97.

[11] Brandes, Stanley. Reflections on honor and shame in the Mediterranean. *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, ed. David Denny Gilmore. *American Anthropological Association* 22. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1987:121. Quoted in Stewart, *Honor*, 12-13.

[12] Westermarck, Edward. *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*. 2d ed. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1912-1917. Quoted in Stewart, *Honor*, 13.

[13] Flynn, Charles P. *Insult and Society*. Port Washington, N.Y. and London: Kennikat Press, 1977: 49. Quoted in Stewart, *Honor*, 13.

[14] Stewart, *Honor*, 12. Stewart provides an excellent critical survey of the literature on honor in his book *Honor*.

[a] person makes a choice based on their product."[15] Furthermore, William Miller argues in his 1993 book *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* that "social perception and individual perception of virtue are one in the member's eyes."[16]

Accordingly, this paper incorporates both aspects by defining honor as the "value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society."[17] National honor, therefore, is a nation's image in the eyes of its people and the international community.

With the basic definition set, I turn to honor's numerous and interwoven. O'Neill identifies and describes six elements of honor individually in his book *Honor, Symbols, and War*. The first element of honor is a set of four characteristics common to all honorable individuals. These characteristics are: trueness to one's word when given on its honor, a readiness to defend one's home and the right of each person or group to avenge a violation of their or their allies' honor, social grace (for aristocratic honor), and occasionally certain "non-voluntary traits" such as noble birth or physical strength.[18]

The second element is a close association with "personhood, autonomy, group membership, and sexual identity."[19] In other words, all individuals and nations begin with the presumption of honor and maintain it as long as they do not stain or tarnish it. Any individual or nation who loses their honor, however, is branded a "non-person" and subsequently ignored. Moreover, individuals and nations may only challenge the honor of members within their social or international class. In Renaissance Italy, for example, noblemen dismissed all challenges issued by women, clerics, and commoners.

Although all individuals begin with honor, the third element states that this means nothing unless each demonstrates it publicly and earns a "commonly known reputation for honor" because

---

[15] O'Neill, Barry. *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 97.
[16] Miller, William. *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort and Violence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. Quoted in O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 97.
[17] Pitt-Rivers, Julian. Honour and Social Status. *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, J.G. Peristiany, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966: 19-77. Quoted in Stewart, *Honor*, 13.
[18] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 87.
[19] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 87.

honor "comes to depend on behavior *commonly known* to be publicly observed."[20] Mervyn James confirms this element by writing that in Renaissance England, "[m]en of honor could lie, cheat, deceive, plot, treason, seduce, and commit adultery, without incurring dishonor" because "as long as they [violations of honor] were not attributed to him in a public way, honor was not brought into question."[21] Nations must also develop a "commonly known reputation for honor."[22] Heinrich von Treitschke wrote in his book *Politics* that honor is not a "violet that blooms in the shade; its power is to be displayed proudly and brilliantly."[23]

The fourth element of honor states that although an individual or nation could theoretically posses some but not all of these elements, they are, in fact, treated as "absent or present as a whole."[24]

The fifth element is that honor is normative both individually and socially and accrues to individuals and groups. In other words, individuals with honor feel proud, while those without honor feel guilty. This element likens honor to group membership: those who lose honor want to withdraw from the group. Similarly, honor is normative socially in that "possessing it legitimizes one's claim to certain benefits from others and causes individuals and nations to favor the honorable while conversely losing respect for the dishonorable.[25]

Honor accrues to individuals and groups alike, on the other hand, because honorable and dishonorable actions reflect on the entire group, which allows the group to hold its members accountable and up to certain standards of conduct. Moreover, just as individuals' actions reflect on the group, their ancestors' and descendant's actions reflect back on them. Eugene Terraillon defines this ability as a "government of the living by the dead."[26] Likewise, Greek historian

---

[20] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 88-89.
[21] James, Mervyn. "English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485-1642." *Society, Politics, and Culture, Studies in Early Modern England*, ed. Mervyn James. New York: Cambridge University Press, (1986) 308-415: 229. Quoted in O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 89
[22] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 88-89.
[23] von Treitschke, Heinrich. *Politics*. Trans. Blanche Dugdale and Torben de Bille. London: Constable, 1916: 550. Quoted in O'Neill *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 89.
[24] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 90.
[25] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 91.
[26] Terraillon, Eugene. 1912. *L'Honneur; Sentiment et Principe Moral*. Paris: F. Alcan. Quoted in O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 89.

Demosthenes wrote that honor was "the elevated feeling of what she owes to her traditions in the past and to her good name in the future."[27]

The sixth and final element of honor is a realization that preserving it often requires demonstrating one's toughness and a willingness to fight for it. Proving one's honor in medieval societies, for example, required going to war with little protection or performing jousts. Upholding individual and national honor in the face of a challenge, on the other hand, often entails physical force and military attacks.

Misconceptions of Honor

Scholars and state leaders sometimes confuse honor with similar concepts, such as credibility, virtue, reputation, and prestige. This concept's interwoven elements and intangible aspects make it difficult to distinguish honor from related concepts. Accordingly, in the following section I define each of these similar concepts and juxtapose them with our definition of honor.

Credibility and virtue are two concepts employed interchangeably with honor. Credibility, however, is the perceived likelihood that a person or state will carry out its threat if dependent conditions are met.[28] A highly credible person or state is one people believe will carry out their threat, while a person or nation will have low credibility if others believe they are bluffing. Although honor and credibility both depend on images of individuals and states, credible persons must perform actions they have pledged to perform, while honorable individuals must act congruent with certain standards of conduct. Virtue, on the other hand, differs from honor in that honorable individuals and states must publicly demonstrate their honor, while virtuous individuals must "[do] what one would do even if no one were watching."[29]

---

[27] Demosthenes. 1993. *On the Crown*, *De Corona*. Trans. S. Usher. Warminster: Aris and Phillips. quoted in O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 89.

[28] Press, Daryl G. 2005. *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Press defines credibility while presenting a critical survey of the way in which leaders assess military threats. In the book, he debunks "Past Actions" theory, which argues that nations assess the credibility of their adversaries' threats based on their past behavior, and argues instead for "Current Calculus" theory, which insists that decisionmakers assess threats by evaluating the balance of power and interests, not their adversaries' past behavior.

[29] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 89.

Likewise, reputation and prestige are sometimes mistakenly employed as synonyms for honor in military negotiations and diplomatic discussions. Put simply, however, reputation is "[t]he estimation of doing something specified, having specified qualities."[30] This concept emanates from the theory of deterrence, which argues that states "see[k] to dissuade the leaders of another state [attacker state] from resorting to the use of military force in pursuit of foreign-policy goals" by threatening to respond with force and instigate a "costly military confrontation with a low probability of success."[31]

As a result, potential attackers analyze the costs and benefits of an attack by examining the target's reputation. This concept has two dimensions within deterrence theory: reputation for using force and reputation for military capacity. The first is the "potential attacker's beliefs about the resolve of the defender to use force," while the second is the attacker's "beliefs about whether the defender has sufficient military capabilities to impose high costs and deny a military victory."[32] Accordingly, this paper defines reputation by combining both dimensions: reputation is a state's belief about another state's willingness to use force and their military capacity to impose damages and deny an attacker a military victory. This concept, as a result, cannot be construed as honor because honor focuses on images within society, while reputation depends on outward resolve for using force and raw military capacity.

Prestige flows directly from the concept of reputation. The term, which first emerged in sixteenth century France, borrowed its meaning from the Latin term *praestigiae*. This term referred to "juggler's tricks" that deceived people through quick movement and sleight of hand and *praestigiae verborum*, or "the delusive spell of words.[33]" The English language, however, borrowed the term for its vocabulary and subsequently changed its meaning from "the prestige of prophets, conjurers, [or] demon[s]," to a "delusion[n] the cause of which is not regarded any

---

[30] *Webster's New Unabridged Dictionary*. 2nd ed. New York: Dorset & Baber, (1983) 1537. Quoted in Huth, Paul K. 1997. "Reputations and Deterrence: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment." *Security Studies* 7 (1), 72-99. September 12th, 2008.

[31] Huth, "Reputations and Deterrence: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment," 74.

[32] Huth, "Reputations and Deterrence: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment," 75.

[33] Leopold, Lewis. *Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates*. London: T. Fishcer (1913), 17 quoted in Kim, Yungho. "Power and Prestige: Explaining American Intervention in the Korean War." Diss. U of Virginia (1996), 58-59.

longer as supernatural.[34] The term has since evolved further, becoming the "reputation derived from previous character, achievements, or associations, or especially past successes."[35]

International relations scholar Hans Morgenthau moves beyond these basic definitions by placing the concept within the context of international relations, Morgenthau describes prestige as "the reputation for power" where power is "the essential end pursued by all states in a competitive international struggle."[36] He also emphasizes the importance of prestige by writing that "[w]hatever the ultimate objectives of a nation's foreign policy, its prestige…is always an important and sometimes decisive factor in determining success or failure of its foreign policy."[37] Therefore, similar to reputation, prestige is not to be confused with honor because the former focuses on a state's power and strength, while the latter depends on its actions with regard to specific standards of conduct.

Challenges to Honor and National Security

Challenges to individual and national honor are commonplace in honor-based societies. These actions, which often trigger domestic and international conflicts, have four fundamental elements. The first is that they are "communicative act[s] with certain meaning[s]" that intend to change perceptions of a target's honor.[38] Second, challenges alter these perceptions by being issued; accepting a challenge enhances one's honor, while declining one worsens it. Third, although challenges are issued to specific individuals or states, their impact resonates most profoundly within the broader audience exposed to the threat, called the "honor group." Lastly, any statement or action interpreted by the target as a challenge is just that, regardless of whether it was intended as such.

Scholars classify challenges according to whether or not they cite honor. Those that do are called explicit challenges, while those that do not are called implicit challenges. A famous example of

---

[34] Leopold, *Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates*, 17 quoted in Kim, "Power and Prestige: Explaining American Intervention in the Korean War," 59.

[35] Kim, "Power and Prestige: Explaining American Intervention in the Korean War," 61.

[36] Morgenthau, Hans J. and Kenneth W. Thompson. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 6th ed. New York: Alfred A Knopf, (1985) 89 quoted in Markey, "Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots," 126.

[37] Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace,* 95.

[38] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 110.

an explicit challenge is President Woodrow Wilson's speech to Congress following Germany's attack on the *U.S.S. Lusitania* before World War I. In it Wilson asked Congress to declare war against Germany—but only Germany—because he felt that "the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany…have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor."[39]

An example of an implicit challenge, on the other hand, is President John F. Kennedy's address to the nation at the start of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In it Kennedy said that "[t]his secret, swift, and extraordinary build-up of communist missiles…is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe."[40] Another example of an implicit challenge is President Lyndon Johnson's speech at Syracuse University on August 5th and in Congress on August 10th, 1964. Both speeches were responses to encounters between North Vietnamese torpedo boats and United States Navy destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin and both sought a congressional resolution granting the president the power to wage war. On August 5th, President Johnson said that these encounters presented our nation with "the same challenge that we have faced with courage and we have met with strength in Greece and Turkey, in Berlin and Korea, in Lebanon and Cuba."[41] And on August 10th, Johnson stated that "[o]ur nation was faced by the challenge of deliberate and unprovoked acts of aggression in Southeast Asia."[42]

Honor in International Relations Theory

The pervading international relations paradigms pay little attention to national honor in their explanations of state diplomatic behavior. They instead focus primarily on power and national interest, as well as political and economic relationships and the international political system. The two most popular models are Realism and Liberalism. These theories "hold places of privilege on the theoretical menu of international relations" because the great majority of intellectual debate occurs either across or within these paradigms.[43] While they possess specific

---

[39] *Cong. Rec.,* 65th Congress, vol. 55, pt. 1, 1917, 118-120.
[40] U.S. Department of State. *Bulletin*. August 24. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, (1964).
[41] O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols, and War*, 103-104).
[42] Ibid., 103-104.
[43] Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company (2001), 14.

similarities and share certain core beliefs, these theories differ most notably on which concepts they believe states consider in their foreign policy decisions.[44]

Realism

Realist scholars are the pessimists of international relations theory. They argue that competition for security and occurrences of war dominate states' thoughts, while the balance of power and national interest dominate their actions. Realists, as a result, would reject my arguments for the importance of national honor. They would instead argue that although states sometimes evoke their national honor, they employ it merely as rhetoric to justify unwarranted military action and to incite patriotism.

Realism contains three core beliefs.[45] First, it believes that states dominate and shape international politics and, as a result, focuses its attention at the state level. Second, realism believes that the structure of the international political system, not a state's internal characteristics, shape its behavior and foreign policy. Accordingly, realist theories do not differentiate between "good" or "bad" states because they believe that the political system influences each equally, regardless of their culture, political system, or leadership.[46] Third, realism insists that power calculations dominate states' thoughts and that states constantly compete amongst one another for power. Accordingly, it argues that war is an acceptable instrument of statecraft because, as Carl von Clausewitz writes, it "is a continuation of politics by other means."[47] Similarly, realism believes that international politics is a zero-sum game. This means that when one state gains power, other states lose power to maintain an even balance. This fact makes international relations often intense and unforgiving.

This point is clarified in Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: Norton, 1997); and Brian C. Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

[44] These differences are enumerated and detailed in *Security Studies* 5, No. 2 (Winter 1995-96, special issue on "Roots of Realism," ed. Benjamin Frankel); and *Security Studies* 5, No. 3 (Spring 1996, special issue on "Realism: Restatements and Renewal," ed. Benjamin Frankel).

[45] For a detailed description of these three core beliefs, see Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 15-20.

[46] Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 18.

[47] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Parret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), esp. books 1, 8. For more information on this third belief, see Richard K. Betts, "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics* 50, No. 1 (October 1997), pp. 7-33, esp. p.8; and Michael I. Handel, *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*, 3d ed. (London: Frank Cass, 2001).

Realist theories fall into three major categories: human nature realism, defensive realism, offensive realism, and a related concept, the offensive-defense balance. The seminal tract for human nature realism is Hans J. Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* for defensive realism, and John Mearsheimer's *Tragedy of Great Power Politics* for offensive realism. These works stand above the rest because not only do they assert states' desire for power, but each also explains why they want power and how much of it they want. Other realist works, on the other hand, assert states' desire for power but do not explain why they compete for it or how much power they want. E. H. Carr's *Twenty Years Crisis* and George Kennan's *American Diplomat 1900-1950*, for example, simply argue that power is the principle motivation for states.[48]

Human nature or "classical" realism dominated the field of international relations theory from the late 1940's until the early 1970's. Hans J. Morgenthau, considered the father of classical realism, argued in his book *Politics Among Nations* that states possess a "limitless lust for power" and continuously search for opportunities to dominate other states.[49] These theories recognize but deemphasize the effect of the anarchy within the international political system on state behavior.

Defensive or "structural" realism emerged in 1979 with Kenneth Waltz's book *Theory of International Politics*.[50] Waltz writes that states' sole concern is their survival and "maintain[ing] their position in the system."[51] International relations scholar Randall Schweller describes this

---

[48] As Smith notes in *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger,* 93. Carr does not "explain why politics always involves power, an explanation vital to any attempt to channel the exercise of power along lines compatible with an ordered social existence. Is a lust for power basic to human nature—the view of Niebuhr and Morgenthau--…[or is it the result of a security dilemma?"; Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*. With regard to Kennan, Smith writes that he "nowhere offers a systematic explanation of his approach to international politics or of his political philosophy in general: he is a diplomat turned historian, not a theologian or a political theorist, and he is concerned neither to propound a doctrine of human nature nor to set forth the recurring truths of international politics in a quasi-doctrinal way" (Smith 1986, 166).

[49] This assumption is elaborated on in Morgenthau's *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946); For more information on human nature realism, see Reinhold Neibuhr, *Moral Man and Immortal Society* (New York: Scribner's, 1932); and Friedrich Meinecke, *Machiavellism: The Doctrine of Raison d'état and Its place in Modern History,* trans. Douglas Scott (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1984). Neibuhr was a major intellectual force within human nature realism and Meinecke supported this school of thought long before Morgenthau began publishing his views on international politics in the mid-1940's.

[50] Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, (1979).

[51] Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 216 quoted in Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 20.

emphasis on stability and the balance of power as Waltz's "status quo bias." [52] As a result, Waltz believes that states do not possess an insatiable hunger for power. He does argue however, that the anarchy of the international political system causes states to heed the balance of power because power is the key to their survival.[53] Accordingly, Waltz deemphasizes states' motives and intentions in his explanations of state behavior."

Robert Jervis, Jack Snyder, and Stephen Van Evera respond to Waltz's arguments with a structural concept they call the offense-defense balance.[54] These scholars argue that all military action favors either offense or defense. [55] This means that when it is easier for a state to defend than to attack, that state will defend their position and rarely attack to gain power. Conversely, when it is easier to attack than to defend, states will attack each other more often and defend their position less. Defensive realists, however, argue that this distinction is unnecessary because the balance is heavily shifted toward defense and states are concerned with their survival, not conquering other states.

Lastly, offensive realism emerged from John Mearsheimer's book *Tragedy of Great Power*

---

[52] Schweller, "Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?", 90-121. This idea is elaborated on in Keith L. Shimko, "Realism, Neorealism, and American Liberalism," *Review of Politics* 54, No.2 (Spring 1992), pp. 281-301.

[53] Waltz, Kenneth. *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* New York: Columbia University Press. (2001): 188. Waltz attributes this insight to Rousseau's stag hunt analogy in 167-69. The description of this stag hunt appears in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality," in *The Social Contract and the Discourses*, trans. G.D. H. Cole, rev. J.H. Brumfit and John C. Hall, intro. Alan Ryan (New York: Knopf, 1993), 87. Critiques of Walt's interpretation of Rousseau appear in Grace G. Roosevelt, *Reading Rousseau in the Nuclear Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 238 n. 32; Michael C. Williams, "Rousseau, Realism, and Realpolitik," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 18, no. 2 (summer 1989): 188, 194. Waltz also writes that structural explanations for war are included in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* in *Man, the State and War*, 159, 210-11.

[54] The key works on the offensive-defensive balance are: Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, No. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167-214; Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), esp. chaps. 1-2; Stephan van Evera's *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), esp. chap. 6; and Robert Powell, *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), esp. chap. 3. For a survey of the literature on the offensive-defense balance, see Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Offense-Defense Theory and its Critics," *Security* Studies 4, No. 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 690-91. George Quester's *Offense and Defense in the International System* (New York: Wiley, 1977) is an important book in this field, but Quester is generally not considered a defensive realist.

[55] Jervis "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," 1978 presents a more qualified view of the offense-defense balance than Snyder or van Evera. See Snyder, *Myths of Empire*, pp. 22-24; and Van Evera *Causes of War*, pp. 118, 191, 255.

Politics.[56] This theory argues that states desire above all to become the hegemon of the international system. In this way offensive realism coincides with human nature realism. Offensive realism, however, argues that states seek power to maximize their odds of survival, whereas human nature realism argues that states do so out of an inner desire to dominate. Accordingly, offensive realists argue that "survival mandates aggressive behavior."[57]

Offensive realism also shares similarities with defensive realism: each argue that states are concerned with their survival and that possessing power is the key to their survival. They disagree, however, on how much power states seek. Defensive realism argues that states maintain the existing balance of power because the international system provides little incentive for additional power. Offensive realism, on the other hand, argues that states actively seek power because the international system favors the strong.

Liberalism

Liberal scholars, in contrast to realists, are optimistic and idealistic about international politics. This theoretical stand emerged during the Enlightenment, a period in Eighteenth century Europe in which intellectuals and political leaders began utilizing reason in international politics to promote peace.[58] Liberal scholars, as a result, are hopeful that states can reduce "scourge of war" and prosper.[59] This optimism brands liberal theories as "utopian" or "idealist."

Liberal theories argue that the structure of the international political system defines international relations theory and that states conduct foreign policy based on their political and economic relationships with other states. These theories, as a result, would also dismiss my arguments emphasizing national honor's role in international politics. They would argue that a state justifying military action by evoking its national honor was, in reality, acting based on its economic or ideological relationship with the target.

---

[56] Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*.
[57] Ibid., 21.
[58] For more information on reason's role in securing peace during the Enlightenment, see F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations between States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pt. I; Torbjorn L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory: An Introduction* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), chap. 5; and F. Parkinson, *The Philosophy of International Relations: A Study in the History of Thought* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1977), chap. 4.
[59] Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics,* 15.

Liberal theories possess three core beliefs. First, similar to realists, liberals consider states the principal actors in international politics. Second, they argue that states' internal characteristics—not their external environment—shape their behavior.[60] This means that liberal theories favor certain political systems over others (e.g. democracy over dictatorship) and differentiate between "good" and "bad" states based on these characteristics: "good" states cooperate with others and rarely start wars, while "bad" states produce conflict and often provoke war.[61] Third, liberal theories believe that power calculations and national interest affect state behavior only slightly because states pay them little attention.

Liberal theories are also grouped into three categories: The first argues that states are unlikely to fight each other because they are highly economically interdependent and war impedes economic prosperity.[62] This theory argues that leaders can limit the outbreak of war by creating and maintaining a liberal economic order with free economic exchange among states. This order will make states prosperous, which will discourage violence because affluence facilitates peace and stability. Moreover, once states become wealthy, they avoid war and concentrate on accumulating additional wealth.

The second theory, called "democratic peace theory," states that democracies do not fight other democracies. This, however, is not because democracies are less war-like, but because they simply do not fight each other. Liberal scholars disagree on exactly why this is, but they agree that this fact directly challenges realism and offers a recipe for peace.[63]

---

[60] For more information on the importance of internal characteristics and their affect on state behavior in Liberal theory, see Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 513-3.

[61] For more information on states' inherent internal characteristics and "good" or "bad" states, see Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978).

[62] Some of the key works on economic interdependence in Liberal theory are Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion*: *A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to Their Economic and Social Advantage,* 3d rev. and enl. Ed. (New York: G.P. Puttnam's, 1912); Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999); Edward D. Mansfield, *Power, Trade, and War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Susan M. McMillan, Interdependence and Conflict," *Mershon International Studies Review* 41), Suppl. 1 (May 1997), pp. 33-58; and Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

[63] Some of the key works on Democratic Peace Theory are Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds. *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA MIT Press, 1996), pts. I and III; Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80, No. 4 (December 1986), pp. 1151-69; Fukuyama, "End of History?" *The National Interest*, No. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 3-18; John M. Owen IV, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997);

The third theory insists that "international institutions enhance the prospects for cooperation among states."[64] Institutions are sets of rules which stipulate how states will cooperate and compete with one another. They also detail acceptable and unacceptable state behavior. Liberal theorists argue that these rules, which are negotiated between states and are self-enforced, fundamentally change their behavior by discouraging them from calculating their self-interest based on levels of power. This change in focus, they argue, discourages violence and promotes peace.

Alternative Interpretations

Realist and liberal scholars contend that national honor does not matter in international relations because states are most concerned with both the balance of power and their national interest, or with economic relationships, political ideology, and the international political system. These scholars also dismiss references to national honor as rhetoric to incite patriotism or as excuses for unwarranted military action. A new wave of scholarship, however, has emerged through alternative interpretations of texts written by ancient philosophers, including Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau.[65] While traditional interpretations of these texts form the theoretical basis for modern realist and liberal literature, recent reinterpretations suggest that these philosophers recognized and understood the importance of national honor in international relations. This development indicates that realist and liberal scholars must revise their theories to accommodate national honor.

Daniel Markey spearheads this new wave by reinterpreting texts written by Thucydides,

---

James L. Ray, *Democracy and International Conflict: An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); and Bruce Russertt, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). Some scholars argue that democracies are, in fact, less-warlike than non-democracies, but the evidence for this claim is weak. Stronger evidence exists for the claim that democracies do not fight amongst each other.

[64] For more information on the effect of international institutions on prospects for cooperation, see David A. Baldwin, ed. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: the Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); *International Organization* 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982, special issue on "International Regimes,"ed. Stephen D. Krasner); Lisa L. Martin and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions," *International Organization* 52, No. 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 729-57; and John G. Ruggie, *Constructing the World Policy: Essays on International Institutionalization* (New York: Rutledge, 1998), chaps. 8-10.

[65] Waltz steeps his theories quite explicitly in the realist tradition of these texts, particularly in his book *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*.

Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau in his article *Power and The Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots.*[66] Markey hopes by doing so to present a "more accurate and scholarly reading of what these [authors]…were up to."[67]

In this section, I review Markey's re-interpretation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* to illustrate his emphasis on national honor in international relations. This reinterpretation not only weakens the philosophical base underlying modern international relations paradigms, which provides theoretical space for my argument, but it also lends weight and credibility to my analytical framework. I limit my discussion to Thucydides, however, both because he is widely considered the "forefather" of modern realism and because his texts, more than the rest, emphasize three great motives which, in combination, prompt conflict at the individual and international levels. These three principle causes of quarrel, which political theorist Gabriella Slomp calls the "three greatest things," are honor, glory, and prestige.[68]

Thucydides utilizes these three principles "to explain the dynamics of the whole Peloponnesian War."[69] Historian of antiquity Donald Kagan notes, however, that despite this common motivational thread, the fact that "fear and interest moves states to war will not surprise the modern reader, but that concern for honor should do so may seem strange."[70] This is largely because traditional interpretations of these texts discount and dismiss intangible and immaterial concepts. Markey's interpretation of Thucydides *History*, however, argues that states consider and fight for their national honor.

Thucydides provides two examples of the importance of national honor in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. The first is the Melian Dialogue, where Athenian guards explain their control over and infringement upon the national honor of the tiny island of Melos. At the same

---

[66]Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 133

[67] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 134 quoted in Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, 48. For more information on the theoretical origins of realist theory, see "Part I Realism" of Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace* (New York: Norton, 1997).

[68] Slomp,Gabriella. "Hobbes, Thucydides, and the Three Greatest Things," *History of Political Thought* 11, no. 4 (winter 1990): 565-86.

[69] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 13 quoted in Slomp, "Hobbes, Thucydides, and the Three Greatest Things,"566.

[70] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 136 quoted in Kagan, Donald. *The Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace* New York: Doubleday, (1995): 8.

time, the Athenians implore the Melians to resist the temptation to fight to defend their national honor:

> [d]o not be led astray by a false sense of honour (sic), a thing which often brings men to ruin when they are faced with an obvious danger that somehow affects their pride.[71]

By cautioning the Melians not to be "led astray" by honor, the Athenians recognize that the Melians will fight for their national honor. Furthermore, by writing that this sense of honor "brin[gs] men to ruin," the Athenian generals demonstrate that states fight to defend national honor even when the balance of power and their national interest argue against it.

The second example is the feud between Corcyra and Corinth. Thucydides writes that while the two regions ostensibly fought over Epidamnus—a territory each had a vested interest in—they actually fought for their national honor. He argues that Corinthia attacked its ex-colony to defend its national honor:

> We did not found colonies in order to be insulted by them, but rather to retain our leadership and to be treated with proper respect…As it is, their arrogance and the confidence they feel in their wealth have made them act improperly toward us on numerous occasions.[72]

Thucydides, in addition, again demonstrates that states sometimes ignore their national interest and the balance of power when defending their national honor. As Michael Crane writes, "[t]he stakes in Corinth's quarrel simply did not justify the risks inherent in war."[73]

---

[71] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 140 quoted in Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner, intro. M.I. Finley. London: Penguin, (1972), V.89.

[72] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 141 quoted in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, I. 38.

[73] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 141 quoted in Crane, Michael. "Power, Prestige, and the Corcyrean Affair in Thucydides 1," *Classical Antiquity* 11, no. 1 (April 1992):6-7.

Common Perceptions about Honor and War

This new wave of scholarship, although convincing, must be tested to determine if and how national honor matters in international relations. Accordingly, I propose four hypotheses in this section that I will use to test this scholarship.

There are certain conditions that increase or decrease the likelihood that a target will respond to a military threat encroaching upon its honor with military force. The following four hypotheses speculate as to which threats are more or less likely to trigger a military attack by the target. At the end of this article, I compare their predictions to the events in two historical case studies. There comparisons and their results will determine if states consider and fight for national honor and what situations make them most likely to fight.

The first hypothesis is that a large challenger threatening a small target makes the target more likely to fight for its national honor than a small challenger threatening a large target. This is because a small target can enhance its reputation and bolster its national honor in the international community by defending its honor against a large challenger. A large target, on the other hand, has little to gain by attacking a small challenger because it is virtually assured of winning the fight and can even damage its honor if other nations think it is needlessly "picking" on or bullying the challenger.

This hypothesis appears in Barbara Tuchman's book *Guns of August* as an explanation for Germany's invasion of Belgium on August 4th, 1914.[74] Tuchman writes that Germany issued an ultimatum to the Belgian Government on August 2nd, 1914, warning them that the German Army would be entering Belgium territory to precipitate an apparent planned French advance on its territory. It stated that if Belgium adopted a "benevolent neutrality" to German presence in their territory, Germany would "evacuate her territory as soon as the peace shall have been concluded" and would "guarantee at the conclusion of peace the sovereign rights and independence of the [Belgian] Kingdom."[75] But, if Belgium opposed the German advance, Germany pledged to regard her as an enemy and wrote that "future relations with her would be

---

[74] Tuchman, Barbara W. *The Guns of August*. New York: Macmillan Company., (1962):
Barbara, *Guns of August*.
[75] Tuchman, *Guns of August*, 102.

left to the decisions of arms."[76]

Belgium, the much smaller country, felt that this military threat from the large German nation serious infringed upon its national honor because of the importance it attached to its independence. Belgium knew, however, that it would lost its independence regardless of their decision because their disorganized and inept military forces could not repel the German juggernaut and, moreover, Germany would never willingly withdraw from Belgium if it won the war. Resigned to this fact, Belgium decided to fight to preserve its honor—"[i]f they were to be crushed, let us be crushed gloriously"—because they felt that yielding to the threat would diminish their honor, while fight would preserve and strengthen it.[77] The German military threat thus left Belgium no choice but to ignore its own national interest and Germany's overwhelming power advantage to fight for its national honor. But, as expected, German forces entered Belgian territory on August 14h, 1914 and defeated the Belgian Army within weeks.

The second hypothesis is that threats the target perceives as insults are more likely to prompt a military attack than threats which seeking the challenger's strategic or national gain. This is because targets take personally threats they view as insults but typically dismiss threats which seek the challenger's strategic or national gain because they are not a commentary on the target. Threats perceived as insults, however, often encroach upon the target's national honor. This hypothesis also appears in international relations literature; Nicolo Machiavelli terms "insults" one of the three "principle causes of quarrel."[78] Moreover, Greek historian Thucydides wrote that Corinthia attacked its ex-colony Corcyra during the Peloponnesian War "we [Corinthia] did not found colonies in order to be insulted by them, but rather to retain our leadership and to be treated with proper respect."[79]

The third hypothesis is that threats issued in public—in the company of other nations—are more likely than those issued in private—between government officials—to elicit a military rebuttal.

---

[76] Tuchman, *Guns of August*, 102.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 135 quoted in Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Ed. C.B. Macpherson. New York: Penguin, (1985): 185.
[79] Markey, *Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots*, 141 quoted in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, I. 38.

This is because capitulating to public threats harms a target's reputation far more than bowing to concealed threats. Public threats, therefore, prompt attacks more often than private threats because they infringe upon a target's national honor more than private threats.

The final hypothesis is that bullying a target into accepting a threat is more likely to trigger an attack than accommodating it. This is because bullying alienates the target and makes it less receptive to demands, while accommodating it earns their respect and appreciation and facilitates civil and productive negotiations that encourage compromise and discourage violence.

Case Studies

Research Design

Before describing this paper's two case studies, I must make a methodological note on why I selected these particular historical events and rebut skeptics' arguments about their limited number.

First, I chose these particular cases because each possesses a variance of all four common perceptions. This means that each case corresponds with one aspect of each perception. The Italian invasion of Albania, for example, incorporates a large challenger's threat against a small target perceived as an insult, while the West Irian Crisis includes a small challenger's threat against a large target intended for its strategic or national gain. This characteristic is crucial to testing this paper's hypotheses because it allows us to attribute the variance in outcomes between the two cases to their differences, whereas if in both cases the challenger issued its threat in public, for example, there would be no way to determine if the audience privy to the threat prompted one target, but not the other, to fight, or if some other variable was to blame.

Second, skeptics may contend that this paper is fundamentally flawed because it draws four inferences (e.g. threats issued in public are more likely than those issued in private to prompt the target to fight for its national honor) from only two case studies. They argue that studies must include at least one case study per inference drawn because testing multiple variables in a single case study prevents us from determining which of the variables caused the case's result. I argue,

however, that that this paper actually draws inferences from dozens of case studies because of the theory of "process tracing."[80] This theory argues that every historical event involves dozens of intertwined actions that generate its result; therefore, each case study provides dozens of observations with which to verify our common perceptions.

Furthermore, although this paper's limited number of case studies weakens its authority to definitively declare which conditions are the most likely to prompt a nation to disregard power and national interest concerns and fight for its national honor, it can, nonetheless—by virtue of its basis in historical fact—propose an educated and supported conjecture as to which situations will most likely provoke this response.

Italian Invasion of Albania

Albania's economy for the first three decades of the twentieth century was wholly dependent on Italian subsidies and its progress hinged on Italian public investment. Italy extended Albania this substantial financial assistance in exchange for partial control over its internal affairs. The most lucid example of this control is the 1926 Pact of Tirana between the two countries, which transformed Albania into a virtual protectorate of Italy and gave Italy the right of intervention in Albanian internal affairs. This treaty, renewed in 1927, also included a substantial and comprehensive loan package from the Italian Government, known as the SVEA loan. This loan provided Albania with military supplies and technology, financed governmental expenses, and sustained the Albanian economy. It was so large, however, that Albania could only gather enough funds to meet the first repayment installment in 1930, the year the loans ceased and repayment began.

Despite Italian demands for repayment, Albania steadfastly asserted that it did not have the funds. Italy nonetheless continued to loan Albania funds in the hope that they would invigorate its economy and erase its budget deficit. Albania, as a result, resumed its repayment plan but each time it missed an installment, Italy would cease payments. Albania would counter,

---

[80] This theory is explained in detail in Stephen Van Evera's *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press, 1997). In it he provides a commonsense introduction to qualitative methods for the social sciences and helpful hints to students of political science on how to frame, assess, and apply social science theories.

however, by cutting its budget and slashing its military expenditures and forces—which Italy had developed and used as its own personal army—until Italy resumed payments.

This cycle ended in 1934, however, when at 4:30 p.m. on June 23rd, six Italian Navy cruisers and thirteen destroyers arrived on the shores of the Albanian port city of Durrës with a list of demands, most prominent of which was the immediate resumption of SVEA loan repayments. This scare tactic did not intimidate the Albanian government, however, and only two days later, on June 25th, fourteen of the nineteen ships withdrew to Italian waters, with the rest leaving on June 30th.

Despite its firm posture, King Zog and Albania still depended on Italy's financial assistance to maintain its fragile economy. Thus, a similar role emerged where Italy resumed its financial assistance to Albania in exchange for control over their internal affairs. By 1938, however, Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini and Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano had grown so tired of Albanian's failure to meet their repayment installments that they decided to impose their will upon the tiny country and if denied, to invade it. Their decision, however, sought not strategic gain, but retribution for their humiliation in the 1934 Durrës Crisis.

Italy began its campaign by issuing a list of ten demands via telegram to the Albanian Government. The demands, delivered on March 25th, 1939, were issued with the understanding that "[e]ither Zog accepts [them]…or we shall undertake the military seizure of the country."[81] They called for: 1) a closer military alliance between Italy and Albania, 2) Italian rights of intervention into Albania to restore public order, 3) an Albanian customs union, 4) unrestrained Italian use of Albanian ports and airfields, 5) the Italian Legation in Tirana to be promoted to an Italian Embassy, 6) Albania to extend full civil and personal rights to Italian nationals, 7) an Italian Secretary-General in every Albanian Governmental Ministry, 8) an Albanian fascist organization, 9) an Italian Chief of Staff in the Albanian Government, and 10) Italian gendarmerie instructors.[82]

---

[81] Tomes, Jason *King Zog of Albania: Europe's Self-Made Muslim King* Gloucestershire, Eng.: Sutton. (2003): 219.
[82] These ten demands are explained in Tomes, *King Zog of Albania: Europe's Self-Made Muslim King,* 219.

King Zog and the Albanian Government believed that these demands were altogether unacceptable. They felt that they violated Albania's sovereignty and independence and would make it "paramount to a protectorate" of Italy.[83] Moreover, if they accepted, Zog felt, Albania would "becom[e] Italian from every point of view.[84] Zog, as a result, refused these demands and pleaded for negotiation.

Mussolini responded to their refusal by stationing twenty thousand troops at Bari and Brindisi and instructing them to invade Albania if Zog again refused their demands. Luckily for Albania, the force's commanding officer, General Alfredo Guzzoni, decided that its transport arrangements were inadequate and that the invasion must be delayed a week to allow the Army to assemble additional motorized detachments. During this week, however, Mussolini began second-guessing his decision and worrying that the invasion would heighten Hitler's interest in Croatia. As a result, he instructed Italian Foreign Minister Ciano to compromise with Albania by reducing their demands "to something which King Zog might be able to accept."[85] Mussolini made this concession because he wanted Albania to accept his demands so Italy would not have to go to war but could still "obtain—instantly, by menace—a big enough boost to its special rights in Albania to impress world opinion."[86]

Ciano's revised set of demands called for 1) Italy to have the right to take over Albanian ports, airfields, and roads in a national emergency, 2) an Italian secretary-general at the top of every Albanian ministry, 3) full civil and political rights for Italian citizens in Albania, and 4) promoting the Italian Legation in Tirana to an Italian Embassy.[87] Zog and the Albanians, however, similarly denounced these demands. Specifically, in a meeting with Italian Minister Francesco Jacomoni on April 3rd, Zog argued that the first demand afforded Italy too much control and discretion and that Italy "might well invent a bogus threat to justify their exercising it."[88] He stated that he would only agree to this demand if Italy could send troops into Albania only at Zog's explicit request because he felt that Albanians should be the sole judge of when

---

[83] Tomes, *King Zog of Albania: Europe's Self-Made Muslim King*, 224.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Tomes, *King Zog of Albania: Europe's Self-Made Muslim King*, 221.
[86] Ibid.
[87] See Previous Footnote.
[88] Tomes, *King Zog of Albania: Europe's Self-Made Muslim King*, 222.

their freedoms were in danger. While he was not adamantly opposed to placing an Italian secretary-general at the top of each ministry, he nonetheless "queried its constitutional propriety" because he preferred employing Italian staff on an *ad hoc* basis.[89] Zog was more opposed to Italy's third demand because he did not feel that foreign citizens should be able to run for the Albanian Parliament. He did, however, accept Italy's final demand because he believed that promoting the Italian legation in Albania to an Italian embassy was a "matter of protocol, designed to give the Italian envoy precedence."[90]

Zog, however, made no illusions about the strength of his country's army. He understood that their small numbers—only 30,000 soldiers, including reservists—prevented them from repelling, much less defeating, an invading Italian army.[91] Furthermore, as he told American Minister Hugh Grant on April 6th, the Albanian army could only manage a "token protest" against "those millions and all their ships and airplanes" because they "were neither large nor modern enough to resist successfully" and "had no tanks, no planes, no mechanized units, and munitions sufficient only for three days."[92]

Although Mussolini and the Italian Government had compromised and accommodated Albania's objections to its first set of demands, they stood firm behind their revised demands by stating that they must be accepted or rejected in total and that they would expire at noon on April 5th. Although Italy gave Albania an extra day, Albania's parliamentary resolution rejecting Italy's demands erased any hope of compromise. Accordingly, the next morning, Italian troops landed on the shores of Durrës and proceeded with little resistance to the capital city of Tirana, where they formed a Constituent Assembly and proclaimed the nation's new union with Italy.

West Irian Crisis

Indonesia, founded as a colony of the Netherlands, secured its independence on November 2nd, 1949, during the Round Table Conference Agreements at The Hague. These agreements not only granted Indonesia its independence, but they also established a Netherlands-Indonesian trade

---

[89] Tomes, *King Zog of Albania: Europe's Self-Made Muslim King*, 223.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 223-4.

union and erased all Dutch debt to the new Republic of the United States of Indonesia. This agreement, however, did not settle the fate of Western New Guinea (hereafter "West Irian"), an inhospitable, infertile, and impenetrable land mass littered with indigenous natives and coastal settlements. The participants, instead, agreed that "[t]he *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea [West Irian] shall be maintained with the stipulation that in a year the question of the status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands (emphasis original)."[93]

Indonesia and the Netherlands, however, each steadfastly insisted that West Irian belonged to them. Indonesia, for example, argued that although it was of no value commercially, West Irian was an "integral part of Indonesia" because they "considered as national territory any part of the Netherlands East Indies."[94] The Indonesian Government, therefore, believed that their nation would only be truly independent once they eradicated "this final relic of Dutch colonial control."[95] Furthermore, Indonesia argued that West Irian was "part of the Indonesian archipelago" and its inhabitants were closer ethnically to the Indonesians than to the Dutch.[96]

The Dutch, on the other hand, argued that the 1949 Round Table Conference Agreements had proven that West Irian was not part of Indonesia—by virtue of omitting it from their decision—and that the "disposition of West Irian had no connection with Indonesian independence."[97] Furthermore, they asserted that the indigenous West Irianese (also known as Papuans) had a unique culture, language, religion, and ethnology and a "geological, biological, and geographical character of its own which could not be classified as Indonesian."[98]

These conflicting arguments prevented any substantive or productive negotiations between the two countries between 1950 and 1953. Moreover, Dutch public opinion over this period strongly

---

[93] Zainu'ddin, Alisa G. Thomson. *A Short History of Indonesia: Second Edition*. Victoria, Australia.: Cassell Australia Limited, (1968): 257.
[94] Zainu'ddin, *A Short History of Indonesia: Second Edition*, 257; Leifer, Michael. *Dilemmas of Statehood in Southeast Asia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, (1972): 34.
[95] Cady, John F. *The History of Post-War Southeast Asia*. Athens, Ohio.: Ohio University Press, (1974): 275.
[96] Reinhardt, Jon M. *Foreign Policy and National Integration: The Case of Indonesia*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, (1971): 68.
[97] Cady, *The History of Post-War Southeast Asia*, 275.
[98] Vandenbosch, Amry and Richard Butwell. *The Changing Fact of Southeast Asia*. Lexington, KY.: University of Kentucky Press, (1967): 65.

supported its Government's refusal to yield West Irian, while President Sukarno and the Indonesian people continued to demand the "restoration" of the territory to Indonesia.

After four years of unsuccessful negotiations, however, the United Nations put the issue on its General Assembly agenda in 1954 in order to oblige Indonesia and the Netherlands—by virtue of a joint resolution—to renew negotiations on West Irian. Unfortunately, for each of its four sessions between 1954 and 1957, the General Assembly failed to pass this joint resolution because it could not muster the required two-thirds majority.

Indonesia, in response to the United Nation's repeated failure to oblige Dutch negotiations over West Irian and in an attempt to do so themselves, launched a 24-hour general strike on December 2nd, 1957 against and expropriating all Dutch enterprises within Indonesia. The Indonesian Government, in addition, severed all economic relations and ties with the Netherlands at the end of December and announced that it would begin expelling Dutch citizens from Indonesia.

Indonesia, as a result, turned to the Soviet Union, who was looking to increase its influence in Southeast Asia and spread communism outside the Eastern European bloc, for support and protection. Much of this protection came in the form of a $1.15 billion loan for military weapons, fighter jets and long-range bombers for the Indonesian Air Force and new battleships for their Navy between 1960 and 1961, as well as capital to bolster its army, which grew to 330,000 soldiers by late 1962.[99] With this new technology and reinvigorated armed forces, Indonesia began small-scale military infiltrations into West Irian to induce negotiations and sponsored large-scale demonstrations to incite the indigenous peoples.

Despite Indonesia's intimidation tactics, the Dutch refused to negotiate until Indonesia agreed that if they were given sovereignty over West Irian, they would provide its citizens the right of self-determination. This principle would allow the Papuans to determine, by majority vote, whether they would become part of Indonesia or earn their independence. Indonesia, on the other hand, steadfastly insisted that they would not discontinue their military build-up and infiltrations

---

[99] Ricklefs, M.C. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*. 1st ed. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, (1981), 257 quoted in Reinhardt, *Foreign Policy and National Integration: The Case of Indonesia,* 70.

into West Irian until the Dutch transferred the territory—without strings attached—to them.

When the Dutch were not forthcoming, President Sukarno announced in his annual Indonesian Independence Day speech on August 17th, 1960, that Indonesia had broken all diplomatic relations with the Netherlands and would not resume them until the Dutch transferred West Irian to them. Sukarno also mobilized Indonesia's military forces and ordered their training for the "liberation of West Irian" in December of 1960.[100] Furthermore, Sukarno threatened in a public speech on January 7th, 1962, that "Indonesia was now ready to invade West Irian, irrespective of world opinion, unless the Dutch handed it over very quickly."[101]

Although Indonesia had substantially increased its military capacity and infantry size, Dutch military forces remained substantially larger, better trained, and more experienced. They even displayed their military superiority on January 15th, 1962, by sinking two of three Indonesian torpedo boats spotted in Dutch territorial waters off the Aru Islands. Indonesia, however, had a larger military force stationed in Southeast Asia than did the Dutch. Although slight, this military advantage gave it the confidence to develop an extremely adventurous and hazardous military plan to take control of West Irian The attack, scheduled for August 9th, 1962, also emanated from Dutch unwillingness to transfer West Irian.

The Dutch Government, realizing that Indonesia's reinvigorated and refinanced military and its infatuation with West Irian would transform any battle for its control into "serious and prolonged jungle warfare," capitulated and agreed to negotiate for its transfer.[102] United Nations Secretary-General U Thant, as a result, appointed retired American diplomat Ellsworth Bunker to lead the negotiations, which began on March 20th outside Washington, D.C. During the negotiations, the two sides settled their differences and reached an agreement August 15th, 1962. Their accord stipulated that the Netherlands would transfer sovereignty of West Irian to a United Nations Temporary Executive Authority on October 1st, 1962, which would transfer it to Indonesia on May 1st, 1963. Their agreement also included a provision allowing the indigenous West Irianese

---

[100] Reinhardt, *Foreign Policy and National Integration: The Case of Indonesia,* 70.

[101] Hyde, Douglas. *Confrontation in the East: A Background Book*. Chester Springs, Penn.: Dufour Editions, (1965): 48.

[102] Ricklefs, M.C. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*, 259.

to determine whether to remain part of Indonesia or become independent—the so-called "act of free choice"—before 1969. With the West Irian issue settled, Dutch citizens began leaving West Irian while the Indonesian Government resumed diplomatic relations with the Netherlands.

Analysis

Accuracy of Common Perceptions

The Italian invasion of Albania and the West Irian Crisis each involve a challenger state issuing a military threat which infringes upon the national honor of a target state. In the Italian invasion, for example, Italy threatened to invade Albania unless it accepted specific demands that would have stripped it of sovereignty and independence. Similarly in the West Irian Crisis Indonesia threatened to invade Dutch West Irian if the Netherlands did not capitulate and forfeit their sovereign territory to a militarily and politically weaker Indonesia without compensation. These cases also incorporate one of the two aspects of each hypothesis. In this section I test my four hypotheses by comparing their expected outcomes with these historical case studies.

The first hypothesis—implicitly stated in Tuchman's *Guns of August*—is that large challengers threatening small targets make the target more likely to fight for its national honor than small challengers threatening large targets. The case studies support this hypothesis because the small target retaliated against its large challenger, while the large target complied with the small challenger's threat. Italy issued Albania a set of demands—the first consisted of ten demands but a subsequent telegram reduced and condensed them to four—via telegram that it was told to accept or face an Italian invasion. Albania, however, rejected Italy's threat and fought for its national honor. Conversely, Indonesia, frustrated and incensed by the United Nations' ineffectiveness and inability to oblige the Netherlands to negotiate over West Irian, threatened to invade the territory on January 7th, 1962, if the Dutch did not transfer it to them. But the Netherlands, unlike the Albanians, did not fight back.

The second hypothesis—taken from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* and Machiavelli's *Discourses*—is that threats the target perceives as insults are more likely to prompt an attack than threats which seek the challenger's strategic or national gain. The case studies

verify this hypothesis as well because the threat perceived as an insult prompted an attack, while the threat seeking the challenger's strategic gain did not. Albania interpreted Italy's list of demands as revenge for the embarrassment they suffered during the 1934 Durrës Crisis. The demands were, as a result, in no way motivated by Italian strategic interests. Indonesia's military threat, on the other hand, sought its strategic and national interests. Indonesia firmly believed that West Irian was an integral part of its country and that its inhabitants were closer ethnically to the Indonesian people than to the Dutch. Furthermore, Indonesia argued that West Irian was the "final relic of Dutch colonial control" in Southeast Asia and Indonesia's independence depended on returning this territory to its rightful owners.[103]

The third hypothesis—taken from conventional wisdom—is that threats issued in public—in the company of other nations—are more likely than those issued in private—between government officials—to prompt a military attack. The case studies, however, disprove this hypothesis because Albania rejected Italy's private threat—and chose war instead—while Indonesia's very public and openly broadcasted threat did not prompt an attack from the Dutch. The Italians transmitted their demands to the Albania Government through telegrams and the two countries discussed and negotiated them via telegram and behind closed doors, not in a public forum. President Sukarno, on the other hand, issued a military threat of invasion to the Netherlands in front of the entire Indonesian nation during his annual Indonesian Independence Day address. Furthermore, Indonesia levied numerous threats against the Dutch during each United Nations General Assembly session between 1954 and 1957 and in countless interviews with the international press.

Lastly, the fourth hypothesis—also taken from conventional wisdom—is that bullying a target into accepting a threat is more likely to trigger an attack than accommodating it. This hypothesis also fails, however, because the Dutch did not fight back after being bullied by Indonesia, while the Albanians fought after Italy had repeatedly compromised. Italy not only reduced its initial set of demands from ten to a much more reasonable four—at the behest of Mussolini—but it also repeatedly extended the response deadline and negotiated the demands with King Zog and his advisers. Conversely, Indonesia maintained the same unyielding position—that it would invade

---

[103] Cady, *The History of Post-War Southeast Asia*, 275.

West Irian unless the Dutch forfeited its territory—from the initial negotiations in 1950, up to the treaty resolving the dispute on August 9th, 1962. Indonesia also refused to negotiate or discuss the issue until the Dutch agreed to transfer sovereignty of West Irian to it without preconditions. Furthermore, Indonesia struck against Dutch enterprises within its borders—expropriating all Dutch businesses, severing economic ties with the Netherlands, expelling all Dutch citizens— sought military aid from the Soviet Union, and launched small-scale military infiltrations into West Irian.

Do States Really Fight for their National Honor?

Although nations sometimes refer to their national honor to justify or excuse military action, scholars disagree whether it is states' true motivation or simply rhetoric to incite patriotism within the population. Barry O'Neill, for example, argues that while "honor talk" is heard occasionally, it is usually "taken as rhetoric, to rally the public behind a policy justified on practical grounds" because national leaders "save their violence for goals that matter."[104] Similarly, Thorstein Veblen wrote in 1917 that honor is simply rhetoric of complaint: "National honor…is not known to serve any material or otherwise useful end apart from affording a practicable grievance consequent upon its infraction."[105]

Other scholars argue that leaders employ honor as justification for wars actually prompted by anger or greed. Josiah Royce, for example, wrote in 1914 that "[w]hat is called national honor is at present altogether too much a matter of capricious private and often merely personal judgment simply because the nations are not as yet self-conscious moral beings" Still others believe that national honor is a sham because it lacks clear principles. Leo Perla wrote in 1918 that when a government claims that "national honor is the sublime ideal for which it is ever ready to suffer annihilation if necessary, that it is one thing which it can never consent to arbitrate, we know almost nothing about the implication which the phrase comprises."[106]

---

[104] Kagan, Donald. "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State*" Honor among Nations : Intangible Interests and Foreign Policy. Ed. Elliott Abrams. New York: Ethics & Public Policy Center, (1998): 85.

[105] Veblen, *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and its Terms of Perpetuation* New York: Macmillan. (1917) quoted in O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 85.

[106] Perla, Leo. *What is "National Honor"?* New York: Macmillan. (1918) quoted in O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 98.

The case studies in this article, however, demonstrate that states genuinely consider and fight to defend their national honor. Furthermore, these cases support my claim that states consider will disregard national interest concerns and the balance of power to fight for their national honor if a threat encroaches upon it so greatly that they feel they have no choice but to fight.

In the Italian invasion of Albania, for example, Italian demands to the Albanian government severely trespassed upon their national honor by demanding concessions that would have robbed it of its independence and transformed it into an Italian protectorate. Albania recognized, however, that regardless of its decision, Italy would soon control their country because their forces were much too strong. Albania also recognized that capitulating to the Italian military threat would damage their national honor, while rejecting the threat and making a stand would preserve their national honor, even if it meant certain defeat. Accordingly, Albania disregarded Italy's overwhelming military advantage and their national interest by rejecting Italy's demands because they felt they had no other choice.

This case study also demonstrates that states employ national honor as more than mere rhetoric. The Albanian Government had no other motive—many might argue no motive at all—to fight a win-less war against an overwhelmingly superior opponent other than preserving its national honor. Logically, a state would employ national honor as rhetoric only in situations where it stood at least a legitimate chance at victory because justifying or excusing military action is moot if one's country is destroyed.

In the West Irian Crisis, on the other hand, Indonesia's military threat did not seriously endanger Dutch security or national honor. West Irian was of little value and significance to the Dutch, certainly not worthy of an overseas war. The violation of Dutch honor, as a result, was insufficient to coerce the Dutch to disregard their national interests—which were not best served by attacking a young and weak state over an unimportant territory—and fight to defend their national honor.

National leaders and historians also support my findings. Many have begun citing national honor as their motivation for launching and maintaining war. Former United States Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger, for example, wrote in his memoirs that national honor kept the United States "trapped" in the Vietnam War and that "[n]o serious policymaker could allow himself to succumb to the fashionable debunking of 'prestige' or 'honor.'"[107]

Likewise, historian Donald Kagan argues that "one may be surprised by how small a role…considerations of practical utility and material gain, and even ambition for power itself, play in bringing on wars."[108] Kagan insists that states have, on countless occasions throughout history, "acted to defend or foster a collection of beliefs and feelings than ran counter to their practical interests and have placed their security at risk…persisting in their course when the costs were high and the danger was evident."[109] He also argues in his article "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation-State"* that realist analyses of our history are a "product of the attempt to treat the world of human events as though it were the inanimate physical universe, susceptible to scientific analysis and free to ignore human feelings, motives, and will" and "that such analyses of international relations and war…must be inadequate."[110]

Kagan supplements his argument with several examples of states fighting wars solely to defend their national honor. One example is the Peloponnesian War. The Athenian historian Thucydides, whom Kagan argues is the first scholar to thoroughly and accurately describe national honor's role in international relations, wrote the history of this war. Although considered a "realist" for his view of international relations as the competition for power, Thucydides wrote that during this war the Corinthians joined an "unimportant civil war on the fringes of the Greek world" because of an "affront to their honor and dignity."[111] Similarly, Kagan mentions that Great Britain entered the First World War partly out of "concern for its honor and for the danger that dishonor posed to its safety" and that Mussolini attacked Abyssinia in 1935 not because of "economics [or] demographic needs, but only the search for vengeance and the restoration of lost honor."[112]

---

[107] Kissinger, Henry. *The White House Years.* New York: Little, Brown. (1979): 228 quoted in O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 85.

[108] Kagan, Donald . *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*. New York: Doubleday. (1995): 95 Quoted in O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 85.

[109] O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 1.

[110] Ibid., 1-2.

[111] Ibid., 5.

[112] Ibid.

Conclusion

Realist and Liberal scholars correctly emphasize the importance of the balance of power and national interest, as well as economic relationships, political ideology, and the international political structure in international relations. They also accurately recognize the imprudence of pursuing intangible goals like national honor. My research demonstrates, however, that they incorrectly dismiss national honor as mere rhetoric or as an excuse for military action. In find that states utilize national honor in their foreign policy decisions and fight to defend it once threatened, even if fighting conflicts with realist and liberal concerns.

Fighting for its national honor bolsters a states' image in their international community and strengthens their position within it. My research indicates, however, that states only fight to defend their national honor if a threat trespasses upon it so greatly that they feel they have no choice but to disregard their national interest and relative power concerns to fight. In the West Irian Crisis, for example, Indonesia's military threat to the Netherlands did not infringe upon their national honor sufficiently to prompt the Dutch to disregard their national interest—which did not lie in attacking Indonesia because attacking a smaller state would cast the Netherlands as a bully in the international community. In the Italian invasion of Albania, however, Italy's threat encroached upon Albanian national honor so greatly—by demanding concessions from Albania that would have revoked their sovereignty and independence—that Albania felt it had no choice but to fight and disregard the fact that doing so was hopeless because of Italy's military powers. My research also indicates that, as shown by testing my four hypotheses, these threats are most often issued from a large state to a small one, as an insult, through private channels, and by accommodating the target.

Building upon my findings, future studies should collect and analyze additional case studies of states issuing military threats which infringe upon national honor, as well as broadening the scope of my research by conducting systematic statistical analyses of state behavior in the face of military threats.

Even before these studies are conducted, however, my research mandates that policymakers couch their military threats in diplomatic terms and consider the target's cultural background to

avoid infringing upon its national honor. These policy prescriptions will help states avoid unintentionally triggering wars and limit wars fought over national honor.

The mistake of the realist and liberal scholars, therefore, is not their interest in calculations of power and interest and their focus on economical and political relationships and the international political structure, but their deliberate neglect of national honor and all other immaterial concepts. Politicians and nations from present to antiquity have frequently invoked national honor and have often fought to defend it. To exclude this element of our history from our analyses of modern international relations would, as a result, be the "height of fantasy and the opposite of realism."[113]

---

[113] O'Neill, "*Honor, Interest, and the Nation State,*" 16.

Additional References

Carr, E.H. 1964. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.

Copeland, Dale C. 1997. "Do reputations matter?" *Security Studies*, 7 (1), 33-71. September 12, 2008.

Kennan, George F. 1951. *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1996. *Discourses on Livy* trans. and intro. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mercer, Jonathan. 1997. "Reputation and Rational Deterrence Theory." *Security Studies* 7 (1) 100—113. September 12th, 2008.

Peristiany, J.G, ed. 1966. *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schweller, Randall L. "Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies* 5, No. 3 (Spring 1996, special issue).

Smith, Michael J. 1986. *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

von Clausewitz, Carl. 1976. *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Parret. Princeton, NJ: Princeton